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Fleury, Claude, 1640-1723.
The ecclesiastical history
of M. l'abb e Fleury

Ed Howell



THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
OF

M. L'ABBÉ FLEURY,

FROM

A.D. 429. TO A.D. 456.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

ST. CYRIL of Alexandria and St. Leo the Great are the chief actors in the period of Ecclesiastical History which forms the subject of the following Volume. They are the especial Witnesses and Doctors of the Incarnation, stationed on opposite sides of the Sacred Mystery, which then became matter of controversy, and the life of the two Ecumenical Councils respectively, which at Ephesus and Chalcedon condemned the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches. These Councils, and the troubles which preceded and followed them, are the staple of the narrative, which extends through a course of thirty years, from Genseric's devastation of Africa to his sack of Rome, and from the death of St. Augustine to the last years of St. Leo.

In the preceding Volume we left Pelagianism almost expiring under the hand of the former of these Saints, in the West; in the beginning of the present, with the instinct proper to heresy, it unexpectedly combines with the new elements of error which are agitating the Eastern metropolis, though foreign to them in subject-matter and character, as well as in locality. At the same time it is resuscitated in the West, in the more subtle form of what is called Semi-Pelagianism, of which the south of France was the chief seat

and St. Prosper the chief opponent. That Saint himself; Cassian, by birth a Scythian, and Vincent of Lerins, one or both unhappily on the heterodox side in the controversy, though zealous against Nestorianism and Pelagianism; St. Lupus the brother of Vincent; St. Germanus the associate of St. Lupus in expelling Pelagianism from Britain; and St. Hilary of Arles; are all ornaments of the Gallic Church during the period contained in this Volume. In Syria, Theodoret's public life is commensurate with the whole period, commencing with his controversy with St. Cyril, and terminating in his restoration to his see at the Council of Chalcedon, and his death shortly after it. Africa at the same era is again fruitful in Confessors and Martyrs, under the persecution of the Arian Genseric.

In the preparation of this Volume the plan has been followed which has been observed in those which preceded it; the references, however, to the Councils are so numerous that, except in some special cases, the notice of Mansi's Edition has been omitted.

For the entire labour of the work, for the revision of the translated text and the original margin, for the valuable Notes and the enlarged Index, and for carrying the Volume through the press, the Editor is indebted, as in former Volumes to other friends, so in the present to the REV. WILLIAM KAY, Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College.

J. H. N.

Littlemore. Nov. 8. 1844.

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXV.

A. D. 428. NESTORIUS had brought with him from Antioch the Priest
CH. I. Anastasius¹, his syncellus² and confidant. He preaching one
I. day in the church of Constantinople said³, "Let no one call
The heresy of Nestorius. " Mary mother of God ; for she was a woman, and it is im-
[¹ Supr. 24. c. 55.] possible that God should be born of a human creature."
[² See chap. V. infr. and the note on that place.] These words gave great offence to many both of the clergy
³ Liberat. Brev. c. 4. Evagr. Hist. l. c. 2. Socr. 7. 32. B. and laity : "for they had always been taught," says the
⁴ Ap. Mar. Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 5. sqq. historian Socrates, "to acknowledge JESUS CHRIST as God,
⁵ Cass. de Incarn. 7. 6. note a. Prosper. Chron. an. V. Theodosii. Liberat. c. 4. "and not to sever Him in any way from the Divinity."
⁶ 1 Cor. xv. 21. Nestorius, however, declared his assent to what the Priest
Anastasius had thus advanced, and several sermons⁴ which
he delivered on the subject are still extant.
The first⁵ is supposed to have been preached on Christmas-
day, the twenty-fifth of December, A.D. 428, in the Consul-
ate of Felix and Taurus : for it was in this the first year of
his Episcopate, that Nestorius began publicly to disseminate
his heresy. In this sermon he sets out with some observa-
tions about Providence, he then proceeds to speak of the
restitution of mankind, and having quoted the words of
St. Paul⁶, "By one man came death, and by one man the
"resurrection," he adds a request that all such as inquire
whether Mary should be called mother of God, or mother of
a man, Theotocos, or Anthropotocos, would attend to his dis-
course. "What ! hath God a mother ? Then are the pagans
"excusable when they assign mothers to their gods ! Then is
"Paul a liar, when he says, concerning the divinity of JESUS
"CHRIST⁷, 'Without father, without mother, without descent !'
³ John iii. 6. "No, Mary did not bring forth a God ; for⁸ 'what is born of the
" 'flesh is flesh : ' the creature did not bring forth the Creator,

⁷ Heb. vii.

⁸ John iii.

6.

“but only a man who was the organ of Deity. The HOLY GHOST A. D. 428.
 “did not create GOD the WORD, [which if Mary were θεοτόκος CH. II.
 “He must have done¹] according to that which we read: ¹ these
 “‘What is formed in her is of the HOLY GHOST².’ GOD was ^{words are}
 “incarnate, but did not die; He raised from the dead Him in ^{inserted to}
 “whom He was incarnate.” And later on he says, “I adore ^{supply the}
 “the habit for the sake of Him who wears it; I adore Him who ^{eclipse]}
 “appears outwardly, because of the concealed Deity which is ^{2 Matt. 1.}
 “inseparable from Him.” ^{20.}

In another discourse³ he reproves the Bishops, whose suc- ^{3 Mercat.}
 cessor he was, in these terms. “I see abundance of zeal and ^{Pt. 2. p. 8.}
 “piety in the people, but very little knowledge in divine mat-
 “ters; it is not their fault: but,—how shall I be able to say
 “it?—they who have instructed them, have not had time to
 “do it with care and exactitude.” He continued to pro-
 pound his errors respecting the person of the Son of God,
 pretending that when Scripture treats of His temporal birth,
 or of His death, it never calls Him GOD, but only CHRIST, SON,
 or LORD. It was most probably at this time that Eusebius⁴, ^{4 Cyril. c.}
 an advocate at Constantinople, who though only a laic was ^{Nest. Lib. i.}
 a man of eminent virtue, and well skilled in the doctrines of ^{p. 20. l.}
 religion, rose up against Nestorius, in full Church, and in
 the warmth of his zeal cried out, “It was the eternal
 “WORD Himself who underwent a second birth according to
 “the flesh, and was born of a woman.” The people were
 evidently excited; the larger body, comprising too those who
 were best informed on the question, expressed their great
 approbation of Eusebius; the rest were enraged at him.
 Nestorius, not to be wanting to his adherents, declaimed
 against Eusebius⁵ in a third sermon delivered a short time ^{5 Mercat.}
 after, in the beginning of January 429, (perhaps on the day ^{Pt. 2. p. 11.}
 of the Epiphany,) in which under pretence of opposing the
 Arians and Macedonians, he in reality attacks the Catholic
 doctrine, his position throughout being that we ought not to
 say that the *Divine Word* was born of Mary, or died, but
 only *the man in whom the Word was*.

The result was that the advocate Eusebius, who was after- ^{II.}
 wards Bishop of Dorylæum, drew up a protest⁶ which ran ^{The oppo-}
 thus; “All who shall receive this paper I conjure by the Holy ^{sition of the}
 “Trinity, to make it known to the Bishops, Priests, Deacons, ^{Catholics.}
^{6 Conc.}
^{Eph. Pt. 1.}
^{c. 13. p. 338.}

A. D. 429. "Readers^a, and Laity, who live in Constantinople, and to give
 CH. 11. "them a copy of it for the conviction of the heretic Nestorius,
 "whose opinions are none other than those of Paul of Samo-
 "sata, anathematized some hundred and sixty years ago by
 "the Catholic Bishops." He then draws a parallel between the
 doctrines of the two, quoting their own words, and shewing
 that Nestorius maintains just as Paul did, that the WORD and
 JESUS CHRIST are different, and not, as taught by the Catholic
 faith, one and the same. In refuting them he quotes the
 Creed used at Antioch¹, differing a little in expression from
 the Constantinopolitan in use among us, but the same as
 to sense. He also alleges the authority of St. Eustathius,
 Bishop of Antioch, who had assisted at the Nicene Council;
 intending by all this to prove that Nestorius did not follow
 the tradition of that Church, in which he had been brought
 up. About the same time Marius Mercator², then at Con-
 stantinople, published a letter addressed to all the faithful: in
 which he also compares the doctrine of Nestorius and Paul
 of Samosata, shewing their points of agreement and differ-
 ence. It would seem that these tracts appeared in the same
 month of January. Socrates³ the historian, who was at
 Constantinople at this very time, states that after reading
 the writings of Nestorius, and conversing with his followers,
 he finds that he had not fallen into the error of Paul or
 Photinus^b, since he recognised in CHRIST the hypostasis of

¹ Cass. de
Inc. 6. 3.

² Pt. 2.
p. 17.

³ 7. 32.

^a See above xx. 32. q. Isidore of Seville (ad Luitfrid.) describes their office as being "to read the lessons, "and to preach to the people out of the "Prophets." From St. Cyprian Ep. 38, 39, (al. 33, 34.) and the Council of Toledo, I. can. 2 and 4, it would seem that they read the Epistles and Gospels. At first (Cyprian, u. s.) none but men of tried worth were admitted to the office; it was afterwards conferred on boys and even children: v. Bingham, iii. 5. § 5. where several instances are adduced, and cf. Balsamon in Nomocan. Photii, tit. i. de fide c. 28. "Whereas "the law says that the Reader should "be eighteen years old at least, now- "a-days Readers-cleric are appointed " (σφραγίζονται), not more than six or "sometimes than three years old."

^b See xviii. 6. q. The truth seems to be, as Socrates states it, that Nes-

torius could not be charged with this heresy; see his own statement at the end of c. 2. infr., which is confirmed by the account given by Epiphanius, Hær. 71. "Photinus follows in the "steps of Paul of Samosata, and as- "serts that CHRIST did not exist from "the beginning, but only began to "exist when He was conceived by the "HOLY GHOST." Nothing, in fact, is more striking in the history of the heresies respecting the Second Person of the Trinity than the way in which the subject-matter of controversy was gradually narrowed down after various oscillations on the one side and the other. Photinus belonged to the Modalists or Sabellians, who made the Trinity not a real but only a metaphysical division of persons. But Nestorius avoided this error, for (as Mar. Mercat. says, p. 628. vol. viii. Galland.) "he allowed

the Divine Word; "but," adds Socrates, "he dreaded the word Theotocos as he would a spectre; and this proceeded from his extreme ignorance; for being naturally eloquent, he imagined himself a learned man, which he certainly was not, and so he would not submit to the labour of studying the old commentators on Scripture, being puffed up by his fluency of speech till he fancied himself superior to all others put together." These are the words of Socrates, who proceeds to shew that both Origen and Eusebius¹, the friend of Pamphilus^c, had made use of the word Theotocos, and quotes the very passages where it occurs.

From that time many began to separate themselves from the communion of Nestorius, to treat him as a heretic, and speak against him without any reserve; there were even some of them who threatened to throw him into the sea. It is of this persecution that he complains in a sermon preached in the beginning of Lent², in the same year, 429. He there speaks of the penalty of the sin of our first parents agreeably to the Catholic doctrine, and in language opposed to the erroneous tenets of the Pelagians; and this in the presence of Julian and other Pelagians who had taken refuge at Constantinople³, whom in other respects Nestorius treated with great lenity, nay, whose protector he had avouched himself to be. Celestius had returned to Rome about the year 424, but being driven out of Italy by the order of Pope Celestine, he came to Constantinople⁴ with Julian of Eclanum, Florus, Orontius, and Fabius, all of them Western Bishops, who had been deposed and banished for their heretical opinions. They complained to the Emperor and Nestorius, as if they were unjustly-persecuted Catholics⁵. Nestorius, while he fed them with hopes that he would procure their restoration, continued to preach against them, even in their presence;—whether it was that they had disguised their doctrine or from some other cause of which we are ignorant. Three of these sermons are extant, and speak correctly

¹ Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. Euseb. de Vit. Constant. III. 43. See Pearson on the Creed, p. 310. note n, with Burton's Annotation.]

² Mercat. Pt. I. p. 76.

³ Praef. Mercat. Pt. I. p. 73.

⁴ Ep. Nest. ad Celest. Conc. Eph. Pt. I. c. 16.

⁵ Mercat. Pt. I. p. 73.

"not only the λόγος προφορικὸς, or "prolatitium verbum" of Paul of Samosata; he allowed that the Word was substantive and consubstantive with the Father." His heresy related not to the two natures of Christ, but to the Incarnation, or junction of

these two natures; which he asserted to be a connection (συνάφεια) rather than a union (ένωσις).

^c For the account of this surname see Fleury, 9. 28. Nicephorus (H. E. 6. 57.) says that Pamphilus was maternal uncle to Eusebius.

A. D. 429. enough on the subject of original sin. The two first are on
CH. II.
¹ Chrysost. [t. i. p. 1. and 56. t. v. p. 1. Wheatly, p. 136. ed. 1839.] the history of the creation of man, which were read at the beginning of Lent¹; the third on the temptation of CHRIST. This last is entire, and in the original Greek; all that remains of the two former is the translation of them, or rather the extracts from them, given by Mercator.

² Supr. 24. Proclus, titular Bishop of Cyzicus², who officiated only as
 44. Priest at Constantinople, preached a sermon there about this time on the Incarnation³; it was on some great festival, most probably the Annunciation, i. e. the twenty-fifth of March.

³ Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 1. He therein boldly confirms the Catholic doctrine, that the
Pt. 2. p. 19.
 son of Mary is not a mere man, but truly God; that it is true to say God suffered and died, and that the Holy Virgin ought to be called, in the strict sense, Mother of God, Theotocos, without any matter of scoffing being hereby given to the Gentiles, or of calumny to the Arians. Nestorius, who was present, was extremely mortified at this discourse, the more so because, being very elegant, it drew great applause from the people. He answered it on the spot; for whenever a Priest or another Bishop spoke in the Church, it was customary that the Bishop of the Church, if he were present, should also add some word of instruction to the

⁴ Serm. 4. Nestorius maintains, then, in this sermon⁴, that we
ap. Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 26.
 ought not to say simply God is born of Mary, but God, the WORD of the FATHER, was joined to Him who was born of Mary. "I cannot bear," says he, "that it should be said God

⁵ n. 5. "was made a Priest⁵," a phrase which Proclus had casually made use of. Nestorius maintains that it was the man, and not God the WORD, who rose from the dead; and that we should distinguish between the temple, and God who inhabits the temple. "It is a gross calumny," he adds, "to accuse me of

⁶ n. 13. "holding the errors of Photinus⁶. He makes the Divine WORD
 "come into existence at the time He was brought forth by
 "Mary, whereas I affirm that God the WORD existed⁷ always
 "from eternity." Nestorius, however, confesses that he appears at first sight to differ from the other Doctors of the Church. He composed three additional sermons in answer to that of Proclus, but he never attacks him by name. He directs his discourse to Arius, Apollinarius, and the other heretics.

[⁷ semper
 existere
 ante se-
 cula.]
 n. 6.

These sermons of Nestorius¹ were collected into one volume, being arranged in order with figures, and every other accompaniment which would help to make people remember them. They soon spread themselves over all the provinces of the East and West, and were brought even to Rome, though without the author's name prefixed. They were distributed among the monasteries of Egypt, and great were the disputes they excited there. St. Cyril², Bishop of Alexandria, received intelligence on the subject from some Monks, who repaired to him according to an old custom they had, apparently with a view to celebrate some festival. They informed him³ that the sermons staggered weak minds to such a degree that some could hardly any longer endure CHRIST to be acknowledged as GOD, and would have Him to be only⁴ an instrument of the Divinity, or a vessel which contained it, Theophoros.

St. Cyril⁵, apprehensive that the error might take root, wrote an encyclical^d letter to the Monks of Egypt, wherein he says that they would have done better wholly to have refrained from questions of so great difficulty, and that what he writes to them is intended not to keep up the dispute but to arm them in defence of the truth. "I wonder," he says⁶, "how a question can be raised as to whether the Holy Virgin should be called Mother of GOD; for if our LORD JESUS CHRIST is GOD, how is not the Holy Virgin, his mother, Mother of GOD? This is the faith we have been taught by the Apostles, although they did not make use of this expression; it is the doctrine of our fathers, among the rest of Athanasius, of blessed memory," and he quotes two passages⁷ in support of his statement. He next⁸ proves that He who was born of the Holy Virgin is GOD in His own nature⁹, since the Nicene Creed says that the only begotten Son of GOD¹, of the same substance with the FATHER, Himself came down from heaven, and was incarnate. He proceeds²: "You will say, perhaps, Is the Virgin, then, mother of the Divinity? We answer, It is certain that the WORD is eternal, and of the substance of the FATHER. Now in the order of nature, mothers, who have no

^d Καθολικὴν ἐπιστολὴν, which Fleury translates 'Lettre Générale.' The rendering in the text is supported by what Ecumenius says in c. i. Jacob. p. 115.

Καθολικὰ λέγονται αὐταὶ οἰονεὶ ἐγκύκλιοι. Encyclic letters were directed to whole Churches, not to individual members of them.

A. D. 429.
CH. III.

III.
St. Cyril's
Letter to
the Monks.

¹ Cyril. in
Nest. I.
p. 3. E.

² Cyril. Ep.
ad Mon. ap.
Cone. Eph.
Pt. I. c. 2.

³ Cyr. Ep.
ad Nest.
ibid. c. 6.

[⁴ ὄργανον
καὶ ἔργα-
λεῖον τῆς
Θεότητος,
καὶ ἀνθρώ-
πος Θεοφό-
ρος.]

⁵ Cyril. Ep.
ad Caele-st.
ap. Conc.
Eph. Pt. I.
c. 14.

⁶ Ep. ad
Mon. n. 4.

⁷ Athanas.
Or. III. in
A. G. [l. i.
p. 563. D.
579. B.
583. A. B.]

⁸ n. 5.
⁹ n. 6.

[¹ τὸν υἱὸν
τοῦ Θεοῦ,
τὴν γεννη-
θέντα ἐκ
τοῦ πατρὸς
μονογενῆ,
τουτέστιν
ἐκ τῆς οὐ-
σίας αὐ-
τοῦ.]

² n. 12.

A. D. 429. " part in the creation of the soul, are still called mothers of the
 CH. III. " whole man, and not of the body only ;—for surely it would
 " be a hypereritical refinement to say Elizabeth is mother of
 " the body of John and not of his soul. In the same way, then,
 " we express ourselves in regard to the birth of Emmanuel ;
 " since the WORD having taken flesh upon Him, is called Son
 " of Man." The reason of St. Cyril's making use of the in-
 stance of St. John Baptist, was its having been employed by
 Nestorius in one of his sermons¹, where he says, " John
 " received the Spirit of GOD from his mother's womb, yet
 " no one calls her mother of the Spirit." In the remaining
 part of his letter to the Monks, St. Cyril proves at large the
 unity of CHRIST by the abasement of the Son of GOD², who
 ' humbled Himself to take upon Him the form of a slave³, '—
 by the adoration which all creatures pay to Him⁴,—from His
 being named GOD and LORD⁵,—because He is exalted above
 Moses and all the Prophets⁶,—because He has redeemed us
 by His death⁷;—in fine⁸, if He were not really GOD, the
 Jews and Gentiles would have good reason to reproach us
 with worshipping a mere man.

[⁹ Supr.
 21. 2.]

St. Cyril, as well as his uncle Theophilus⁹, and the rest of
 his predecessors, wrote paschal letters every year to fix the
 day on which the moveable feasts, and particularly Easter,
 should be celebrated ; of these letters we have thirty remain-
 ing. In the seventeenth he speaks of the mystery of the
 Incarnation, and refutes the errors of Nestorius, particularly
 those broached in his first sermon ; now this letter states
 that the ensuing Easter would fall on the twelfth day of the
 Egyptian month Pharmouthi^e, answering to the seventh of
 April, on which day Easter did actually fall, A.D. 429. It
 follows that this seventeenth paschal letter of St. Cyril must
 have been written before the sixth of January, 429, for these
 letters were always read in the churches on the Epiphany. It
 was about this time that St. Cyril is supposed to have written
 his scholia on the Incarnation, in which he explains the

^e Josephus (Ant. Jud. ii. 14. 6.) says that the destruction of the first-born took place in this month. Jablonski (Opuse. i. p. 376.) remarks that the word means 'fatal, deadly,' and so the name may have been given to it in

reference to that great event. In the Anthologia Græca (t. ii. p. 510. ed. Brunek.) we have *Ειαρῶν Φαρμουθὶ ῥόδων πρωτάγγελός ἐστι*.—See also a quotation from Theon in Salmas. Exercitationes Pliniane, p. 717, sqq.

words CHRIST, EMMANUEL, and JESUS, and shews the nature of the union which subsists between the humanity and the WORD¹, his great object being to prove that this union is a real and substantial one². The work was composed for the instruction of such as were not much conversant with the subject. He adopts the method of geometers, setting out with a definition of terms, and proceeding from the most simple to the most complex propositions.

The letter to the Egyptian Monks was not long³ in reaching Constantinople, where some of St. Cyril's clergy resided, to superintend affairs relating to his own Church. Here it proved to be of great benefit⁴, and several magistrates wrote to thank him for his services. Nestorius was extremely irritated by it; he got a person, called Photius⁵, to write a reply, and sought by every means possible to injure St. Cyril. There happened to be some Alexandrians at Constantinople, whom St. Cyril had condemned for their crimes in accordance with the canons⁶; one for having unjustly oppressed the poor and the blind, another for having drawn his sword upon his mother, another for having stolen some gold in confederacy with a maid-servant, and for having always had a very bad reputation. He names three of them⁷, Cheremon, Victor, and Sophronas, besides a young man whose father's name was Flavian. These men⁸ Nestorius employed to calumniate St. Cyril, and suborned them to present petitions against him, to himself and to the Emperor Theodosius.

St. Cyril was informed⁹ by some trustworthy persons who came to Alexandria, of the resentment which Nestorius displayed against him: moreover he had received a letter from the Pope St. Celestin, and several Bishops who were with him, apparently assembled in Council. The letter informed him that they had received copies of Nestorius's sermons, and wished to know whether he was really the author, declaring that they had caused great offence: many persons also came from the different oriental Churches, all loudly complaining of the sermons. St. Cyril¹, upon this, felt very much inclined to send a synodical letter to Nestorius², stating that unless he altered his language and opinions it would be impossible for him to remain in his communion; "but on reflecting," as

A. D. 429.
CH. IV.

¹ V. Garner. in Mercat. Pt. ii. p. 216.
[² Non σκετικὴν et moralein, sed φυσικὴν et substantivam.]

³ Cyr. Ep. 1. ad Nest. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 6.

[⁴ Ep. ad. Celest. Ibid. c. 14. p. 343.]

⁵ Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 12. [p. 334. A.]

⁶ Ibid. c. 8. [p. 315.]

⁷ Ibid. c. 12. p. 335. A.

⁸ Cyr. Apol. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 3. c. 13. p. 1054. C.

IV.
St. Cyril's first letter to Nestorius.

⁹ Ep. 1. ad Nest. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 6.

¹ Ep. ad Celest. ap. Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 14. [² συνοδικῶ ὑπόμνητι]

A. D. 429.
CH. V.

¹ Ep. ad
Nest. u. s.

[² σκάνδα-
λον οἰκου-
μενικόν]

³ Conc.
Eph. Pt. 1.
c. 7.

⁴ Ibid. c. 14.

V.
Violence of
Nestorius.
[⁵ χρεϊοκό-
λαξ.]
[⁶ ἐν συ-
νάξει.]

he says, "that we ought to reach out our hand to raise up a brother when he has fallen," he resolved to write to him and endeavour to reclaim him. As Nestorius's chief complaint was against the letter to the Monks, he says¹, in reference to it, "the uproar was not occasioned by my letter, but by the writings which were dispersed, whether proceeding from you or not; the disorder produced by them was so great as to leave me no alternative but that of trying some remedy or other. You have no reason to complain or cry out against me; you who were the author of the disturbance rather think of reforming your discourse, and put a stop to this universal agitation of men's minds², by calling the Holy Virgin, Mother of God. For the rest, be assured that I am ready to suffer all things for the faith of CHRIST, even imprisonment and death."

Nestorius wished not to answer the letter, but the Alexandrian Priest whom St. Cyril had charged with its delivery pressed him so strongly that he was obliged to yield. His answer³ is in an air of affected compliment on the pleasing constraint which had been put upon him. "Experience," he says, "will shew what fruit we are to derive from it; for my part, I continue in patience and brotherly love, though you (to say nothing more offensive) have forgotten them in your conduct towards me." This letter shewed St. Cyril that he need hope for no concession from Nestorius⁴, a conclusion in which he was confirmed by the news which he soon after received.

There was a Bishop at Constantinople, named Dorotheus, self-interested, fawning⁵, and indiscreet and intemperate in his language: he got up in the full congregation⁶, Nestorius being seated on the Episcopal throne, and said with a loud voice, "If any one says that Mary is the mother of God, let

^f There are two meanings of the word 'synaxis,' both common.—1st. The assembling for prayer, praise, and hearing God's word. 2nd. The communion of the Eucharist. V. Supr. 19. 44. f. The Synaxis was held especially on Sundays; see Cass. Coll. vii. c. 34. "Then let us go forth together to church as the solemnity of the Lord's day admonishes, and re- turning after the Synaxis, let us

"with redoubled joy converse on those things which the LORD shall have given us for our mutual edification." Cf. Collat. 18. 15, and 23. 21. Paladius, Lausica. 59, says, "The Abbot Hellen came to some Monks on the Lord's day, and said to them, 'How is it that ye have not held a Synaxis to-day?' they answered, 'Because our Priest has not come,' &c.

“him be anathema.” The people raised a loud cry and ran out of the church, unwilling to communicate¹ with men who used such language. And in truth², to excommunicate those who call the Holy Virgin, ‘mother of God,’ was and could be nothing else than to excommunicate all the Churches and all the Bishops then living throughout the world, who all used this expression, nay, and all the departed Saints too who had been accustomed to speak in the same way. Now there is no room for doubting whether Nestorius approved of what had been said by Dorotheus, since he not only said nothing to him about it, but admitted him immediately³ after to a participation in the Holy Mysteries.

Some⁴ of the Priests of Constantinople repeatedly and publicly admonished Nestorius in their assemblies, but seeing him still pertinaciously refuse to name the Holy Virgin ‘mother of God,’ or to call CHRIST ‘God truly and in His own nature⁵,’ they openly withdrew from his communion: others retired more privately. Others again having preached against this new doctrine in the church of the Maritime Peace^h, were suspended from preaching. The people being in consequence deprived of the Catholic instructions they had been accustomed to listen to, cried out, “We have an Emperor but no “Bishop!” some of them were arrested, thrown into prison, and beaten; some reproved Nestorius to his face in the church, and before all the people; but it issued only in their own maltreatment. A Monk, but none of the discreetest, was so carried away by his zeal, as to plant himself in the midst of the church, where the people were assembled, and to attempt to hinder Nestorius from entering, under the plea of his being a heretic; he was beaten and carried before the Prefects, who ordered him to be whipped through

A. D. 429.
c. ii. v.

[¹ *συνά-
γασθαι*]
² Ibid. c. 10.
c. 22. (ad.
Acac.)

³ Ibid. c. 10.

⁴ Ibid. c. 30.
(Libel.
Basil. dia-
coni.)
n. 2.

⁵ The emphatic words “in His own nature” involve the very essence of the controversy. Nestorius allowed that the Word was God in His own nature, but said that He who was born of Mary was Son of God not *naturally* but *by adoption*, (ex adoptione non natura. See Mar. Mercat. p. 628. vol. viii. Galland.) This view was revived by the Adoptionists of the eighth cent., Felix Bp. of Urgella, and Elipand Abp. of Toledo; and was condemned

at the Council of Frankfort, A. D. 794. See Fleury, H. 50, sqq.

^h The church here meant is probably the one mentioned in Procop. De Edif. Justin. i. c. 7. as named after the Martyr Irene; he describes it as being situated at the head of the Ceras (the Golden Horn), whence the name Maritime would be affixed to distinguish it from the great church Irene mentioned by Procop. i. c. 2, as second in magnificence only to that of St. Sophia.

A. D. 429. the streets, preceded by a town crier; and afterwards to be
 CH. V. banished the city.

[¹ Supr.
 20. 6. p.]
² n. 3.

Basil a Deacon and Archimandrite¹, Thalassius a Reader and Monk, and some others², went, by appointment, to the Bishop's palace to have an interview with Nestorius, and ascertain whether they had rightly understood what they had heard from him. After putting them off three times, he at length asked them what they would have? "You said," replied they, "that Mary was only mother of a man, of the same nature as herself; and that what is born of the flesh, is flesh; which in this application of the words is not orthodox." He immediately caused them to be seized, and a company of officers drove them to the Bishop's prison, beating them as they went along; on reaching the prison they were stripped and tied to posts, then thrown on the ground and stamped upon. For a long time they were kept under guard, suffering all the pains of hunger. They were then handed over to the Prefect of Constantinople, who sent them to another prison loaded with chains. His next step was to have them brought to his Prætorium, but as no one appeared on the part of the prosecutors, he sent them back under the charge of his officers to their former prison. At length Nestorius sent for them, and after giving them a sophistical exposition of his doctrine, dismissed them.

[² Conc.
 Eph. p. 425.
 B.]

³ n. 4.

Basil and Thalassius presented a petition to the [Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian²] in their own name, and that of the whole body of Monks; in which, after detailing all these violent proceedings of Nestorius, they pray the Emperor not to suffer the Church to be corrupted in their time by heretics³. "God knows," they add, "our wish is not to revenge ourselves, but that the faith in CHRIST may remain immovable. We beseech you, therefore, in this place and at this time to order that a general Council be convened to restore union to the Church, and to re-establish the preaching of the truth before error has time to spread further. Meanwhile let Nestorius be deprived of all power to use either violence or menaces to any man, until the question relating to the faith has been set at rest; and let those who would insult the Catholics be coerced by the Prefect of Constantinople. If you reject our petition⁴, we protest before

⁴ n. 6.

“ the eternal King, who shall come to judge the quick and
 “ the dead, that we are guiltless of the evils that may
 “ follow.” One subject of complaint in this petition was,
 that Nestorius not only employed his own clergy and
 Syncelli to support him, but some also belonging to other
 dioceses; who by the requisition¹ of the canons ought to
 remain peaceably in the cities² to which they are ordained.
 Those clerks were called Syncelli¹ who were the most closely
 attached to the Bishop's person, and who lay in his chamber
 to be faithful witnesses of the purity of his manners.

About the same time Marius Mercator published his
 narrative concerning Cælestius, the head of the Pelagian
 party at Constantinople³. This narrative he gave to the
 Church of Constantinople, not to the Bishop, but to the
 Catholic clergy and several other pious persons; he pre-
 sented a copy also to the Emperor Theodosius; and as it
 was published in Greek, the language of the country, he
 translated it into Latin, which was his mother tongue. It is
 dated in the Consulate of Florentius and Dionysius, i. e. in
 the year 429. It comprises a summary of all the transac-
 tions relating to Cælestius and Pelagius for the twenty years
 preceding; that is, from the time their heresy was first

A. D. 429.
 CH. VI.

[¹ Bingham.
 Ant. vi. 4.
 § 4, 5, 7.]
 [² εἰς τὰς
 ἰδίας παροι-
 κίας ἢ πόλ-
 εις ὅπου
 ἐχειροτονή-
 θησαν.]

VI.
 Mercator's
 Memoirs of
 Pelagian-
 ism.
³ Mercat.
 Pt. I. p. 5.

¹ Dufresne (s. v.) makes this word to be a late formation from the Latin:—‘qui in eadem cum summo Pontifice aut Patriarchâ cella habitabat.’ The office existed for some time in the Western Church: thus Leo III. in his letter to Kenulph, King of the Mercians (Will. of Malmesb. I. c. 4.—Spelman, vol. i. p. 323), calls St. Augustine the Syncellus of Gregory, who in the Roman synod of A. D. 595. (Cone. t. v. p. 1199.) had ordered that certain clergy should attend the pontifical chamber to be witnesses of their superior's private life and conversation, and profit by his example.—It would seem from Damasus (Cone. t. i. p. 719.) that this was but the revival of an older statute made by Lucius I. However, Gregory's constitution was ratified by various Councils, e. g. that of Tours, A. D. 567. (Cone. t. v. p. 855. can. 12.) The Latin name was Cellulanei (t. viii. p. 61. can. 1).

In the East the office was more common, and more deeply rooted in the institutions of the Church. At Constantinople the Syncells possessed a very

high rank; in Constantine's time they sat by the side of the Patriarch, taking precedence even of the Metropolitan. (Joan. Cuiuspalat. ap. Suicer. s. h. v.) According to Zonaras (tom. ii. p. 257.) the Syncel (by which perhaps we are to understand the Protosyncel) was Patriarch-elect: for in explaining the office of Seriphes (Shereef) among the Saracens, he says, “As on “the death of the Patriarch the Syncel “is elected into his place, so does the “Shereef succeed the Caliph.” And certainly Nicephorus does give some instances of men in this office being elected Patriarchs, as Theodore, George, Anastasius, and John (Chronogr. p. 314), but these were only isolated cases, in which the succession was incidental.

Heraclius restricted the number of Syncells at Constantinople to two. The office in course of time became titular, and was given by the Emperors to Bishops and Archbishops themselves, whom they styled Syncelli Pontificales or Augustales.

A. D. 429.
CII. VII.

broached. He notes down their errors, their condemnation, and the different expedients they resorted to, and concludes with these words: "Now that Pelagius and Cælestius have been convicted of these impious errors, Julian and his party ought unhesitatingly to come forward to condemn them¹, that so they may give satisfaction to the Church; and if they accuse any person of holding opinions contrary to the faith, it is their duty to point him out by name, and they shall be answered according to the order of the Church, [which is very willing to receive them back,] for many who were adherents of Julian have left him to condemn Pelagius, and submit themselves to the apostolical see, and all these, on recanting their errors, were thought fit subjects for the Church's compassion."

[¹ by subscribing the letter of Zosimus, V. Supr. 23. 51.]

VII.
Nestorius' letter to Cælestine.

Nestorius made no great account of this declaration, which neither was addressed to him, nor recognised him as Bishop; but he took occasion from the presence of these Pelagians at Constantinople to write to the Pope St. Cælestine, and endeavour to prepossess him in his favour². His letter ran thus: "Julian, Florus, Orontius, and Fabius, who style themselves Bishops of the West, have repeatedly sent in addresses to the Emperor, complaining that they are suffering from persecution although they are true Catholics; they have made similar complaints to us, and though frequently rejected, they still persist in making these representations. We have given them the best answer we could, seeing that we are so imperfectly acquainted with the facts of their case: but to prevent their giving any further annoyance to the Emperor, and to remove all risk of our Churches' peace being so seriously endangered as it would be if we undertook the defence of strangers whom, for aught we know, you may have canonically condemned, be so good as to send us some account of them; for new sects have no claim on the protection of true pastors." What Nestorius here says was obviously insincere; he could not be ignorant that the Pelagians³ had been condemned at Constantinople eight or ten years before by his predecessor Atticus; indeed, he shews the real object of his letter, when he proceeds thus:

² Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 16. [p. 349.] Mercat. Pt. 1. p. 66.

³ Supr. 24. 25.

"Hence it is that having found a considerable deviation

“ from the true doctrine in some of the inhabitants of this
 “ city, we daily employ both gentleness and severity with a
 “ view to their cure. The malady is one very much resem-
 “ bling that of Apollinarius and Arius; they in a manner
 “ confound the doctrinal elements relating to our LORD’S
 “ Incarnation, and say that God the WORD, who is consub-
 “ stantial with the FATHER, was built up simultaneously with
 “ His temple, and buried along with His flesh; as if He had
 “ derived His origin from the Virgin, the mother of CHRIST,
 “ (*Christotocos*.) And they affirm that this His flesh did
 “ not remain such after the resurrection, but passed into the
 “ nature of the Deity. They are not afraid to call the Virgin
 “ Theotocos¹, although the Nicene Fathers [those holy men,”
 he continues, “ who transcend all praise,] only said that our
 “ LORD JESUS CHRIST was incarnate of the HOLY GHOST,
 “ and the Virgin Mary; not to mention the Scriptures,
 “ which every where call her the mother of CHRIST, and not
 “ of God the WORD. I suppose that rumour has already
 “ informed your holiness of the contests we have been in-
 “ volved in on this subject; time has shewn that these were
 “ not without their use; for many have been reformed, and
 “ have learnt from us to see that the child must be of the
 “ same substance as the mother; that there is no mixture of
 “ God the WORD with the man; but a uniting to It of our
 “ LORD’S created humanity which, now joined to God, was at
 “ first produced from the Virgin, by the HOLY GHOST. If any
 “ one makes use of the term Theotocos to express the con-
 “ junction of the humanity to the WORD, rather than any
 “ quality of her who brought it forth, we say that the term
 “ is improperly applied to her;—for a true mother must be of
 “ the same nature with that which is born of her:—but that
 “ it may at the same time be tolerated on the ground that the
 “ temple of the WORD, which is inseparable from Him, was
 “ taken from her: not as implying that she is mother of the
 “ WORD; for one cannot bring forth what is older than one’s
 “ self.” Along with this letter, Nestorius sent to the Pope
 his writings on the Incarnation², subscribed with his own
 hand; the bearer was a nobleman called Antiochus.

A. D. 429.
 CH. VIII.

¹ *ausi*
cum modo
quodam
Theotocoru
dicere.

² *τετράδας*
ἐξηγήσεων.
 Conc. Eph.
 p. 351.

VIII.
 St. Cyril’s
 second
 letter to
 Nestorius.

About this time St. Cyril wrote his eighteenth paschal
 letter for the year 430, in which Easter fell on the fourth of

A. D. 430.
CH. VIII.

Pharmouthi, that is, the thirtieth of March. In it he treats of the Incarnation, and gives an elaborate refutation of the errors of Nestorius. Soon after this he received letters from his clergy residing at Constantinople, particularly from the Deacon Martyrius, who negotiated there all affairs relating to the Church of Alexandria. They sent him a copy of a reply to his letter to the Monks written by the Priest Photius, and some new sermons of Nestorius. They also furnished him with the names of the men who had calumniated him at Constantinople, and informed him that the followers of Nestorius talked of peace and reconciliation. St. Cyril on receiving this intelligence wrote a second letter to Nestorius, in the month of Mechir^k, and in the thirteenth indiction¹; that is, about the beginning of February 430, perhaps in the Council which was usually convened before the coming in of Lent.

¹ Conc. Chalc. [ap. Labbe IV. p. 158.]

² Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. c. 8.

In this letter² St. Cyril first observes that he is aware of the calumnies with which he has been aspersed, and that the authors of them are known to him; but unwilling to dwell on this ungrateful topic, he turns to Nestorius himself and exhorts him, as his brother, to reform his doctrine, and by giving in his adhesion to the doctrine of the Fathers to put an end to the offence he had caused. He then enters upon an exposition of the mystery of the Incarnation, and says, "We must admit in the same CHRIST two generations; first, the eternal, by which He proceeds from His Father; second, the temporal, whereby He is born of His mother. When we say that He suffered, and rose again, we do not say that God the WORD suffered in His own nature, for the Divinity is impassible; but because the body which was appropriated to Him suffered, we also say that He suffered Himself. So too we say that He died. The Divine WORD is in His own nature immortal, He is life itself; but because His own true body suffered death, we say that He Himself died for us. In the same way, when His flesh is raised from the dead, we attribute resurrection

^k St. Jerome (Comm. in Zech. t. viii. p. 1709) says "the month Sabat (Zech. i. 7) is in the depth of winter, corresponding to the Egyptian Meehir, and Latin Februarius." On the

names of the Egyptian months, see La Croze, Thes. Epist. t. iii. p. 133; and on their origin, Jablonski Opusc. t. i. pass.

“to Him. We do not say¹ that we adore the man along
 “with the Word¹, lest the phrase *along with* should suggest
 “the idea of their non-identity; but we adore Him as one
 “and the same person, because the body assumed by the
 “Word is in no degree external to or separated from the
 “Word.” And afterwards; “It is in this sense that the
 “Fathers have ventured to call the Holy Virgin ‘Mother of
 “‘God;’ not that the nature of the Word, or His Divinity,
 “did receive beginning of His existence from the Holy
 “Virgin, but because in her was formed and animated with
 “a reasonable soul that sacred body to which the Word
 “united Himself in hypostasis, which is the reason of its
 “being said that He was born according to the flesh.” In
 the course of this letter he frequently repeats the words
 (καθ’ ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσις) ‘union in hypostasis^m;’ feeling the
 inadequacy of the Greek word πρόσωπον, which we ordi-
 narily render ‘person,’ and which does not express the idea
 of unity with sufficient strength. The first time that I have
 met with the expression, ‘hypostatical union,’ is in this letter,
 by far the most celebrated of all that St. Cyril wrote to
 Nestorius.

It was probably about the same time and on the same
 occasion that St. Cyril wrote to those of his clergy who
 resided at Constantinople², commenting on the propositions
 of peace that were offered on the part of Nestorius. “I have
 “read the memorial you sent me,” he says, “and see from
 “it that the Priest Anastasius has been conversing with you
 “and pretending he seeks for peace, and that he said to

¹ St. Cyril probably here refers to what would seem to have been with Nestorius a common way of expressing himself. Thus at the close of his first Sermon (VV. PP. Galland. t. viii. p. 629): “Since the Deity resides in the “manhood which He assumed, that “which is assumed is called God from “Him who assumed it. Look we then “with awe on the Divine Incarnation: “τὴν Θεοδόχον τῷ Θεῷ λόγῳ συνθεο- “λογώμεν μορφὴν: let us *along with* the “Divine honour we pay to God the “Word, ascribe equal honour to the “God-enshrining form.” And again in Sermon. ii. (p. 633): “Let us then “extol the Sacrament of the Incarna-

tion with never-ceasing hymns: . . . “that visible form joined to the in- “visible let us consider equally Divine “with God Himself; τὴν φουρουμένην “τῷ φορουῦντι συντιμώνμεν φύσιν, let the “exterior nature be honoured *along “with* Him, of whom it is the cloth- “ing.”

^m St. Cyril himself explains the phrase (De Trin. p. 24. C. at end of t. vi.); “The union of the two natures “effected by the second Person (Hy- “postasis) of the Trinity within Itself, “and essentially yet without confusion” (ἀσυνγύτως ἐν ἑαυτῇ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτῇ). Cf. Athanas. de Defin. (t. ii. p. 247.)

IX.
Other let-
ters of
St. Cyril.
² Conc.
Eph. Pt. I.
c. 12. [p.
331. C.]

A. D. 430. "you, 'Our belief agrees with what he has written to the
 CH. IX. " 'Monks;' and then proceeding to what he really had in
 " view, he says of me, 'He has himself admitted that the
 " 'Nicene Council nowhere makes mention of the word
 " 'Theotocos.' I wrote to say, that the Council did well not
 " to mention it, because this matter was not at that time a
 " subject of controversy; but in effect, it does say that Mary
 " is Mother of God; since it says that the same who was
 " begotten of the Father, was incarnate, and suffered."

[¹ p. 334. Afterwards¹ speaking of a writing of Nestorius he says, "He
 B.] " takes pains to prove that the body alone suffered, and not
 " God the Word; as if in refutation of some who say that
 " the impassible word is passible. No one has ever said any-
 " thing so absurd. His body having suffered, He is said to
 " have suffered Himself; as we may say that the soul of man
 " suffers when his body suffers, even when, in strictness, the
 " soul is in its own nature free from suffering. But what
 " they wish to insinuate is, that there are two Christs, and
 [² ἰδικῶς.] " two sons, one properly² man, the other properly God, and
 " to make a union only of persons, (Prosopōn); this is the
 [³ διὰ τοῦτο
 ποικίλλον-
 ται.] " object of their chicanery³."

[⁴ p. 334. He next quotes⁴ Nestorius' words to the effect that he had
 B.] found his people in a state of great ignorance, for which his
 predecessors were in fault. "What then," says St. Cyril,
 "is he more eloquent than John, or better qualified for his
 " office than blessed Atticus? Why not rather frankly own
 " that he is introducing a new doctrine?" "If I am ac-
 " cused," he adds, "I shall not shrink from travelling to
 " defend myself in a Council; but let him not expect to be
 " my judge; I will not acknowledge him: and if it please
 " God, he shall himself be impeached for his blasphemies.
 " He complains that the word Theotocos is uncommon, and
 " that it is not used either in Scripture or by the Council.
 " But in what part of Scripture has he found the words
 " Christotocos or Theodochos [or Theotocos as applied by
 " him to the Father?]" "To conclude," he says, "however
 " deeply I am offended, tell them that we are at peace the
 " moment he forbears teaching this doctrine, and professes
 " the true faith. If he really desires peace, let him write a
 " sincere and Catholic confession of faith, and let him send

“ it to Alexandria; and I will write on my side¹, that it is
 “ not necessary to trouble our brethren the Bishops, because
 “ we know that in what he says he means well. But if he
 “ perseveres in his presumption, it only remains for us to
 “ resist it with all our might.”

A. D. 430.

CH. IX.

¹ Merc.
 Pl. 2. p. 52.
 n. 20, 21.

“ I have read the petition which you sent me, as designed
 “ to be presented to the Emperor²; but seeing it was full
 “ of invectives against our brother, I determined not to
 “ send it back. I have dictated another, in which I refuse
 “ him for my judge, and appeal to another tribunal; this
 “ you shall present, if necessary. Should he persevere
 “ in his attacks upon me, be careful to write me word,
 “ and I will select some men of wisdom and piety from
 “ among the Bishops and Monks, to be despatched on a
 “ mission at the first opportunity. Act therefore vigorously,
 “ for I will write what is necessary to all who should be in-
 “ formed of our proceedings. I am resolved to give myself
 “ no rest, and to suffer all things for the faith of CHRIST.”

* Ibid. p. 56.

He accordingly wrote several other letters on this sub-
 ject. There is one³ to a common friend of St. Cyril and
 Nestorius, supposed to be Acacius of Melitine, in which
 St. Cyril writes: “ If it were the loss of my estate only
 “ that was necessary to appease my brother, I would have
 “ made it appear that nothing is so precious to me as
 “ charity. But since it is a matter of faith which is in
 “ dispute, and offence has been given to all the Churches,
 “ necessity is laid upon us: for to us God has entrusted
 “ the preaching of His mysteries, and upon our heads will
 “ be judged the errors of those whom we have instructed.
 “ For they will say at the day of judgment, that they have
 “ preserved that faith which they received from us. Every
 “ one of the laity shall give an account of his own life,
 “ and we shall give an account of all those who believe in
 “ CHRIST. His injuries and calumnies I disregard; I would
 “ gladly forget them; God will take vengeance for them;
 “ let the integrity of the faith be guaranteed, and no one
 “ will be a truer friend to Nestorius than myself. I speak
 “ it in the presence of God; my desire is that he may be
 “ full of glory in CHRIST JESUS, that he may efface the dark
 “ spots of the past, and prove that he was unjustly aspersed.

³ Conc.
 Eph. Pl. 1.
 c. 11.

A. D. 430. " If we are commanded to love our enemies, how much more
CH. X. " should we love our brethren and colleagues? But if any
" one betrays the faith, we are fully resolved not to betray
" our souls, though our faithfulness cost us our lives; if we
" acted otherwise, with what face could we ever again set
" forth the praises of the Martyrs before the people?"

X.
Second
letter of
Nestorius
to St. Cyril.
1 Conc.
Eph. Pt. 1.
c. 9. p. 321.
(Mercat.
p. 57.)
[The
heading is
πρὸς τὸν
πάπαν
Κύριλλον.]
2 ἐν μονα-
δικῇ προ-
σώπῳ
[n. 1.]
3 εἰς ἐνὸς
προσώπου
συνάφειαν.
[n. 2.]

Nestorius having received St. Cyril's second letter, answered him at greater length, and not in so courteous a vein as before¹. He advises him to read more carefully the writings of the ancients, and charges him with having said that the Divine Word was passible; although St. Cyril had formally guarded against any such misconstruction. He seems to admit the personal unity, when he says that the name of CHRIST signifies the impassible substance, in one single and passible Person²; and that the two natures are connected in one Person³. But by these words he meant only, as he elsewhere shews, a union of will and of dignity; so that God and man made one Person, not in a real but a moral union. Hence he uses not the word *Hypostasis* but *Prosopon*, which is a word of narrower meaning than the Latin *Persona*. He uses also the word *synapheia*, 'connection,' and not *henosis*, 'union.' He maintains that the Holy Virgin ought to be called only Mother of CHRIST, and not Mother of God⁴; because although the body of CHRIST is the temple of the Divinity, the properties of the flesh, as its being born, its suffering and dying, cannot be ascribed to the Divinity, without falling into the errors of the Pagans, or of Apollinarius, Arius, and the other heretics. In all this he constantly misrepresents St. Cyril, making him say that the Deity was born of Mary, or died; whereas he said, that the Divine Word was born and died in respect of the humanity which he assumed.

⁴ i. e. Χρισ-
τοτόκος,
not Θεοτό-
κος.

⁵ n. 4.

" I am obliged to you," he adds⁵, " for the anxiety you feel
" on behalf of those among us who have been offended by
" my doctrine; but allow me to say that you are imposed
" upon by men whom the holy Council of this place has
" deprived for their Manicheism, and by your own clergy.
" For our Church is day by day improving, and the people
" advance in the knowledge of God. The royal family re-
" joice exceedingly that the pure doctrine is taught, and

“that the Catholic faith prevails over all heresies.” The Council here alluded to seems to have been held at Constantinople in 429; the pretended Manichees whom it condemned were, not improbably¹, Mercator, and the other Catholics who had been zealous in opposing the Pelagians. For owing to Mercator’s remonstrance², Celestius, Julian, and the rest of the Pelagians, were expelled from Constantinople, and a consolatory letter from Nestorius to Celestius is still extant³. Now the title with which the Pelagians were accustomed to reproach the Catholics was that of Manichees. It was apparently before this Council⁴ that Philip, a Priest of Constantinople, and one of those who had been proposed for its Bishop, was summoned. He had censured the errors of Nestorius, and refused to communicate with him any longer; Nestorius, in consequence, got Celestius to accuse him of being a Manichee. He afterwards cited him to appear before the Council, but when Philip came thither prepared to defend himself, Celestius was not forthcoming. Nestorius therefore brought another charge against him; which was, that he had held private assemblies, and celebrated the oblation in his own house, although almost all the clergy declared this to have been their practice on particular occasions⁵. This Council is also with great probability supposed⁶ to have published a canon, (falsely ascribed to the Council of Ephesus,) whose import is, “Let him who shall say that “the soul of Adam died by sin be anathematized; for the “devil does not enter into the heart of man.” This canon evidently derived its origin from Pelagianism.

St. Cyril, perceiving from Nestorius’ letter, confirmed as it would be by the information he received from other quarters, that Nestorius was supported by the Court, and that his heresy was gaining ground in Constantinople, wrote large letters, or rather treatises on the faith, to the Emperor Theodosius, and his sisters the Princesses. In the letter to the Emperor⁷, he enumerates the various heresies relative to the Incarnation⁸,—those of Manes, Cerinthus, Photinus, Apollinarius, and lastly that of Nestorius,—though without mentioning them by name; he refutes each of these heresies⁹, and, enlarging on that of Apollinarius, he observes that he denied the existence of a reasonable soul in CHRIST, from

A. D. 430.
CH. XL.

¹ V. Garn.
in Merc.
Pt. 2. p. 62.
² V. Supr.
c. 6.

³ Mercat.
Pt. 1. p. 71.

⁴ Cyr. Comm.
ad Possid. ap.
Baluz.
Nov. Coll.
p. 377.

[⁵ ἐν κοινῷ
καὶ χρεῖ-
αις.]
⁶ By Garner
in Merc.
Pt. 2. p. 63.
⁷ V. Greg.
Epist. vii.
34. vi. 14.
15. ix. 49.
[and cf.
Fleury 30.
44.]

XL.
St. Cyril
writes to
the Em-
peror and
the Prin-
cesses.

⁷ Cone.
Eph. Pt. 1.
c. 3.
⁸ n. 6.

⁹ n. 7, 8, &c.

A. D. 430. fear lest if he acknowledged the whole human nature to
 CH. XII. be in Him, he should divide Him into two integral parts.
¹ n. 25, sqq. Lastly¹, he refutes Nestorius at some length, adducing the
 same proofs as in his letter to the Monks; with some ad-
² n. 36. ditional ones. Thus² he urges the words of the Eternal
³ Matt. 17. 5. Father; "This is My well-beloved Son³." "Observe," says
 St. Cyril, "he does not say, 'In this is my Son,' clearly
⁴ n. 38. "intimating therefore that the Person so addressed is but
 "one." He also⁴ urges the case of the Eucharist, and says,
 "CHRIST gives us life as God, not only by imparting to us
 "the HOLY GHOST, but by giving us His flesh to eat." He
⁵ Conc. Eph. Pt. 1. goes more into detail in the treatise⁵ addressed to the
 c. 4. Princesses Pulcheria, Arcadia, and Marina, who were all
 Virgins consecrated to God. In it he quotes from several
⁶ n. 9, 10. of the Fathers⁶, to prove that they made use of the word
 Theotocos, and acknowledged the unity of CHRIST. St.
 Athanasius, Atticus of Constantinople, Antiochus of Phœ-
 nicia, Amphiloehius, Ammon of Adrianople, St. John Chry-
 sostom, Severian of Gabala, Vitalis, and Theophilus of Alexan-
 dria, are severally referred to. His quoting St. Chrysostom,
 in spite of what had passed, is worthy of remark. He
 afterwards selects some passages from the New Testament
 to prove the Divinity of CHRIST, and the union of the WORD
 with the Humanity. St. Cyril knew the great talent and
 exalted piety of these Princesses, especially of St. Pulcheria;
 and hence it was that he took such pains to instruct them in
 the whole of this matter.

XII.
 St. Cyril
 writes to
 the Pope
 and others.

⁷ Conc.
 Eph. Pt. 1.
 c. 14.

[⁸ ἀπο-
 στέλλει
 ἐπιστ. Cf.
 Vales. ad
 Theodorit.
 p. 16. n. 1.]

[⁹ V. Supr.
 20. 6. p.]

He wrote a letter also to the Pope St. Cælestine⁷, in which
 he gives him an account of all that had passed; of his letter
 to the Monks, his two letters to Nestorius, and the hostile
 position he had been obliged to assume. After stating that
 Cælestine was the first Bishop he had written to on this
 subject, he thus describes the state of Constantinople: "The
 "people now refuse to assemble at church⁸ with him," (i. e.
 with Nestorius,) "with the exception of a few light-headed
 "people, and such as take the opportunity to pay court
 "to him. The monasteries almost universally, along with
 "their Archimandrites⁹ and many of the Senate, have ceased
 "their attendance at Divine Service from fear of receiving
 "some injury to their faith." He proceeds; "Your holiness is

“also to know, that we have all the Bishops of the East on A. D. 430.
 “our side; all are shocked and sore grieved, particularly the (16. XII.
 “Bishops of Macedonia.” And afterwards, “I was unwilling
 “openly to break off communion with him, until I had laid
 “these particulars before you. Be so good, therefore, as to
 “give me your opinion, whether we ought still to communi-
 “cate with him, or to tell him plainly that if he persists in his
 “opinions he will be abandoned by every body. It would
 “be proper for you to send to the Bishops of Macedonia and
 “the East a written exposition of your views on this point.
 “And that your holiness may be thoroughly informed both
 “as to his opinions and those of the Fathers, I send you the
 “books in which the passages are marked: I have got them
 “translated as well as they could be done at Alexandria.
 “I send you also the letters I have written.” This letter
 to the Pope was carried by the Deacon Posidonius; it was
 accompanied by a book¹ containing a summary of the doc-¹ Baluz. u.s.
 trine of Nestorius, and an account of his deposition of the
 Priest Philip.

St. Cyril wrote, about the same time, to Acacius of
 Berrhæa^a, one of the oldest and most famous Bishops of
 Syria, who had been ordained by St. Eusebius of Samosata² ² Fleury,
 about fifty years before. St. Cyril declares to him³ how ^{17, 46.}
 grieved he is at this scandal; he dwells most strongly ³ Conc.
 on the anathema which Dorotheus had pronounced against ^{Eph. Pt. I.}
 all such as named the Virgin mother of God, and says ^{c. 22.}
 that many had in consequence openly denied CHRIST'S
 Divinity. Acacius, in reply⁴, exhorts St. Cyril to procure ⁴ Ibid. c. 23.
 a peace; “for many persons,” says he, “have come to us
 “from Constantinople, as well Clerks as laymen, who seem
 “to defend the proposition which has been advanced, and
 “maintain, that if it be thoroughly examined, it contains
 “nothing which contradicts the Nicene or the Apostles’
 “Creed.” He continues: “The holy Bishop John of Antioch
 “to whom I ordered your letter to be read, listened to it

^a Berrhæa, Beræa, or Beroe, is the
 modern city Aleppo. “The original
 “name was Chaleb, the Chalybon of
 “Ptolemy,” [the Helbon mentioned
 by the side of Damascus in Ezek. 27.
 18.] “Seleucus Nicator improved the
 “town and named it after the well-

“known city in Macedonia, and so it
 “continued to be called under the
 “Romans till its capture by the Arabs
 “in 636, when the old name Chaleb
 “was restored.” Ersch-and-Gruber.
 Art. ‘Haleb.’

A. D. 430. "with evident emotion; for although he has not been long
CH. XIII. "in the Episcopate, his sentiments are entirely in unison
 "with those of us old men; and he discharges his functions
 "so well that all the Bishops of the East are very proud of
 "him. Let me then exhort you to manage this affair with
 "that meekness and prudence which befits the Apostolic
 "character, ['using the power which God has given us for
 "‘edification and not for destruction.']"

XIII.
 Cassian's
 treatise on
 the In-
 carnation.

¹ Conc.
 Eph. p. 1.
 c. 18.

In the mean time¹ Pope St. Cælestine, having received Nestorius' sermons, and afterwards his writings and letter, from Nestorius' own envoy Antiochus, resolved, before he returned an answer, to have them all translated into Latin. He also ordered a treatise to be composed, defending the Catholic doctrine against this new heresy; and it was doubtless at his recommendation that St. Leo, then Archdeacon of the Roman Church, employed for this work John Cassian, who was the best qualified for it, both by the profoundness of his theological knowledge, and the perfect mastery over the Greek language, which a long residence at Constantinople had given him. Having finished his *Conferences* some time before, he intended to continue silent, but he could not refuse St. Leo's request. He composed therefore a treatise on the Incarnation, in seven books. In the first he gives an account of most of the heresies which opposed this mystery, and then speaks of the Pelagians, whose principles, he maintains, gave rise to the error of Nestorius².

² c. 3.

* A little further on Cassian seems to state the converse: that as Pelagianism owed its origin to the Ebionites (ex antiquâ Ebionitarum stirpe surrexit, c. 2), so it is virtually involved in and deducible from Nestorianism. "Nestorius," he says, "(novus non novæ hæreseos auctor) asserts that 'our LORD and SAVIOUR was born a 'mere man: now of course he allows 'that CHRIST lived without sin; it 'follows, therefore, that he must say 'as the Pelagians said before him, 'that all men may, of and by themselves, be without sin: whence the 'redemption effected by our LORD is 'rendered altogether nugatory. That 'the tendency of his views was thus 'towards Pelagianism is confirmed by 'the fact of his defending and patronizing those who espoused that

"heresy." Perhaps Cassian agreed with the verses attributed to Prosper in considering the Pelagian and Nestorian heresies as reciprocally mother and daughter, Pelagianism giving back the life it first received; so that the error, which, first assailing CHRIST the Head, descended to the individual members of His body, afterwards reascended from the members to the Head.

"Nestoriana lues successi Pelagianæ

"Quæ tamen est utero progenerata meo." See Garner's Dissertation (Mercat. Pt. i. p. 431), who determines that Cassian had confounded Nestorius' doctrine with that of Paul of Samosata and Leporius (who asserted that CHRIST was made GOD for the meritoriousness of His actions): a mistake he was the more likely to fall into because the Samosatene heresy was at

"For," says he, "believing that man by his own strength
 "may be without sin, they judge the same of JESUS CHRIST, —
 "saying that He was a mere man¹, but that He made so good
 "a use of His free will that He avoided all sin; that He
 "came into the world only to set an example of good works;
 "that He became CHRIST after His Baptism, and God after
 "His resurrection." This however is not what Nestorius
 affirmed, for he did expressly say that the Divine Word was
 united to man from the womb of Mary²; the same is clearly
 implied in his comparison of St. Elizabeth³; and his error re-
 lated only to the mode of this union. Indeed Cassian himself
 ascribes the error here spoken of to Leporius⁴, of whose history
 and recantation he gives a brief account⁵. In the second and
 third books he proves that CHRIST is God and man, and that
 the Virgin ought to be called Mother of God, and not only
 Mother of CHRIST. The fourth is occupied with proving the
 unity of CHRIST from Scripture. In the fifth he proceeds to
 shew that this union is real and not moral, and refutes several
 propositions of Nestorius. In the sixth he urges the evidence
 of the Creed used at Antioch⁶, into which Nestorius had been
 baptized. In the last he cites the authorities of the Greek
 and Latin Fathers, especially of his master St. Chrysostom,
 and concludes with a pathetic exhortation to the Church of
 Constantinople. He all along supposes that Nestorius is
 presiding over it as Bishop; from which it is evident that he
 finished this work before the deposition of Nestorius and the
 assembling of the Council of Ephesus.

Nestorius receiving no answer from the Pope, had written
 a second letter¹ to him by Valerius² the Emperor's chamber-

XIV.
 Pope St.
 Celestine's letter
 against
 Nestorius.
 1 Conc.
 Eph. Pt. 1.
 c. 17.
 Mercat.
 Pt. 1. p. 69.

that time prevalent at Marseilles, where
 he composed his treatise De Incarn.
 There can indeed be no doubt that if
 Nestorius and Pelagius had fully de-
 veloped their doctrines, these would
 have been found for the most part to
 coincide; for as "all truth may possibly
 "be derived from any one truth," so
 may any one out of a system of errors
 necessitate the reception of the whole
 system; but it does not appear that
 the doctrines of the one were, explicitly
 and in point of fact, thus dialectically
 connected with those of the other.

¹ i. e. The Creed adopted at the
 Council of Antioch, A.D. 363, which

was in fact the Nicene Creed; and so
 Cassian speaks of it as "symbolum,
 "quod ecclesiarum omnium fidem lo-
 "quitur." The Creeds adopted in the
 Councils held at Antioch, in A.D. 266
 and 272, being prior to the spread of
 Arianism, do not contain the word
ὁμοούσιος. Alard. Gazæus in l.

² Probably the same as the Valerius
 who was Consul with Actius in 132.
 The Antiochus also who conveyed Nes-
 torius's first letter to Celestine was
 probably the one who was Consul with
 Bassus in 131. Garner in Mere. Pt. 1.
 p. 70. The powerful interest which
 Nestorius had managed to enlist on his

A. D. 430. ^{CH. XIV.} Iain^r, in which he speaks of the many letters he had written about Julian and the other Pelagians. From this he digresses, as in the former letter, to speak of the other pretended heretics, who, according to him, opposed the mystery of the Incarnation, but who were really the Catholics. At length, Pope St. Cælestine, having received St. Cyril's letter by the Deacon Posidonius, convened a Council at Rome about the beginning of August, 430; in which the writings of Nestorius were examined, and compared with the doctrine of the Fathers. The Pope brought before them¹ the authority of St. Ambrose^s, St. Hilary, and St. Damasus; after which the doctrine of Nestorius was condemned, and St. Cyril ordered to carry the sentence into execution. The Pope wrote seven letters in this Council all of the same date: the first to St. Cyril, the second to Nestorius, the third to the clergy of Constantinople, the fourth to John of Antioch, the fifth to Rufus of Thessalonica, the sixth to Juvenal of Jerusalem, the seventh to Flavian of Philippi, that is, to the Bishops of the principal sees in the Eastern empire. The letters are all dated the third of the ides of August, in the thirteenth Consulate of Theodosius and the third of Valentinian, that is, the eleventh of August, 430. The Deacon Posidonius was commissioned to take them to St. Cyril, who was then to forward them to their respective destinations. In the letter to St. Cyril² the Pope extols his zeal and diligence, and declares that he entirely acquiesces in St. Cyril's opinion concerning the Incarnation; that if Nestorius continues obstinate it will be necessary to condemn him, but that all means of re-

¹ Fragm. ap. Baluz. Coll. Nov. p. 379.

² Conc. Eph. Pt. I. c. 15.

side will be further seen in the history of the Council.

^r The office of Cubicularius or Chamberlain had been raised by Theodosius, in 422, to be one of the highest state dignities, being made equal to those of Præfect of the City, Præfect of the Prætorium, and Master of Horse. Cod. Theodos. tom. ii. p. 69. These four offices constituted the *second* order of nobility; the *first* comprised only the Consuls, and Patricii; the *third* the Quæstors, the Consistorian Counts, and Masters of Offices. Previously to A.D. 422, the Cubicularius had ranked only in the third order. See Gothofred in l.

^s "I remember," said Cælestine, "that Ambrose of blessed memory taught all the people to sing in concert on Christmas-Day,

'Veni redemptor gentium,
'Ostende partum Virginis,
'Miretur omne sæculum,
'Talis decet partus Deum.'

"How well does this agree with our brother Cyril's language, when he calls Mary 'Mother of God;' and with our belief who say that He, whom the Virgin by the aid of Omnipotence brought forth, was very God. . . . &c." The fragment is taken from Arnobius, c. Scrap. p. 218. B.

claiming him ought first to be used. "Therefore," adds he, A. D. 430.
CH. XIV.
 "let all those whom he has separated from his communion
 "understand that they continue in ours, and that from this
 "time he himself cannot continue in communion with us, if
 "he persists in opposing the apostolic doctrine. Wherefore
 "you shall execute this judgment with¹ the authority of our
 "see, acting in our stead, and having our power delegated
 "to you; so that if, in the space of ten days, after he has
 "received this admonition, he does not expressly anathe-
 "matize his impious doctrine, and promise to confess, for
 "the future, that faith which the Roman Church and your
 "Church and all Christendom teaches concerning the gene-
 "ration of JESUS CHRIST our God, your holiness may forth-
 "with set about to provide for this Church," (i. e. the Con-
 stantinopolitan,) "under the full assurance that in such case
 "it is necessary that he should be utterly separated from our
 "body."

In his letter to Nestorius² he tells him how much he has
 been deceived in the good opinion he had conceived of him,
 from the report of his character. He says that he had read
 his letters and the books which he had sent him, and that
 he had found his opinions concerning the Divine Word con-
 trary to the Catholic faith. Passing on to the Pelagians;
 "As to those heretics," he says³, "concerning whom you ask
 "my advice as if you were ignorant of what had passed,
 "they have been justly condemned and deprived of their
 "sees; and it is matter of surprise to us that you who, to
 "judge from your sermons, so thoroughly believe the doc-
 "trine of original sin, should yet suffer men who are under
 "censure for denying it, to remain near your person. There
 "is always room for suspicion when opposite parties thus
 "form a coalition. And how is it that you ask what has
 "passed here, when Atticus your predecessor sent us Acts
 "made against them? How is it that Sisinius, of holy
 "memory, never inquired about them, unless it were that
 "he knew they had been justly condemned in the time of
 "Atticus?" Lastly, he concludes thus; "Know, that if you
 "do not teach concerning JESUS CHRIST our God, what is
 "held by Rome, Alexandria, and all the Catholic Churches,
 "and what up to your time was held by the holy Church of

[¹ συναφ-
 θείσης σοι
 τῆς αὐ-
 θεντίας τοῦ
 ἡμετέρου
 θρόνου, καὶ
 τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ
 τοῦ τόπου
 διαδοχῇ ἐπ'
 ἐξουσίᾳ
 χρησάμε-
 νος.]

² c. Eph.
 Pt. I. c. 18.

³ p. 360. E.

A. D. 430. "Constantinople; and if within ten days after the receipt of
CH. XIV. "this third admonition, you do not unequivocally and in
 "writing condemn this impious novelty,—which tends to
 "put asunder what Scripture joins,—you are excluded from
 "the communion of the whole Catholic Church. We have
 "directed this sentence and all the other writings to be
 "taken by the Deacon Posidonius to the Bishop of Alex-
 andria, that he may act in our room¹; and that our decree
 "may be known to you and all our brethren."

[¹ τοποστη-
 ρῶν]

² C. Eph.
 Pt. I. c. 19.

The letter to the clergy and people of Constantinople² is full of exhortations to constancy in the Catholic Faith, and of consolation to those who were persecuted by Nestorius. The Pope therein declares void all excommunications pronounced by Nestorius from the time that he began to teach his errors. He adds, that not being able to act in person by reason of the distance, he has commissioned St. Cyril to act in his stead³; and concludes with a formal statement of the terms of the sentence. The substance of the letter to John of Antioch⁴ is much the same, the condemnation of Nestorius unless he recants within ten days, and the declaration that all excommunications or depositions which had been pronounced by him are null and void. The three other letters to Juvenal of Jerusalem, Rufus of Thessalonica, and Flavian of Philippi, were only copies of this. Juvenal had not long before⁵ succeeded to the see of Jerusalem on the demise of Praylus⁶, who had occupied it thirteen years. Juvenal appointed the first Bishop over the nomad Arabs of Palestine, great numbers of whom had been converted by St. Euthymius⁷. The person selected for the office was Peter, whose former name was Aspebetus, the father of Terebo; he had been the first convert. His title was Bishop of Parembolæ, or the Camps, because the Arabs lived in tents dispersed over the whole face of the country^t.

[³ between
 three and
 four years
 before.]
⁶ Supr. 23.
 31.

⁷ S. Euthym.
 Vita c. 23,
 sqq. 36. 39.
 Supr. 24.
 27.

were only copies of this. Juvenal had not long before⁵ succeeded to the see of Jerusalem on the demise of Praylus⁶, who had occupied it thirteen years. Juvenal appointed the first Bishop over the nomad Arabs of Palestine, great numbers of whom had been converted by St. Euthymius⁷. The person selected for the office was Peter, whose former name was Aspebetus, the father of Terebo; he had been the first convert. His title was Bishop of Parembolæ, or the Camps, because the Arabs lived in tents dispersed over the whole face of the country^t.

^t "The Hagarenes wishing still to
 "drink of the sweet streams of Eu-
 "thymius' discourse, crowded round
 "him and prevented him from enjoy-
 "ing that tranquillity of seclusion
 "which he so much prized. He
 "therefore led them away to another
 "spot, where, according to a plan
 "which he gave them, they built a
 "chapel, and erected their tents in a

"circle round about it until such time
 "as they could build dwelling-houses.
 "The great Euthymius constantly
 "paid them visits, and trained them
 "to submit to the rule of a Priest and
 "Deacons. But the sons of Hagar
 "flocked to him in larger numbers
 "than ever and formed several camps
 "(παρεμβολάς), so that he sent to
 "Juvenal, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who

About the same time¹ Pope St. Celestine commissioned St. Germain Bishop of Auxerre to cross to Great Britain in order to oppose Agricola, the son of a Pelagian Bishop called Severinus, who was corrupting the Churches of Britain by propagating his heresy among them. St. Germain was sent thither as the Pope's Vicar, in the Consulate of Florentius and Dionysius, that is, A.D. 429. Pelagius was a native of Great Britain, it was no wonder therefore that he had disciples there". The Deacon Palladius, who was the Pope's envoy in the district infected by heresy, urged him to send them succour; and the Bishops of Gaul had on their part received a deputation from Great Britain, inviting them to come speedily to the defence of the Catholic Faith. A numerous Council was accordingly assembled, and they unanimously agreed to entreat St. Germain of Auxerre, and St. Lupus of Troyes, to engage in the enterprize. So that St. Germain received a concurrent mission from this Council and from the Pope.

St. Germain had been made Bishop eleven years before, as we have already said²; but St. Lupus only two years³. He was born at Toul of a very noble family, had studied rhetoric

A. D. 430.
— CH. XV.

XV.
Mission of
St. Ger-
main and
St. Lupus
into Brit-
tain.

¹ Prosper
Chron.
ann. 429.
[p. 655.]
Beda, l.
Hist. c. 17.
Constant.
Vit. S.
Germ. [ap.
Bolland.
Acta. 88.
tom. 32.
p. 201.]
p. 211. E.

² Supr. 23.
46.

³ Vita S.
Lupi [ap.
Bolland.
tom. 32.
p. 51.] p.
72. F.

"ordained Peter to be Bishop of the
"Saracens, as one fitted to guide their
"souls in the way of salvation. So
"the Saracens flowed in like the waters
"of a perennial river, and were all
"received into the Christian fold." S. Euthym. V. c. 38, 39. The account given in the Life leads one to think that these events took place in the wilderness of either Ziph or Paran (the scenes of David's retreat from persecution); otherwise we should have been inclined to take Parembolæ to be Mahanaim,—which has the same meaning, 'camps,'—which is called Παρεμβολή by Josephus, Antiq. vii. 9 (quoted by Reland, Palestina, p. 924)—and which is the word rendered Παρεμβολαί by the LXX in Gen. 32. 2, and 1 Kings 2. 8. At any rate we may well suppose that St. Euthymius, as he looked at his camps of converts, would often ponder on that passage of Jacob's history, when "as he walked
"on his way, the angels of God met
"him, and when he saw them he said
"Παρεμβολή Θεοῦ αὐτῆς:" so he called
"the name of the place Παρεμβολαί. . .

"And Jacob said, . . . 'I am not worthy
"of all Thy mercy, and of all the
"truth which Thou hast shewed Thy
"servant, for with this my staff I
"passed over this Jordan, ὑνὶ δὲ γέ-
"γονα εἰς δύο παρεμβολάς.'" Gen. 32.

^a Pelagius is only a Hellenized form of Morgan, his original name, which means *near the sea*. Fuller, Ch. II., ann. 401. Usher, de Primordiis, p. 207.

He was educated in the monastery of Bangor, which then consisted of two thousand Monks, and of which he was afterwards Abbot. The success which Pelagianism met with in the hands of Agricola is doubtless to be in a great measure attributed to the indolence and ignorance of the British Bishops, against whom Gildas the Wise declaims as foolish, ambitious, simoniacal, and impure (p. 72. sqq. ed. E. H. Soc. 1838), and who are represented by Constantius (V. S. Germ.) to have sent for the Gallican Bishops because of their own want of learning, "quum illius (i. e. hæretici) syllogisticis conclusionibus simplicibus responsis resistere non possent."

A. D. 430.
CH. XVI.

in the schools, and was esteemed very eloquent. He married Pemeniola, the sister of St. Hilary, Bishop of Arles; but seven years after their marriage they separated by consent, in order to live under more exact discipline. Lupus left his father's house and retired to the monastery of Lerins, under the guidance of its Abbot, St. Honoratus¹. Vincentius, brother of Lupus, also retired to Lerins², where he was ordained Priest, and became famous for his writings. Lupus after exercising himself for a year with fasting and watching, went to Macon to distribute the remainder of his wealth among the poor; but when he least thought of it, he was forced away to be made Bishop of Troyes, over which Church he presided fifty-two years.

[¹ The friend and teacher of St. Hilary.]
Supr. 24. 58.

² Eucher. ad Hilar. de laudem. [p. 985. D. E.]

XVI.
St. Genevieve.

³ Constant. u. s. p. 211. F.
Vit. S. Genovefæ [ap. Bolland. tom. I. p. 137.]

St. Germain and St. Lupus proceeding on their journey to Great Britain³, came to the city of Nanterre, near Paris. The inhabitants, familiar with the fame of their sanctity, came in crowds to meet them. St. Germain, after addressing them with an exhortation, surveyed the people who stood round him, and saw at a distance a young maiden whose looks appeared to manifest something heavenly; he bade her approach, asked her name, and inquired who were her parents. The answer was that she was called Genevieve; and presently her father Severius, and mother Gerontia, came out from the crowd. St. Germain congratulated them on having such a daughter, and foretold that she would one day be an example even to men. He exhorted her to disclose her whole heart to him, and say whether she would consecrate herself as a Virgin to God; she declared this was her purpose, and begged of the holy Bishop the solemn benediction usually given to Virgins. They went to church for the service of the none^x; many psalms were then sung, and many long prayers repeated, during which, the holy

^x One of the Canonical Hours. The Council of Laodicea (can. 18.) enjoined public prayer to be always held at the ninth hour, i. e. our three o'clock P.M., which was formerly understood by 'noon,' or 'noon-tide.' "The hours were at first only allotted to 'private prayer, afterwards they were regularly observed in the monasteries, and lastly they came into use in the churches generally. Thus they were not introduced into the

"Gallican Church till A.D. 530, nor into the Spanish till the time of Martin of Braga. The ninth hour was the time of the Jewish evening sacrifice; at the ninth hour, 'being the hour of prayer,' Peter and John went up to the Temple; at this hour Cornelius was praying when he was visited by an Angel; and above all, at this hour our Saviour expired on the cross, a sacrifice for the sins of the world." Bingham, xiii. 9. § 8, 13, (abridged.)

Bishop held his right hand upon the head of the maiden; he then retired to take his repast, desiring the parents to bring her to him on the morrow. This they did not fail to do; St. Germain asked St. Genevieve if she remembered her promise; "Yes," she said, "and hope by God's assistance and your prayers to observe it faithfully." Then looking on the ground, he saw a piece of copper money stamped with the sign of the cross; he took it up, and giving it to Genevieve, said, "Keep it for my sake, wear it always about your neck in place of every other ornament, and leave gold and precious stones to those who serve the world." He then committed her again to the hands of her parents, and proceeded on his journey.

St. Genevieve might be then about fifteen years old; for it is remarked, that from fifteen to fifty years of age she ate only twice a week, namely, on Sundays and Thursdays; and even then only some barley bread and beans, and never drank any wine, or intoxicating liquor. On a certain holiday soon after St. Germain's departure, her mother would have hindered her from going to church, but not being able to keep her at home gave her a blow on the cheek. In an instant the unhappy woman lost her sight, and continued blind for two years. At length calling to mind St. Germain's prediction, she bade her daughter fetch some water from the well, and make the sign of a cross over it. St. Genevieve did so, and washed her mother's eyes with it; upon which her sight gradually returned, and after two or three repetitions was quite recovered. The well is still pointed out with great veneration.

St. Germain and St. Lupus embarking in the winter season, met with a violent storm¹, which St. Germain assuaged by throwing some drops of oil into the sea in the name of the Holy Trinity. Arrived in Britain, they found a crowd assembled to receive them; for their coming had been foretold by some evil spirits which they afterwards cast out, and which, on leaving the possessed, confessed to having been the authors of the tempest. The holy Bishops soon filled Britain with the fame of their doctrine; and so great was the crowd of people that flocked to hear them, that they preached not only in the churches, but in the highways², and in the open country.

A. D. 430.
— CH. XVII.

XVII.
St. Germain and St. Lupus defeat the Pelagians.
¹ Constant. (n. s.) p. 212. C.
Vit. S. Lupi (n. s.) p. 74. D.

[²Per trivias, per rura, per devia.]

A. D. 430. Thus they every where confirmed the Catholics, and converted the heretics. Their virtue, their doctrine, their miraculous powers, all pointed them out to be thoroughly apostolic men. The Pelagians fled; but at length ashamed of being thus by their silence self-condemned, they came to a conference^y attended by a long train of partizans, making a great display of wealth and gorgeously arrayed; a countless number of people thronged to get a sight of the spectacle. The holy Bishops gave the heretics permission to speak first; and after these had delivered a long harangue, the Bishops replied to them with great eloquence, supporting their arguments with so clear quotations from Scripture that their opponents were struck dumb; the people could hardly forbear clapping their hands, and expressed their thoughts by

¹ p. 213. C. their acclamations. Upon this¹ a certain person of the rank of tribune, came forward with his wife, presenting their daughter, a little blind girl ten years old, to the holy Bishops, who bid them carry her to the Pelagians, but the latter joined their entreaties to those of the parents, that the Bishops would restore her sight. The Bishops consented, and first of all offered up a short prayer; then St. Germain having invoked the Holy Trinity, took from his neck the relique-box which he carried with him, and, in the sight of the assembled multitude, laid it upon the eyes of the little girl; she immediately recovered her sight; the parents were transported with joy, the people were struck with terror; and from that day no one opposed the teaching of the holy Bishops.

² p. 213. D. After this² they went to return thanks to God at the tomb of the Martyr St. Alban, the most famous of British Saints³ ^z. St. Germain opened the sepulchre and deposited in it reliques of all the Apostles, and of several Martyrs, which he had collected in various lands; then taking from the very scene of St. Alban's martyrdom some dust which was still crimson

[³ Beda.
I. Hist. c. 7.
Act. SS. in
22 Junii.]

^y Matthew of Westminster (ad ann. 446) makes this Council to have been held at Verulam, and so too Camden (Britannia, p. 298). Cf. Usher, de Primordiis, p. 328, and P. Bosch in Acta SS., tom. 32. p. 195.

^z Usher (p. 148.) quotes the following from the Salisbury Breviary (in Offic. S. Alban).

Ave Protomartyr Anglorum,
Miles Regis Angelorum,
O Albane, flos martyrum.

Anglorum is a prolepsis; i. e. not a rhetorical figure, but an unconscious expression of their feeling that they belonged to one and the same Church before and after the Angle conquest.

with his blood, he carried it away with him, and on his return built a church in the city of Auxerre to the honour of the Saint, and placed these reliques in its shrine¹.

The Saxons and Picts² made war upon the Britons^a. The Picts (so called because they painted their bodies with various colours³) were a barbarous people who inhabited the northern part of the island. The Saxons were a German nation whom the Britons had called in to assist them in repelling the Picts. But the allies soon cast a longing eye on the country of their employers, and making common cause with the Picts, found themselves, after a lapse of about twenty-five years, masters of Great Britain. The Britons in consternation at the approach of the enemy, fled to the holy Bishops. It was now Lent, and many under their instructions desired baptism, so that in fact a great part of the army received it at Easter^b, in a church constructed of boughs

A. D. 430.
CH. XVIII.

¹ Hist.
Episc. Au-
tissiod. p.
536.

XVIII.
They over-
come the
Saxons.
² Const.
p. 213. F.
Beda. I.
Hist. c. 11.
15.
³ or from
a native
word Pikt,
or Pocht;
see Cam-
den's Brit.
p. CX. sup.]

^a The common statement is that the Saxons did not come over until they were invited by Vortigern. Hence some (as Bede and Paulus Diaconus) refer the visit of St. Germain and the Hallelujah victory, as it was called, to the arrival of the Angles in the reign of Marcian, A.D. 449. (Beda. E. H. I. 15; though in his book *De Sex. Etat.* (p. 27.) he places it in 159). As this would run counter to Prosper's Chronology, others place the first mission of St. Germain in 429, but refer the victory over the Saxons to his second visit. But Usher has well shewn (p. 335) that the Saxon incursions had been frequent from the beginning of the reign of Valentinian I. downward; so much so that it was found necessary to appoint an officer called 'Count of the Saxon coast in Britain;' (*Notitia Imperii* p. 161). When the Romans withdrew, the Northern pirates would of course increase the boldness and number of their attacks. The easy supposition that one of these attacks took place in 429, is all that is necessary to reconcile Constantius' narrative with the date assigned by Prosper.

Gibbon, speaking of Vortigern's invitation to the Saxons, says: "If Britain had indeed been unknown to the Saxons, the measure of its calamities would have been less complete. But the strength of the Roman government could not always guard the maritime province against the

"pirates of Germany; the independent
"and divided states were exposed to
"their attacks; and the Saxons might
"sometimes join the Scots and Picts
"in a tacit or express confederacy of
"rapine or destruction." c. 38, (iv. p. 501, ed. 1828).

For the history of the whole period of anarchic independence from 109 to 449, see Gibbon, c. 31. (iv. pp. 151—154). Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, I. c. 8.

^b Of the solemn times for Baptism "the most celebrated was Easter; and next to that Pentecost, and Epiphany, or the day on which Christ was supposed to be baptized. These three are plainly referred to by Gregory Naz. (*Orat.* 10. de Bapt. τὸ πάσχα, ἡ πεντηκοστή, τὰ φῶτα). [He is remonstrating with those who put off Baptism under the plea that they were only waiting for these festivals. Cf. Chrysostom, tom. iv. p. 615.] . . . But Easter and Pentecost were the chief. St. Jerome tells us, some referred the prophecy in *Zech.* xiv. 8. to baptism: 'Living waters shall go out from Jerusalem; in summer and in winter shall it be.' The LXX reads it 'in summer and in spring.' And this they applied to the two solemn times of Baptism, Pentecost and Easter. . . . The great Sabbath, or Saturday, when our Saviour lay in the grave, was the most famous for baptizing catechumens, and infants also, as we learn

A. D. 430. of trees twisted together, and set up in the open plain. The feast being over, they made ready to march against the enemy, animated with fresh courage by the blessing just bestowed upon them; and with great confidence expecting the assistance of God. St. Germain put himself at their head, for he had not yet forgot the rules of that art to which so large a portion of his youth had been dedicated. He sent scouts to reconnoitre the country, and posted his men in a valley, so as not to be observed by the enemy who were pushing down in hopes to take him by surprise. St. Germain had ordered his people all to raise the same shout which he should give them as signal; he now cried out three times, Allelujah, and was followed by all the army. The sound being reverberated by the echo from the hills, made so dreadful a noise that the barbarians were dismayed; they threw down their arms and fled in disorder, leaving their baggage behind them, and many of them perished in attempting to cross a river^c. The Bishops having thus freed Britain from both the Pelagians and the Saxons, passed back into Gaul, and returned to their homes. Pope St. Cælestine, to provide for the further security of religion in the island, sent thither the Deacon Palladius, having ordained him Bishop of the Scotch¹; he was the first Bishop placed over this nation, which up to the present period had been very barbarous. St. Jerome^{2 d} records that they had no regular marriages, and that they devoured human flesh, for which they had such a passion that they cut off the breasts of women, and the other fleshy parts of such as they found

¹ Prosper. Contra Collat. c. 41. [p. 904.]
² Hieron. Ep. ad Ocean. et 2. in Jovin. [t. 4. pt. 2. p. 648. et p. 201.]

"from Chrysostom (Ep. 1. ad Innocent. [t. 7. p. 156.]) and the author of the Constitutions (Const. Apost. 5. 19), yet the whole time of fifty days was set apart for this purpose and counted but as one solemn season for Baptism." Bingham, 11. 6. § 7.
^c "This battle is said to have been fought in a place to this day called 'Mæs-Garmon,' or St. Germain's plain; the river Alen, in which the army had been baptized, runs past it. It is close by the town called by the English 'Mold,' by the Welsh 'Guid-cruc.'" Usher de Primord., p. 333.

Fuller says, in his quaintest mood: "Besides the concavity of the valleys improving the sound, God sent a

"hollowness into the hearts of the Pagans, so that their apprehensions added to their ears, and cowardice often resounded the same shout in their breasts, till beaten with the reverberation thereof, without striking a stroke, they confusedly ran away, and many were drowned for speed in the river Alen, lately the Christians' font, now the Pagans' grave." (Church Hist., ann. 429).

^d "By the pilgrims who resorted every year to the Holy Land, the Monk of Bethlehem received the earliest and most accurate intelligence." Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 153. note d. Compare Usher, pp. 202—204.

in unfrequented places. St. Palladius was sent as Bishop into Scotland in the Consulate of Bassus and Antiochus, that is, in the year 431¹.

St. Cyril having received St. Cælestine's letters from Posidonius the Deacon, sent them as they were directed; and along with those written to John of Antioch, and Juvenal of Jerusalem, he sent letters from himself. He exhorts John to adopt a resolute course, declaring that he for his part was determined to act in conformity with the opinion of the Pope and the Western Bishops, that he might keep to their communion. To Juvenal³ he says that it will be necessary to write to the Emperor, to induce him to espouse the cause of religion, and free the Church from this false pastor. He reminds both of them that he has done all in his power to bring Nestorius to reason.

John of Antioch was a friend of Nestorius, and had been one of his clergy; on receiving St. Cyril's letter, therefore, he wrote to his friend⁴, enclosing him a copy both of that and of the one from Pope St. Cælestine. "I entreat you," he says, "to read them in such a temper that they may not raise any disturbance in your mind, since from that source often spring disputes and pernicious obstinacy; but at the same time," he continues, "do not treat this business with contempt, for the Devil knows how, by means of pride, to drive evil matters to such an extremity that they become incurable. Read the letters over carefully, and send for such of your friends as will venture to give you sound, even though it be unpalatable advice, to consider them with you. Although the period of ten days appointed by the most holy Bishop St. Cælestine is none of the longest, you may do all that is necessary in one day, or in a few hours. For it is easy in speaking of the incarnation of our Lord to employ a suitable term, used by many of the Fathers, and which expresses truly His being born of the Virgin. Nor ought you either to reject this term as dangerous, or to think that its admission would involve you in inconsistency. If your sentiments are the same as those of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, as we are assured by several of our common friends they are, why should you scruple to de-

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CH. XIX.

¹ Prosper, Chron. [p. 658.]

XIX.

Letter from John of Antioch to Nestorius.

² Conc. Eph. Pt. I. c. 21.³ Ibid. c. 21.⁴ Ibid. c. 25.

A. D. 430. CH. XX. “clare this your sound and orthodox belief, especially when
 “so great confusion and disorder has been raised on your
 “account? For know, that this question is debated both
 “far and near; all the Church is disturbed with it, and the
 “faithful in all parts daily contend about it, as you may
 “suppose from the following fact: the West, Egypt, and
 “perhaps Macedonia, have resolved to separate from that
 “union which God has granted to His Church by the
 “labours of so many Bishops, particularly those of the great
 “Acacius.” He means Acacius of Berrhæa, and alludes to
 the union which terminated the schism at Antioch¹, in the
 time of Bishop Alexander and of Pope St. Innocent.

¹ Supr. 23.
27.

He proceeds earnestly to advise Nestorius to make use of the word Theotocos, ‘Mother of God,’ since none of the Doctors of the Church ever rejected it, and many used it without being blamed by those who did not. He shews that the meaning of the words cannot be rejected without falling into dangerous error, since it would thence follow, contrary to the plain authority of Scripture, that it is not God who became incarnate and of no reputation, by taking upon Him the form of a servant. He adds: “If, before these letters
 “appeared, many were so furiously set against us, what will
 “they not do now that these letters seem to justify them
 “in their suspicions? I am not writing this to you unad-
 “vised; many Bishops, who are friends to both of us, and
 “were present when these unhappy letters were delivered to
 “me, are now sitting by me; they are Archelaus, Apringius,
 “Theodoret, Helias, Meletius, and Macarius, who has been
 “lately ordained Bishop of Laodicea.” He mentions the
 see of none but this last, because Nestorius knew the rest.
 John wrote at the same time to the Count Irenæus, their
 common friend, and to the Bishops Musæus and Helladius.

XX.
Nestorius’
answer.

² In Synodico adv.
Tragœd-
iam Irenæi,
c. 3.
[Baluz. p.
688.]

Nestorius having perused all these letters, returned a civil
 answer² to John, but in the main still obstinately persisted
 in his error. “I should have expected,” he says, “to have
 “suffered under any other calumny sooner than that of
 “holding an error in the faith. This charge ought not to
 “have been brought against one who up to the present day
 “has fought so many battles of the Church against all sorts
 “of heretics.” And afterwards; “I found the Church of

“ this place divided; some gave the Virgin no title but
 “ that of ‘ Mother of God,’ Theotocos, others only ‘ Mother
 “ ‘ of a man,’ Anthropotocos; I to reunite them called her
 “ ‘ Mother of Christ,’ Christotocos, a name which clearly
 “ expresses both God and man. Do not disquiet yourself
 “ therefore as to this matter, but be assured that my opi-
 “ nions have never swerved from the true faith. If we meet
 “ in the Council, which we hope soon to see convened, we
 “ will settle every thing so as to remove all offence and dis-
 “ cord. You ought to be less surprised than any one at the
 “ presumption of the Egyptian, which is nothing more than
 “ usual, or than what you have seen in so many instances.
 “ In a short time, if it be God’s will, our conduct will be
 “ seen in a more favourable light.” Such was the answer of
 Nestorius.

In the mean time St. Cyril, pursuant to the Pope’s com-
 mission, assembled a Council at Alexandria: perhaps the
 one usually held in October, consisting of all the Bishops of
 the province¹ of Egypt; and in the name of this Council
 wrote a synodical epistle² to Nestorius as his third and last
 admonition, declaring to him that if within the term pre-
 scribed by the Pope, that is within ten days after the receipt
 of this letter, he does not renounce his errors, they will have
 no further communion with him, and will not look upon him
 any more as Bishop, and that from that time forward they
 are in communion with all persons clerical or laical whom he
 has deprived or excommunicated. “ It will not be sufficient,”
 they continue³, “ to profess your belief in the Nicene Creed,
 “ which you know very well how to evade by dint of forced
 “ interpretations; you must declare in writing and on oath
 “ that you anathematize your impious tenets, and that you
 “ believe and will teach what we all of us believe; and when
 “ I say *we*, I include all the Bishops of the East and West,
 “ and all who guide the people. For the holy Council of
 “ Rome, and we, are all agreed that the letters which have
 “ been written to you by the Church of Alexandria are
 “ orthodox, and free from error.”

A. D. 430.
CH. XXI.

XXI.
St. Cyril’s
last letter to
Nestorius.

[¹ διοική-
σεως.]
² Cone.
Eph. Pt. I.
c. 26.

[³ p. 308.
B.]

¹ “ The Canons (Con. Nic. c. 5. “ p. 51.) appoint two Synods to be
 “ [Labbe II. p. 56.] Antioch. c. 20. “ held ordinarily every year in each
 “ [II. p. 569.] Can. Apost. c. 38. [I. “ province” Bp. 1. 2. c. 5. 1.]

A. D. 430.
CII. XXII.

The synodal letter next enunciates its confession of faith. First, the Nicene Creed; then a full and precise exposition of the mystery of the Incarnation in accordance with the views propounded by St. Cyril in his former letters. The chief objections made by Nestorius are examined, and the following argument is drawn from the Eucharist¹; "When we solemnize in our churches the unbloody Sacrifice, we declare the death of CHRIST, and confess His resurrection and ascension; and so we approach the mystical benedictions², and are sanctified, while we partake of the sacred Flesh and precious Blood of our Saviour JESUS CHRIST, which we do not receive as common flesh, God forbid! nor as the flesh of a man sanctified and joined to the WORD by a union of dignity, or of one in whom the Deity resides, but as truly life-giving, and strictly one with the WORD³. He who as God is in His own nature life, became one with His flesh, and gave it a quickening virtue; for else how could the flesh of a man be in its own nature life-giving?" The letter concludes with Twelve Anathemas⁴, which form a recapitulation of the whole. They are as follows:

¹ n. 7. [p. 403. A.]

[² μυστικαὶς ἐὺλο-
γίαις]

[³ ἰδιαν
αὐτῷ τῷ
λόγῳ.]

[⁴ p. 407.
D.]

XXII.
The XII
Anathemas
of St. Cyril.

I. If any man confess not that EMMANUEL is truly GOD, and consequently the Holy Virgin, Mother of GOD, (since by her, according to the flesh, was conceived the WORD of GOD who became flesh,) let him be anathema.

II. If any man confess not that the WORD which proceeds from GOD the FATHER is united to the flesh hypostatically, and that with His flesh He makes but one only CHRIST, who is both GOD and man, let him be anathema.

III. If any one, after confessing the union, divide the hypostases of the only CHRIST, joining them indeed together, but only by a connection of dignity, authority, or power, and not by a real union, let him be anathema.

IV. If any attribute to two persons, or to two hypostases, the things which the Apostles and the Evangelists relate, as spoken concerning CHRIST by the Saints or by Himself, and apply some to a man conceived of separately as external to the Divine WORD⁵, and others (such as he deems worthy of GOD) solely to the WORD proceeding from the FATHER; let him be anathema.

[⁵ ὡς ἀν-
θρώπων παρὰ
τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ
λόγον ἰδι-
κῶς νοου-
μεν.]

V. If any dare to say that CHRIST is a man who bears A. D. 430. God within him¹, instead of saying that he is God indeed, ^{CH. XXII.} as only Son, and Son by nature,—inasmuch as the Word <sup>[¹ θεοφύρον
ἐνθροπῶπον]</sup> was made flesh, and partook of flesh and blood, even as we;—let him be anathema.

VI. If any dare to say that the Word proceeding from God the FATHER is the GOD or LORD of JESUS CHRIST, instead of confessing that the same is entirely both God and man,—since, according to the Scriptures, the Word was made flesh;—let him be anathema.

VII. If any man say that JESUS as man was possessed by² <sup>[² ἐνεργῆ-
σθαι]</sup> God the Word, and clothed with the glory of the only SON, as if He were not identical with Him; let him be anathema.

VIII. If any dare to say that the man assumed³ by the <sup>[³ ἀνα-
ληφθέντα]</sup> Word ought, along with the Word, to be glorified and adored and called God, as if the one existed within the other, (for this is the notion suggested by the perpetual repetition of the phrase *along with*⁴;) instead of honouring <sup>[⁴ Supr.
c. 8.]</sup> EMMANUEL with one entire adoration, and rendering to Him one entire glorification,—forasmuch as the Word was made flesh;—let him be anathema.

IX. If any say that our LORD JESUS CHRIST was glorified by the HOLY GHOST, as having received from Him a power of acting against unclean spirits and working miracles upon men, which was foreign to Himself, instead of saying that the Spirit by which He worked them belonged to Him essentially⁵; let him be anathema.

X. Holy Scripture says⁶ that JESUS CHRIST was made the <sup>[⁵ Ἰδιον
αὐτοῦ]
⁶ Heb. 3.
1.]</sup> High-Priest and Apostle of our faith, and that He offered Himself for us to God the FATHER as a sweet-smelling sacrifice⁷; if any man therefore say that since the time <sup>[⁷ Eph. 5.
2.]</sup> when our High-Priest and Apostle was made flesh and man like us, He is not the Word of God but a man born of a woman, as if this man were a different person from the Word; or if any say that CHRIST offered the sacrifice for Himself, instead of saying that it was solely for our sakes, (for He who knew no sin⁸ stood in no need of any sacrifice;) <sup>[⁸ 2 Cor. 5.
21.]</sup> let him be anathema.

XI. If any man confess not that the flesh of the LORD gives life, and belongs essentially⁹ to the Word Himself who ^[⁹ ἰδιαν.]

A. D. 430. proceeds from the FATHER, and attribute it to another who
 CH. XXIII. is only joined to Him in respect of dignity, or by virtue of a
 divine indwelling, instead of saying that it gives life because
 it belongs essentially to the WORD, who has the power of
 quickening¹ all things; let him be anathema.

[¹ ζωογον-
 εἶν]

XII. If any man confess not that the WORD of God
 suffered according to the flesh, was crucified according to
 the flesh, and was the first-born among the dead,—foras-
 much as He is life, and giveth life, as GOD;—let him be
 anathema.

These are the Twelve famous Anathemas of St. Cyril
 against all the heretical propositions advanced by Nestorius^f.
 The synodal letter in which they are inserted, is dated the
 thirtieth of November; but there is reason to think² that
 this was rather the day on which it arrived at Constanti-
 nople. It was accompanied by two other letters, one to the
 clergy and people of Constantinople³, the other to the Abbots
 of the monasteries in that city⁴. In these he remarks that
 he has deferred having recourse to the grievous remedy of
 excommunication until the very last moment; and he exhorts
 them to continue steadfast in the faith, and to communicate
 freely with those whom Nestorius had excommunicated.
 Four Egyptian Bishops, Theopemptus, Daniel, Potamon,
 and Macarius⁵, were deputed to convey these letters to Nes-
 torius, along with Pope St. Cælestine's letter.

² v. not.
 Baluz. p.
 422.

³ C. Eph.
 Pt. 1. c. 27.
⁴ c. 28.

⁵ Ibid. p.
 504. A.

XXIII.
 The Coun-
 cil of Ephe-
 sus called.

Before the deputies arrived at Constantinople, the Em-

¹ Garner says of these anathemas (Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 339): "It is evident
 " that they are constructed with ex-
 " quisite skill and in conformity to the
 " method of geometricians. They first
 " lay down the theorem to be proved,—
 " that IMMANUEL is GOD,—with the
 " principle on which the proof de-
 " pends—'the WORD was made flesh'
 " (Anath. I.) After this come two
 " lemmas, stating, first, that the union
 " of the WORD to the flesh *was* hy-
 " postatic (καθ' ὑπόστασιν) (Anath.
 " II.); secondly, that it *was not* a
 " union of dignity or a moral union,
 " (ἐν σχέσει,) (Anath. III.) Then
 " follow nine corollaries (Anath. IV.
 " —XII.) which run up into the two
 " great points of the unity of CHRIST
 " and the redemption of man. And

" whereas there are three kinds of
 " unity; in An. IV. and V. he main-
 " tains the subjective or personal unity,
 " (unitas suppositi); in VI., VII., and
 " VIII., the unity of worth, worship,
 " and dignity; in IX., the unity of
 " operation and power. Again, there
 " are three parts also of redemption,
 " sanctification of the soul, vivification
 " of the body, and satisfaction for sin.
 " The first is treated of in An. X., the
 " second in An. XI., the third in
 " An. XII." He further remarks that
 " they are drawn up in the very language
 " made use of by the Church-Fathers,
 " only compressed and concentrated
 " (quasi in fulmina) until they seem to
 " have acquired the force and vividness
 " of lightning.

peror Theodosius had ordered a general Council to be called. A. D. 430. This was a step which both parties urged him to adopt. CH. XXIII. That the Catholics wished for it, is evident from the petition of Basil and the Monks who had been maltreated by Nestorius¹; and Nestorius himself desired it², thinking he should be able to influence it by the assistance of the secular power joined to the support of the Easterns, and so obtain from it a condemnation of St. Cyril on the charges brought against him by Chæremion and his other calumniators. The letter by which the Council was summoned is in the usual form, being written in the name of the two Emperors, and directed to the Metropolitans of each province³. The one which has been preserved⁴ is that addressed to St. Cyril; it is in substance as follows: "The troubles which have arisen in the Church have made us think it an indispensable duty to call together the Bishops of the whole world, though we would willingly have spared them the anxiety and fatigue. Your piety therefore will do well, as soon as the approaching feast of Easter shall be passed, to repair to Ephesus so as to be ready by the day of Pentecost; you will bring with you such Bishops as you shall think necessary, providing that a sufficient number remain to conduct the business of the province, and that so many as shall be sufficient may come to the Council. In the mean time no one shall introduce privately any innovation⁵ until the Council be assembled. We doubt not but that all the Bishops will be prompt in their attendance; which if any fail to be, he shall not be excused before God or before us. Given at Constantinople the thirteenth of the calends of December, in the thirteenth Consulate of Theodosius, and the third of Valentinian," (i. e. the nineteenth of November, A.D. 430.) The city of Ephesus was selected as having easy access both by sea and land, with an abundant supply of all the necessaries of life⁶.

¹ Ibid. c. 30.
[p. 430, C.]
² V. Mercat.
Pl. 2. p. 80.]

³ Evagr. l. Hist. c. 3.
[p. 252, et Vales. in l.]
⁴ C. Eph. Pl. 1. c. 32.
[It is headed
θεῖον γράμμα.]

⁵ καινοτομίας]

⁶ Sacra per Joan. C. Eph. p. 721. C.

⁸ Ephesus stood at the Eastern side of a beautiful vale, covered with groves of tamarisk and watered by the mazy Cayster (the far-famed Ἰσῖος λειμῶν of Hom. Il. B. 161). It was a place of immense resort, as might be inferred from the single fact of its wondrous temple. At one period it is supposed

to have had a population of six hundred thousand. Strabo calls it "the greatest emporium of the whole of lower Asia;" and modern travellers testify that few cities in the world have so many sad reliques of departed grandeur. It was the seat of the metropolitan of the Asian diocese, but now only contains

A. D. 430.

CH. XXIV.

[¹ p. 434.]

Besides the circular letter to St. Cyril, there was another¹ written to him privately by Theodosius, in which he charges him with being the author of all the Church troubles, and complains of his having written two different letters, one to himself and his wife Eudocia, the other to his sister Pulcheria, as if the imperial family had been divided; he adds, however, that St. Cyril has his forgiveness, and he entreats him to join with the rest of the Council in endeavouring to restore tranquillity to the Church. This letter shews what prejudices the Emperor had imbibed against St. Cyril^h.

XXIV.
St. August-
ine's last
Works.

² Liberat.
Brev. c. 5.
[p. 128.]

St. Augustine was called to the Council by name, out of deference to his great reputation; for there appears to be no other reason why he should have been distinguished from so many Bishops. An officer called Ebagnius² was sent with the Emperor's letter; but on his arrival at Carthage, which was not till near Easter in the following year, 431, he was told that St. Augustine had departed this life; he therefore returned to Constantinople with letters from the Bishop Capreolus, informing the Emperor of that event. St. Augustine's last work was the second answer to Julian, which he left imperfect. Julian had written four books against St. Augustine's first book On Marriage and Concupiscence; but when he had seen the second he composed eight books in answer to it, which he addressed to Florus, a Pelagian

among its mud cottages a single Christian family. Its name still preserves the memory of its Holy Apostle, being called by the Turks Aja-salouk, a corruption of ἅγιος θεολόγος.

"It would seem from both letters of Theodosius that his main reason for calling a Council was the belief into which he had flattered himself that this step would put an end to what he considered the factious clamour against Nestorius. He was evidently disposed to look on St. Cyril as an unprincipled agitator, and there is a 'vis inertiae' which always operates in favour of what is to us the established order of things. On the mind of a monarch or statesman this influence must be particularly strong; for he, as it were, represents, and is identified with, the existing state of things. Besides, he looks on men in a professional way as beings who are to be governed and

kept quiet; the very fact therefore of a man's having been the active cause (though perhaps not the guilty cause) of dissension, is in his eyes a sufficient reason for condemning him. And if the subject of dissension be of a religious nature, appealing to men's consciences, which are beyond the jurisdiction even of an Emperor, what wonder if the originator of the commotion be viewed with anger and disgust? Who can take pleasure in being made to feel conscious of impotence?

The letter specially directed to St. Cyril is peevish throughout: on the subject of the separate letter sent to Pulcheria he exhibits particular soreness, indicating, perhaps, that the struggle against the ascendancy which the superior intellect of his sister had gained over him was not yet ended. The circular letter is in a far higher tone, and not unworthy of his position.

Bishop, and one of those who had accompanied him to Constantinople. Julian was ignorant of the fact that St. Augustine had composed six books in reply to his first four; indeed, if we are to believe him, he did not know that St. Augustine had ever seen these four books; and this may be the truth, for he was in Cilicia at the time. Pressed as he was by other business, St. Augustine could hardly be prevailed upon to answer these eight books, which contained nothing beyond invectives and vague declamation. At length he yielded to the urgent solicitations of St. Alypius, and undertook it for the sake of those ignorant men who might read Julian's reply without perceiving its weakness. St. Augustine was engaged on this work to the close of his life; he lived to finish six books of it, which were replies to the first six of Julian's eight. His plan is first to quote Julian's own words, and then to answer them article by article. As Julian had done little more than repeat what he had said in his former work, St. Augustine is frequently obliged, in this treatise, to quote himself. In spite of this it contains passages of great force and value, in which the same truths are better developed and more vividly illustrated than before.

In the last years of his life, subsequently to his *Retractions*, he made a compendium of the moral precepts of Scripture, in a work which he entitled *Speculum*, that is, "the Mirror;" because by it the faithful might perceive the state of their souls, and learn what progress they were making in virtue. He sets down in it such precepts only as refer to the regulation of our manners, and of these only such as are delivered in simple, direct, unmetaphorical language; he does not use as formerly the version made from the Greek of the Septuagint, but the more perspicuous one made by St. Jerome from the Hebrew. He begins with the laws which follow the Decalogue in Exodus, and proceeds to draw out the moral precepts of every part of the Old Testament; not omitting the books which the Church receives as canonical, though not included in the Hebrew canon¹. He commences

A. D. 430.
CH. XXIV.

¹ See Bingham, 11. 3. § 16. "St. "thage" (supr. 20. 26. x. and 22. 1. d); for when "Hilary of Arles expressly told St. Austin that the

A. D. 430. his extract from the New Testament at the Sermon on the
 CH. XXV. Mount, and continues it down to the Apocalypse. As
 among so many passages of Scripture, there were some
 which seemed contradictory, he intended to explain them
 in certain Queries which he would afterwards have proposed,
 but his design was never executed.

XXV.
 Desolation
 of Africa.

In the mean time the Vandals continued to ravage Africa
 with a devastating fury which very much embittered the latter
 part of St. Augustine's life. Such is the account given by
 Possidius Bishop of Calama, an eye-witness, who proceeds
 thus¹: "He saw the cities reduced to ruins, the buildings
 " in the country levelled with the ground, the inhabitants
 " either slain or saved only by flight, the churches bereft
 " of Priests and ministers, the consecrated virgins and the
 " other religious persons dispersed in every direction. Some
 " had sunk under torture, some had perished by the sword;
 " others were in captivity, slaves to brutal and cruel enemies,
 " who had rent from them their purity both of body, mind,
 " and faith. Under his very eyes the hymns and praises of
 " God ceased in the churches, nay, the sacred buildings
 " themselves were in many places reduced to ashes. The
 " solemn sacrifices that are due to God were no longer
 " offered in their appointed places, (being performed in
 " private houses, or other unconsecrated buildings, from
 " want of churches.) No one asked for the administration
 " of the Sacraments, or if they did, it was hardly possible to
 " find any to minister them. Those who fled to the woods,
 " or the mountains, into rocks and caverns, or fortresses,
 " were either taken and slain, or died a worse death by
 " hunger; the Bishops and clergy whom God in His mercy
 " suffered not to fall into the hands of their enemies, or for
 " whom, if taken, He made a way of escape, were yet stripped
 " of every thing, and reduced to the lowest point of penury,
 " so that it was impossible to give them all such assistance
 " as they wanted; in a word, fruitful as Africa was in
 " Churches, not above three,—Carthage, Hippo, and Cirtha,
 "—could now be pointed out as having escaped the de-

¹ Possid.
 c. 28. [ap.
 Opp. Au-
 gust. x.
 Append.
 p. 257.]

" Churches of France were offended
 " at him because he had used a proof
 " from the book of Wisdom, which

" was not canonical," he only pleads
 " that it was so received by the Chris-
 " tians of Afric before him."

“vastation which levelled both churches and cities in one
“common ruin.”

A. D. 430.
CH. XXV.

Amidst these alarms¹, St. Augustine was consulted by¹ c. 30.
Honoratus Bishop of Thiava, as to whether the Bishops
and clergy ought to retire at the approach of the barbarians.
St. Augustine at first sent him a letter² which he had written² no longer
on the same subject to a Bishop called Quodvultdens; but extant.
Honoratus was not satisfied with it, and urged certain ob-
jections grounded on our Lord's words, “When you shall
“be persecuted in one city, flee to another³.” To which³ Mat. 10
some other Bishop added, “If the Lord commanded us to²¹.
“flee from persecutions in which we gain the Martyr's
“crown, how much more from the incursions of the bar-
“barians, where there is nothing but fruitless sufferings?”
St. Augustine sent a long letter⁴ in reply, and set down the⁴ Epist. 228.
rules which should guide us on such occasions. To the [opp. II.
argument drawn from our Lord's words, he opposes⁵ what⁵ n. 6.
He elsewhere says, “that the hireling flees when he sees the
“wolf coming⁶,” and adds, “In order to reconcile these two⁶ John
“quotations we must say that when the danger extends to^{10. 12.}
“all⁷, the pastors and ministers of the Church ought in no⁷ n. 2.
“case to leave the flock; that ministry which is always
“so necessary for them, is especially required in time of
“affliction, for then the people stand in need of consolation
“and support; besides which, the impending danger makes
“all sorts of persons crowd to church⁸, and demand baptism,⁸ n. 8.
“absolution, or at least penance. If ministers are then [Supr. 19.
“wanting, what a misfortune to those who leave this world^{2.}
“without being regenerated or absolved! and what a re-
“proach to the absent ministers! We ought to fear these
“spiritual evils more than any temporal calamity⁹, ay, more⁹ n. 7.
“than torments or death; for it is the first duty of the
“pastor to give his flock food convenient for them; by
“deserting them he incurs a certain evil through dread of
“suffering a contingent one¹, which is surely not the part of¹ n. 5.
“a Christian.

“But if² the persecutors mark out a particular pastor for² n. 2, n. 6.
“their prey, while a sufficient number of ministers remain to
“supply the wants of the flock, in that case he should fly,
“as did St. Paul from Damascus, and as St. Athanasius did³. [3 So too
St. Cy-
prius.]

A.⁷D. 430. "If the whole flock betake themselves to flight, then the
 CH. XXVI. "pastor ought to follow them, since it is only for the sake
 [1 n. 5.] "of the flock that he stays. He may also retire when he
 "has no flock left, as happened to some Bishops of Spain¹,
 "whose people had been slain, destroyed in besieged towns,
 2 n. 10. "dispersed, or made captives. Some ministers too² may re-
 "serve themselves for the service of the Church, when there
 "are others to supply their absence; but they ought not
 "lightly to allow themselves either to shun that self-sacrifice
 3 n. 11. "which they require from the laity³, or to think themselves
 "more necessary to the Church than their brother eccle-
 "siastics; the first would savour of cowardice, the last of
 4 n. 12. "presumption. If all resolve to stay⁴, though it is thought
 "proper that some should retire, the matter must be de-
 5 n. 13. "cided by lot. Should it be feared⁵ that if all the ministers
 "stay the laity will resume too much confidence, they should
 "be admonished that their pastors stay only for their sakes."
 Thus did St. Augustine encourage his brethren.

XXVI.
 Death of
 St. Augus-
 tine.

It was not long before Hippo was besieged by the Vandals; Count Boniface, who was then at war with them, having shut himself up there, with the Goths who were in the Roman alliance. The siege lasted nearly fourteen months, and the Vandals cut off from the besieged all communication with the sea. Possidius and many other neighbouring Bishops had fled thither for refuge⁶. One day, as they were at table⁷, St. Augustine said to them, "Know, that while this calamity lasts, I beseech God either to deliver this city from the enemies who encompass it, or if He has otherwise disposed of it, to endue His servants with resignation to His will; or at least to withdraw me from this world." From that time they all united with him to make the same prayer to God, and he continued to preach in the church with all his characteristic vigour of thought and holy boldness, until his last sickness.

⁶ Possid.
 c. 28.
⁷ c. 29.

This was a fever, which seized on him in the third month of the siege. He now practised what he had often told his friends⁸, that no one after having received Baptism ought to leave this life without repentance, not even the most virtuous Christians, or even the Bishops. He therefore caused the penitential Psalms, ("which are few in number," says

⁸ c. 31.

Possidius,—probably the seven we still call by that name,) to be written out and fixed to the wall near his bed; he then read them, with tears streaming down incessantly¹. And lest he should be diverted from this pious exercise, he, ten days before his death, desired those about him not to suffer any one to come into his chamber^k except at the hours when his physicians came to visit him, or when his food was brought in. His desire was complied with, and he thus spent the whole time in prayer. He was perfectly sensible at his death, neither his sight nor his hearing being impaired. His friends were at his bedside praying with him when he died. He lived seventy-six years², forty of which were spent in the ministry. His death occurred³ on the fifth of the calends of September, in the thirteenth Consulate of Theodosius, and the third of Valentinian, i. e. on the twenty-eighth of August, A.D. 430; and on that day he is still commemorated by the Church. At his funeral the Sacrifice was offered to God in the presence of the Bishops. He made no will, being so poor that he had nothing to dispose of; but it was always his earnest wish that his library, and all the books belonging to his church, should be carefully preserved. These particulars we learn from Possidius, who had lived in the closest intimacy with him nearly forty years, and who has left us the following relation of his miracles. “I know,” he says, “that both when he was “Priest, and after he was Bishop, being earnestly desired to “entreat God for some possessed persons, he prayed with “tears, and the devils went out of them. I know that when “he was sick, and in bed, a diseased person was brought to “him that he might lay his hands on him and heal him; his “reply was, ‘If I had power over distempers I should heal

A. D. 430.
CH. XXV.]

[¹ jugiter
ac ubertim
lebat.]

[² Supr. 18.
48.]
³ Prosp.
Chron. [p.
655.]

^k “The Sunday following he [Dr. Donne] appointed his servants that “if there were any business yet undone, that concerned him or themselves, it should be prepared against “Saturday next; for after that day he “would not mix his thoughts with any “thing that concerned this world; nor “ever did; but, as Job, so he waited for “the appointed day of his dissolution. “. . . He lay fifteen days earnestly “expecting his hourly change.” Life by I. Walton. An exemplification of

St. Augustine’s rule occurs in an incident of Dr. Johnson’s Life which, when taken in connection with the character of the man and his life-long fear of death, is very affecting. “He told me “that on the preceding day he had “given himself up to fasting, humiliation, and devotion: he had ordered “Frank not to admit any one, ‘for,’ “said he, ‘your master is preparing to “die.’” (Vol. v. p. 153. ed. Croker, 1831).

A. D. 430. "myself first." The other answered, 'A voice in a dream
CH. XXVII. "said to me, Repair to the Bishop Augustine, let him lay
 "hands on the sick man, and he shall be healed.' On
 "hearing this he did as he was requested, and the sick
 "person immediately retired in full health." Possidius also
 left a catalogue of St. Augustine's works¹, comprising his
 books, sermons, and letters; he makes them amount to a
 thousand and thirty, but states that he had not been able
 to collect the whole of his works. His list contains some
 which are no longer extant.

¹ Vita c. 18.
 et Indiculus [in
 calce Tomi
 x. App. p.
 282.]

XXVII. About the same time, St. Alexander, founder of the famous
 St. Alexander institute of the Acemetes, died near Constantinople. He
 of the Acemetes. was born in Asia Minor², of a noble family, and after study-
² Acta SS. ing at Constantinople, had held office in the Emperor's
 Bolland. palace. But he soon felt the vanity of the world, and the
 Janu. 15. disrelish he conceived for it was still further increased when
 [T. i. p. he came to peruse the Scriptures. He gave up his employ-
 1021.] ment, distributed his wealth to the poor, and went into
 Syria, where he embraced a monastic life, under the govern-
 ment of an Abbot called Elias, to whom he was attracted by
 his great reputation. He continued here four years, and
 then, after the example of the Prophet Elias, retired into
 the desert, where he remained seven years. He converted
 Rabbūla the governor of a neighbouring city, and many
 other Pagans. These wished to make him their Bishop,
 and as the gates of the city were kept guarded, Alexander
 got himself let down from the wall by night in a basket¹.
 Rabbula on his conversion emancipated his slaves, dis-
 tributed his wealth to the poor, and retiring into the wilder-
 ness, led the life of an anchorite. He was afterwards taken
 thence and made Bishop of Edessa^m, the metropolis of Meso-

¹ Cf. Josh. 2. 15; 1 Sam. 19. 12; Acts 9. 24, 25; 2 Cor. 11. 33; and see Bloomfield's Rec. Synopt. on Acts 9. 24.

^m This took place in 412, and he continued to hold the see until his death in 435; see the Chronicle of Edessa in Assemani, Bibl. Or. I. p. 401, 403. (cf. p. 197). Theodorus L. (H. E. 2. 40. Vales. p. 580) mentions him as having accused Andrew of Samosata for writing against the XII Anathemas of St. Cyril. At first he

had espoused the cause of John of Antioch (Baluz. Nov. Coll. p. 705), but he afterwards became so ardently attached to St. Cyril that he assembled a Council at Edessa, in which he renounced communion with John and the other Orientals, and consigned the writings of Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata to the flames (p. 748). St. Cyril in a letter which he wrote to him (Labbe, V. p. 468) calls him "the pillar and ground of the faith to all the Oriental Churches." He joined

potamiaⁿ. His wife also dedicated herself to God, and built a monastery, where she shut herself up with her daughters and maids, and continued in sanctity to the end of her days.

A. D. 470.
CH. XXVII.

Alexander having escaped from the city where they wished to make him Bishop, walked a two days' journey into the desert, and came upon a place which served as a retreat to thirty robbers. He entreated God for their souls; the captain was the first convert, and died eight days after his baptism. The rest having been also baptized, turned their cave into a monastery, putting themselves under the government of a Superior appointed by Alexander.

Leaving them, he built a monastery on the banks of the Euphrates^o, and for three whole years prayed to God that he might be able to establish there a choir who should chaunt the psalms incessantly night and day. His society increased so much that it soon numbered no less than four hundred Monks of different nations; native Syrians, Greeks, Latins, and Egyptians. They were divided into several bands which relieved each other, and so performed divine service without ceasing; they form the earliest instance of the practice that we meet with. These Monks of St. Alexander observed a most rigid poverty, none of them had above one tunic, and

Acacius in opposing the Crypto-Nestorians, who thought to neutralize the effect of the statute against reading Nestorius' Works by circulating those of Theodorus of Mopsuesta and Diodorus of Tarsus. (Baluz. p. 912).

ⁿ Edessa (called in Syriac Orrhoa and Arach, in Arabic Orfa and Rhoa) is on the great caravan route from Aleppo viâ Bira to Mosul. As the road from Diarbekir also passes through Edessa, it has long possessed that importance which formerly attached to its neighbour Harran, as the entrepôt between Syria and Mesopotamia. (See Mannert, *Geographie der R. und Gr.* v. p. 202 sqq., and Pococke, *Description of the East*, vol. ii. p. 158). St. Ephraem (who lived at Edessa) and St. Jerome make it to be the Erech of Gen. 10. 10. built by Nimrod. The ruins of Nimrod's palace are still shewn to the traveller. There are now only two thousand Christians in it, out of a population of fifty thousand; though Abulfeda mentions that in old

times it had three hundred monasteries. St. Helena the mother of Constantine is said to have been a native of the place, and founded the large church which was afterwards reckoned a world-wonder. (Ersch and Gruber. s. v). The account of the conversion of the Edessenes in Euseb. H. E. I. 13. is well known.

^o The Euphrates had always the greatest attractions to the meditative piety of the eremite, being in this respect second (if second) only to the Nile. The more tranquil and subdued would find a congenial retreat in the level plains which stretch from it on both sides in the lower part of its course. The sterner and bolder class of minds would seek the mountain ridges which skirt it in its earlier course. It was in this last district, or the country on the right bank of its western elbow, between Someisat (Samosata) and Bâlis, that the earlier Syrian Monks chiefly resided. (Cf. Fleury. xvii. 7).

A. D. 430. no one laid in more provisions than sufficed for one day, and
 CH. XXVII. if any thing remained after their scanty meal it was given to the poor, that nothing might be left till the morrow.

Having continued twenty years in this monastery on the Euphrates, he appointed seventy of his disciples to go and preach the faith to the Gentiles; he chose out a hundred and fifty more to follow him into the desert, and the rest he left in the monastery under the government of Trophimus. He had been formerly at Antioch, and had shewn himself very zealous there in opposing the intrusion of the Bishop

¹ Supr. 21. Porphyrius¹, A.D. 404; he now, after a lapse of twenty years,
 47. returned thither surrounded by his disciples. But Theodosius who was then Bishop being prejudiced against him, banished him from the city, probably mistaking him for one of the

² Supr. 19. Euchites, or Messalians²; indeed his continual devotions, his
 25. erratic habits, and the country he then came from^p, would readily favour such a supposition. An ecclesiastic named

³ John 18. these words from the Gospel³: "Now the servant's name was
 10. "Malchus." The people, who looked upon him as a Prophet, took his part, and Malchus was obliged to retire. However, the Governor compelled Alexander to leave Antioch, and banished him with his disciples to Chalcis. He disguised himself like a beggar and went to a monastery called Crithenium, where he was somewhat surprised to find his institution of perpetual singing of psalms. He rightly concluded that the convent had been founded by one of his disciples, for this had been in fact the case.

At length he quitted Syria, and went with twenty-four of his Monks to Constantinople, where he founded a monastery near the church of St. Menas; and in a short time there were gathered round him three hundred Monks, speaking different languages, Greeks, Latins, and Syrians, all Catholics; many of whom had previously resided in other monasteries. He divided them into six companies, who chaunted

^p For Mesopotamia was the country from which the Messalians first issued. Epiphanius, de Hær. 80. § 3. (ἀπὸ τῆς

μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν ὀρμώμενοι). Theodoret has himself been quoted for a description of their errors, supr. 19. 25.

the service in succession; so that in this monastery God was praised throughout the whole four and twenty hours. Hence their name *Acemetes*¹, which, in Greek, signifies men that watch, or abstain from sleep; because there was always one part of the society thus watching. As they did not engage in any labour, and had no property except their books, people wondered how they were able to subsist, and many suspected them of belonging to the sect of the Messalians². Alexander was twice arrested, and an attempt was made to interrupt his perpetual singing. His disciples were sent to their former monasteries, and he was then set at liberty under the idea that he would be left companionless; but the very day on which he went out of prison, he was rejoined by his Monks, and they renewed their psalmody. He departed with them towards the mouth of the Euxine sea, where after founding a monastery, he died about the year 430³.

At the close of November, A.D. 430, at which time the Council of Ephesus had been called, Nestorius wrote to Pope St. Celestine, in these terms³: "I am informed that the venerable Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, alarmed at the complaints which have been preferred to us against him, is seeking to avoid the holy Council which is to be held to consider the charges brought against him, and is amusing himself with words, namely *Theotocos* and *Christotocos*, one of which he admits, and the other he formally rejects, though sometimes employed even by himself. For my part, I will not oppose any one who has a mind to use *Theotocos*, provided only he does not understand it in the sense attached to it by Arius and Apollinarius, with a view to confound the two natures; but I have no hesitation in preferring the word *Christotocos*, as being that which was used by the Angels and Evangelists;" he here refers to those passages in the Gospel, in which, when the temporal nativity of the Son of God is spoken of, He is called *JESUS* or

A. D. 430.
CH. XXVIII.

¹ ἀκοίμητοι

[² Cf. Nilus ap. Vales. ad Theodoret. II. E. 4. 11.]

XXVIII.
Another letter from Nestorius to the Pope.

³ Mercat. Pt. 2. p. 80.

¹ His followers, the *Acemetæ*, are accused by Nicephorus (15. 23) of favouring the Nestorian heresy. In the Eutychian controversies about A. D. 482, the *Acemetæ* rejected the Henoticon and remained in communion with

the Church of Rome. Gieseler, vol. i. p. 319. Cf. S. Basnage, *Annales*, t. iii. p. 701. 713. They were afterwards condemned by the consentient Eastern and Western Churches, A. D. 533. See Fleury, xxxii. 35 and 39.

A. D. 430. CHRIST. He proceeds, "If we consider the two opposite sects, CH. XXIX. " that of Arius or Apollinarius on the one hand, and that of " Paul of Samosata on the other; the former of which uses " exclusively the word Theotocos, and the latter exclusively " Anthrotocos, because the first acknowledges Mary to " be simply mother of God, and the second acknowledges " her simply as mother of a man, ought we not to endeavour " to reclaim both of them, by a word which subincludes both " natures, which is the case with Christotocos? I have written " to this effect to the Bishop of Alexandria, as you will see " by the letters which I sent you. As to the rest, it has " been the pleasure of the most pious Emperor to appoint " a general Council to consider of certain other Church " matters; for this dispute about words, will, I believe, be " easily discussed." It seems probable that Nestorius sent this letter along with the Emperor's mandate for the calling of a general Council.

XXIX.
His last
sermons.

¹ C. Eph.
Actio I.
p. 503. B.

In the mean time¹ the four Bishops who represented the Alexandrian Council, having arrived at Constantinople, went to the Cathedral on Sunday the thirtieth of November, A. D. 430, during the performance of divine service, and in the presence of all the clergy, and of nearly all those who bore the title of Illustres, delivered to Nestorius the letters of St. Cyril and St. Cælestine. Nestorius received them, and appointed a time for a private interview on the next day; but when the Bishops came, he closed his doors against them, and gave them no answer. Six days after, that is, on Saturday the sixth of December², he preached in the church a sermon³, which is a sort of epitome of his doctrinal views. He inveighs against St. Cyril, not indeed by name, but under the sufficiently obvious designation of *the Egyptian*; he challenges him to combat, and accuses him of having commenced his assault with arrows of gold; that is, by distribution of largesses, which was one of the charges brought against Nestorius himself⁴. He remarks that the

² v. not.
Baluzii p.
422.

³ Ap. Mer-
cat. [Pt. 2.
p. 84.]
Serm. 12.

⁴ Libell.
Basil. n. 4.
[*ἑαυτῶν*
τοῖς χρή-
μασι p. 430.
E.]

¹ The personal feelings which were mingled in the controversy are visible in but too many documents on both sides, but especially on the side of Nestorius. The language of Theodosius to St. Cyril (supr. c. 23) is so obviously unbecoming, that the sneer-

ing sceptic who hated or despised both parties alike, after selecting some phrases as exhibiting the 'baleful pre-judice,' which 'the Byzantine Pontiff' had instilled into the royal ear,' says, 'I should be curious to know how much Nestorius paid for these ex-

Bishops of Alexandria always opposed those of Antioch, as A. D. 430. Meletius and Flavian, and St. Chrysostom, who had been CH. XXIX. elected from the Church of Antioch; and hence he wished it to be inferred that the pending dispute resulted only from the old jealousy between these two sees. He complains that they prosecute him only for the word *Theotocos*, which he pretends to allow, but with dishonest glosses and constructions. He disclaims the errors of Paul of Samosata and Photinus, of which he gives a careful and discriminating exposition, and proposes the word *Christotocos* as a remedy for all the prevailing errors*.

On the next day, being Sunday, the seventh of December,

'pressions so mortifying to his rival.' Gibbon, c. 47.

* Garner says of this sermon, "there is none of his discourses from which we can learn so much of the nature of Nestorius' views as from this." It may be worth while therefore to give a fuller account of it than is found in the text. "The Lord of all," he says, "took our nature upon Him as a garment never thenceforward to be put off, as the inseparable robe of the Divine substance. He has placed it at the right hand of His own Divinity; without it He gives nothing to us on earth; without it He will not judge the dead; it partakes in the regal power of His divinity. Away then with Paul of Samosata, who denies divinity to that which is always joined and knit unto divinity, and to which God has given a name which is above every name. Nor let any one incredulously think that this exceeding honour given to the visible depreciates the glory of the invisible divine substance; the visible and invisible are one Son and one Christ; the natures are two, the Son one." The people here cried out, "He says ONE CHRIST, what more do you want?" but Mercator (Pt. 2. p. 117) shews that he meant only a oneness like that subsisting between God and the Church (as in John 17. 21). Nestorius then turns to St. Cyril: "Why dost thou seek to terrify me? I will not fear, but while I breathe will stand up for the sound doctrine. All that they can object to me is, that I will not use the word *Θεοτόκος*. Search and you will find that Apollinaris, Arius, and Eunomius all used

the word; why then should it be preached up as if it were the very touchstone of true theology? Only do you condemn those who use the word in the Apollinarian sense, and I will join you in using it, I will do as St. Paul did, when he became a Jew that he might gain the Jews." The heretic may use the word *Θεοτόκος*, the Catholic uses both *Θεοτόκος* and *ἀνθρωποτόκος*. Use both, and you will escape the toils of Arius on the one hand, and of Paul and Photinus on the other. Paul and Photinus are both ignorant of the divinity of the Son, and of the two natures. Paul makes our Lord to have been a mere man; Photinus confesses that He was the Word, [i. e. an act of the operative Word,] but he does not give an eternal pre-existence to the Word [for an act cannot have pre-existence]; he says 'The Word was made flesh;' but not 'In the beginning was the Word.' The Son was 'made of a woman, made under the law.' Who was made under the law? Not the Deity. You must admit the word *Ἀνθρωποτόκος* or you overthrow the whole economy which is essential to our redemption. For my part, I prefer the word *Χριστοτόκος*, as expressing the other two. Thus then, my brethren," he concluded, "let us study peace, and not set the members of CHRIST at war with each other; if a word cause my brother to offend, I will not use the word so long as the world endureth." The concessions here made are attributable to the remonstrance of John of Antioch.

A. D. 430. he preached another sermon¹, in which he affirmed plainly
CH. XXX.
 that the Virgin is mother of God, and mother of the man; but still with the reservation that he thinks the word Theotocos dangerous. By these sermons he pretended to answer the letters of the two Councils of Rome and Alexandria, which the deputies of Egypt had doubtless published; but as the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril were what bore hardest upon him, he endeavoured to combat them by twelve anathemas which he proposed on his side.

John of Antioch, on receiving a copy of St. Cyril's last letter to Nestorius, was also offended at his twelve anathemas, and believed² that in his eagerness to oppose Nestorius, he had himself overstepped the limits of orthodoxy, and fallen into the error of Apollinarius. He therefore ordered two of the most learned Bishops of his province, Andrew of Samosata and Theodoret of Cyrus³, to answer it in writing, which they did. Andrew composed his treatise in the name of the Eastern Churches, who approved of it in Council. Theodoret prefixed his name to his writing, which was in a keener style than that of Andrew. He circulated it in Phœnicia and the neighbouring countries, and sent it to Constantinople, whence Evoptius, Bishop of Ptolemais in the Pentapolis, furnished copies of it to St. Cyril. Andrew and Theodoret both wrote prior to the Council of Ephesus.

Theodoret, who made himself so famous in this dispute, was born at Antioch about the year 387. His parents were noble, rich, and pious, especially his mother, who had obtained this son after thirteen years' barrenness⁴, in answer to the prayers of the famous Hermit Macedonius, surnamed the Barley-eater⁵. This was the reason of his being called Theodoret, or God's-gift. In his infancy he often received the benediction of St. Peter⁶ of Galatia, and of St. Aphraates⁷, and was dedicated to God in the cradle, according to the promise of his parents⁸. He was educated in a monastery three miles distant from Apamea, and seventy-five from Antioch⁹, to which city he occasionally resorted, and in which he was ordained Reader while very young¹. Here he contracted an intimacy both with Nestorius, and with John afterwards Bishop of Antioch, and distinguished himself for his doctrine and eloquence. At length he was raised to the

XXX.
 The origin
 of Theodoret.

¹ Theod. Philoth. c. 13. [p. 839. D. 840.]

[² κριθοφάγος]
 Fleury, 17.

³ Philoth. c. 9. [p. 826. c.]

⁴ c. 8. p. 819. C.

⁵ Epist. 81.

⁶ Epist. 119.

⁷ p. 993. A. ¹ Philoth.

c. 12. p. 832. C.

Episcopate, much against his inclination, about the year 423, A. D. 430, having passed the whole of his life up to that time in the monastery, the simple manners of which he ever after retained¹. Philoth. c. 17. fin.

The city of Cyrus, of which he was Bishop, was in the part of Syria named Euphratensis. It is said² that the Jews founded it in honour of Cyrus, at their return from the captivity. Though in itself inconsiderable, it numbered eight hundred parishes among its dependencies³. Theodoret distributed his patrimony immediately after the death of his parents, and made no purchase either of house or land, or even of a sepulchre⁴; neither did he or his ever receive aught from any person, not even a garment or a loaf⁵. He was possessed of nothing but the tattered clothes⁶ which he wore. However, out of the revenues of the Church, he built public galleries, and two great bridges, and repaired the baths. He made an aqueduct to ensure a large supply of water to the city, which had previously possessed nothing but the river. He solicited the Empress Pulcheria to relieve the country, which was so loaded with imposts, that several lands were thrown entirely out of cultivation⁷. Ep. 113. [p. 987, D.] Ep. 81. [p. 954. οὐκ ὀβουλὸν, οὐχ ἱμάτιον· ἐνα ἄρτον ἢ ἄρν. . . .] [6 τῶν πακίων ἐν περιβέβληται.]

As to his spiritual functions⁸ he converted and baptized above ten thousand Marcionites¹ in eight towns; he converted another town of Eunomians, and one of Arians; in a word, his diocese, which on his accession had been one mass of heresy, was now altogether free from that evil leaven. Such a change, however, was not effected without difficulty. More than once his blood was spilt; he was frequently stoned and in peril of his life. He acknowledged that he had received much assistance in these conversions from the prayers both of James the Hermit⁹, whose life he wrote, and of the Saints whose reliques he possessed. By his discourses and writings he assailed in succession all the enemies of religion; the Pagans, Jews, Marcionites, Arians, Eunomians, and Apollinarians¹. He often preached at Antioch, where, according to his own account², he taught six years under the Bishop Ep. 45. [p. 930, A.] Ep. 81. [p. 954, C.] Epist. 145. p. 1026. C. Ep. 113. p. 986. D.

¹ St. Chrysostom had made an effort to bring them back to the Church (v. supr. 20. 11), but, it seems, without success. With regard to the number of the Marcionites converted, there ap-

pears to be some discrepancy; in Ep. 113, he says, "a thousand souls" (χιλιάς); in Ep. 115 'ten thousand' (μυρίους).

⁹ Philoth. c. 21. p. 861.
¹ Ep. 145. p. 1022.
² Ep. 83. p. 957.

A. D. 430.
CH. XXXI.

¹ Ep. ad
Joann.
Germ. t. 4.
p. 703.

Theodotus, thirteen under John, who was often so excited with joy while listening to him as to stand up and clap his hands, and lastly under Domnus, but at all times drawing great applause from his audience¹ u. Such was Theodoret, who, prepossessed by his high regard for Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodorus of Mopsuestia, thought he found in the anathemas of St. Cyril some expressions which favoured the error of Apollinarius, against which he was extremely zealous^x.

XXXI.
Writings
against
Nestorius.

² Mercat.
Pt. 2. p. 116.

On the other side, Marius Mercator, who was at Constantinople, published an answer to the twelve anathemas of Nestorius, which serves as a vindication of those of St. Cyril. He entitled his answer², "The Twelve Blasphemous Articles of Nestorius, in which he contradicts the letters sent to him by St. Cælestine Bishop of Rome, and St. Cyril of Alexandria, and endeavours, by very short answers, to refute the twelve articles of faith which had been sent to him. We have given the first place to those of the Bishop

^u His words are, "The brethren, and Readers, and Deacons, and Priests, and Bishops, all united in praising my discourses at Antioch. After sermon they embraced and kissed me, and called me the light, not of the East only, but of the world." Applauding preachers in church was very common in Africa and elsewhere, but most of all in the Eastern churches. It was done either by acclamation or by clapping of hands, both of them being included in the word *κρότος*. "The custom seems to us altogether alien to the character of a reverend assembly, but it had been gradually introduced first into the senate, and thence into the Church; and we must remember the force of habit, by which τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται." Suicer in v. *Κρότος*. St. Augustine seems not to have discouraged it; see De Doctr. Christ. iv. 26, where he recommends the preacher not to shun those rhetorical decorations which win the good will and favour of the hearers. (Cf. Chrys. de Sacerd. p. 35, ed. Tauchnitz). St. Chrysostom, however, probably saw the system in its more outré forms, (see the account given by Eusebius, E. II. 7. 30, of Paul of Samosata,) and very frequently and strongly spoke against it. Thus in Hom. 31. on the Acts,

"I have often thought of having a law enacted forbidding you to applaud, and admonishing you to listen in silence and with becoming reverence" (see the note to Hom. 4. on 1 Cor. in the Oxford Translation); and in Hom. 17. on St. Matthew, "Did you praise what I said? Nay, I want no applause, no clamour, no noise. One thing I wish, that listening to me quietly and intelligently, you would then do what I say." See also the Homily on 'I saw the Lord' (Opp., t. 5. p. 129). A very striking passage occurs in Hom. 30. on the Acts (quoted by Suicer. u. s.); "I tell you the truth; when I am applauded, I feel my natural pride gratified for the time; but when I go home, and think, 'Perhaps thy vanity to-day has lost some men their souls,' I am in anguish, I groan, I weep, I feel as if I had spent myself for nought." Bingham has collected several passages bearing upon the subject in 14. t. § 27.

^x "We may say of Theodoret, as well as of Andrew, that if St. Cyril differed from him in his modes of expression, they yet held both the same faith and the same doctrine." Ceillier, Hist. des Auteurs Eccl. T. 13. p. 312.

“Cyril, which the Roman Church has ratified by a true
 “decree, and after them those of Nestorius, each translated
 “from the Greek into Latin.” This version by Mercator
 preserves the Anathemas of Nestorius, the original of which
 is lost. Mercator in this answer conceals himself under the
 general name of Catholic, and quotes several passages from
 the sermons of Nestorius, of which he had made a collection,
 containing the five most important.

St. Cyril wrote three works in defence of his doctrine,
 which was that of the Church Catholic. The first was an
 Apology for his Twelve Articles¹, in answer to the treatise
 which Andrew of Samosata had composed in the name of
 the Eastern Churches. As Andrew had not named him,
 St. Cyril names none of his opponents; he takes each
 article separately, placing first his own enunciation of doc-
 trine, next the objection of the Easterns, then his defence.
 The second was his Apology against Theodoret². Prefixed
 to it is the letter to Bishop Evoptius, who had sent him the
 objections. As Theodoret was the avowed author, St. Cyril
 attacks him openly, and with far less leniency than he had
 shewn to Andrew of Samosata; besides, Theodoret’s ob-
 jections contained some heretical statements, which were
 afterwards condemned by the fifth general Council³. St.
 Cyril follows the same method in this work as in the
 former; first giving his own article, next Theodoret’s re-
 futation, then his own defence. Both these works were
 translated into Latin by Marius Mercator⁴. The third was
 his Answer to the blasphemies of Nestorius, that is, to his
 sermons against Proclus. In this work⁵, which comprises
 five books, St. Cyril quotes the words of Nestorius, and im-
 mediately subjoins his refutation of them; the points which
 he labours most to establish are, the necessity of the word
 Theotocos, the unity of the Sox of God, His sufferings, and
 His Priesthood. These three works were composed pre-
 viously to the Council of Ephesus.

In the mean time a tragical event took place at Constan-
 tinople⁶. Some barbarian slaves of a man of rank, being
 cruelly treated by their master, took refuge in the church,
 and forced their way into the chancel⁷ sword in hand. They
 were entreated to withdraw, but refused with a dogged con-

A. D. 431.
 CH. XXXII.

¹ Cyril. t. 6.
 p. 157.
 [Conc.
 Eph. Pt. 3.
 p. 828.]

² Cyril. t. 6.
 p. 200.
 [Conc.
 Eph. Pt. 3.
 p. 888.]

³ Collat. 6.
 Conc. t. 5.
 p. 504, 508.

⁴ Mercat.
 Pt. 2. p. 132.
 and p. 178.

⁵ Tom. 6.
 init.

XXXII.
 The law of
 sanctuary.

⁶ Socrat. 7.
 331.
 [† θυσια-
 στήριον]

A. D. 431.
CH. XXXII.

stancy. They prevented divine service from being celebrated, and for several days held their naked swords in their hands, ready to defend themselves against any who should approach them. They killed one of the clergy, wounded another, and at last cut their own throats. This profanation of the church was regarded as ominous. To guard against any similar accident in future, the Emperor Theodosius made a law, addressed to Antiochus, Præfect of the Prætorium, and dated the tenth of the calends of April, in the Consulate of the same Antiochus, that is, the twenty-third of March, 431.

It enacts that the temples of God should be open to all who are in peril, and that they shall be in safety, not only near the Altar¹, and in the place of prayers², that is, in the body of the church, but in the entrance, and in all places within the enclosure of the sacred place; the chambers, houses, baths, gardens, courts, galleries. And having all this space to be secure in, they shall not be permitted to eat, or to lie down, or to take up their abode in the sanctuary, or in the temple, and they shall obey the clergy who attempt to hinder them. Those who take refuge in churches are also forbidden to carry any sort of arms with them, and that not only into the sacred place, but into any of its precincts. Those who refuse to obey are to be driven from the asylum, and compelled to leave it, if need so require, even by force of arms. And this is the only case in which it is permitted to enter a church with arms. The Emperor declares that he himself, who is every where else surrounded by guards, leaves the arms outside when he enters church; that he lays aside even his diadem, and never enters the chancel but to present his gifts². We see from this law,

[¹ θυσια-
στήρια]
[² εὐκτή-
ριον]

¹ To which the privilege of asylum was then and previously restricted; see the Homily of St. Chrysostom, headed, 'When Eutropius was seized outside the Church,' (tom. 5. p. 100,) "Didst thou wish to be safe? Thou oughtest to have remained in the sanctuary." *Θυσιαστήριον* is thus used in a wide sense as equivalent to the middle age Sacarium, Presbyterium, *βῆμα*, *ἄδυτον*, and our modern chancel or choir; though it is elsewhere restricted to the

part within the Altar-rails.

² Cf. Chrysostom, tom. 5. p. 979. "Our King (Arcadius) who is here present, young in years, in wisdom hoary-headed, lays aside his diadem to take up the cross, forgetting his royalty while in church; spears and shields are left outside, that he may be admitted to the mysteries inside." The custom of the Emperor, in retiring from the chancel, as soon as he had given his oblations, was brought to

among other things, how large a number of buildings were joined to the churches¹, and the great compass of the enclosure about them. An abstract of this law is inserted in the Theodosian code², but it is found entire in the Councils³, with the date of its publication in Egypt (which was in the fourteenth indiction, the twelfth of Pharmouthi, i. e. the seventh of April, 431); for it was a general law for the whole empire.

It was in this year, A.D. 431, that the Western Church lost St. Paulinus of Nola^a. He had been Bishop about twenty years, and in the discharge of his duties had always sought to sway men's minds rather by the sceptre of love than by the yoke of fear⁴. In judicial proceedings he examined with rigour, and decided with mildness. Though he had formerly distributed his own revenues with so liberal a hand^b, he took great care to see that those of the Church were faithfully disposed of⁵. He gave to all men of his money, his forgiveness, his consolation; he edified some by his discourses and letters, others by his example: his reputation was spread not only through the whole empire, but among barbarous nations. He was, probably, seventy-eight years of age when he was seized with a pain in his side, and his life being despaired of, two Bishops, Symmachus and Acindynus, came to visit him. In the joy caused by their arrival he seemed to forget his illness, and, as if he were now ready to ascend to God, he commanded the holy vessels to be placed by his bed-side, in order to offer the Sacrifice in company with the Bishops, and so to commend his own soul to God, and reconcile those whom he had separated from the holy ministry in furtherance of the wholesome discipline of the Church. Having finished all with joy, he suddenly cried aloud, "Where are my brothers?" One of the standers by, thinking that he

A. D. 431.
CH. XXXIII.
¹ Supr. 18.
42.

² IX. Cod.
Theod.
Tit. 15.
[c. 3 p. 363.]
³ Tom. 3.
p. 1233.

XXXIII
The end of
St. Pauli-
nus of Nola.

⁴ Ursinus
de obitu
Paulin. § 9.

⁵ Pomer.
de Vit.
Contemp.
H. c. 9.

Constantinople from Milan by Theodosius the Great. See Theodoret, H. E. 5. 17.

^a For the previous notices of St. Paulinus, see xix. 55—57; xxi. 31, &c. A full account is given in 'Primitive Holiness set forth in the life of 'Blessed Paulinus,' at p. 57. vol. ii. of the 'Flores Solitudinis,' by H. Vaughan (London, 1654), and the elaborate life by Muratori prefixed to

his Works.

^b "The goods I carried about me," he says (Ep. 24 ad Sever. p. 151), "by the slipping of my skirt from my hands, fell easily from me." "Grace," says Vaughan, "is an elixir of a contrary nature to the philosopher's stone; it turned all the gold and silver vessels of this great senator into earthen dishes and wooden spoons." (u. s. p. 120).

A. D. 431. spoke of the Bishops who were present, said, "Here they
 CH. XXXIII. "are." St. Paulinus replied, "I speak of my brothers
 "Januarius and Martin^c, who have just been conversing
 "with me, and told me they would presently return." He
 meant St. Januarius, Bishop of Capua and Martyr, whose
 reliques were then at Naples; and St. Martin of Tours, who
 had appeared to him. He then stretched out his hands to
 heaven, and chaunted the Psalm¹, "I have lifted up mine
 "eyes to the hills," &c. and concluded with a prayer. Then
 the Priest Posthumian informed him that he was forty sols
 of gold² in debt for some clothes which had been given to the
 poor. St. Paulinus answered with a sweet smile, "My son,
 "give yourself no pain about that, some one will be found
 "to discharge the debt of the poor." A short time after, a
 Priest from Lucania was seen entering; he had been sent
 by the Bishop Exuperantius and his brother Ursatius, (who
 was of the rank of the Clarissimi,) to bring St. Paulinus
 fifty sols of gold, simply as a present. St. Paulinus having
 received them, said, "I thank Thee, O LORD, because Thou
 "hast not forsaken him who trusteth in Thee." He gave
 two sols of gold with his own hand to the Priest who brought
 them, and ordered the rest to be employed in paying the
 tradesmen who had furnished the clothes to the poor.

At the close of the day he enjoyed a little quiet rest,
 which lasted till midnight, when the pain in his side re-
 doubled the violence of its attacks. In addition to this, and
 to the torture of having fire frequently (though ineffectually)
 applied to the part, he suffered a great deal from oppression
 at the stomach^d until the fifth hour of the night, that is, an

^c Severus had erected a font with pictures of St. Martin and St. Paulinus upon it. Paulinus wrote to him in consequence; "You did well to have
 "a picture of Martin on the place of
 "man's regeneration; for he bore the
 "marks of true likeness to his hea-
 "venly Master; and when men come
 "to the laver to put off the old man,
 "it were good for them to have the
 "lineaments of His holy soul recalled
 "to their mind. But what have I to
 "do there, neither in innocency a
 "child, nor in wisdom a man? The
 "wolf and the lamb, the serpent and
 "the dove, milk and gall, might as

"well be joined as I and Martin.
 "However, let us stand, my darkness
 "shall add to his brightness, my lack-
 "lustre virtue be as a foil to the bril-
 "liancy of his." This was in him no
 affectionation, for his whole life was an
 impress of humility. Vaughan says
 beautifully, "He was one of the Saints
 "of God, who, while they labour to
 "conceal and obscure themselves, shine
 "the more, like those trees in the poet,
 "Which silently and by none seen
 "Grow great and green."

^d This, as well as the inability to
 speak, which seems to be alluded to
 afterwards, is a usual concomitant of

hour before day. At break of day, following his usual practice, he roused all his family, and said Matins, or rather Laudes^e, as formerly; as the day advanced, he spoke to the Priests, Deacons, and all the clergy, exhorting them to peace; he then continued silent till evening. Afterwards, making an effort as if to rouse himself from slumber, he perceived it was the time of the office of lamps, that is, of vespers, and stretching out his hands, he sung, with a low gentle voice, "I have prepared a lamp for my CHRIST¹." Then an interval¹ of silence succeeded, but about the fourth hour of the night, or ten o'clock, all who were present being broad awake, his cell was shaken by so great an earthquake, that they fell down to prayers in no small alarm, though the people outside the chamber felt nothing of the shock. It was the moment of his departure. After death, his face and his whole body appeared as white as snow. This event took place on the tenth of the calends of July, in the consulate of Bassus and Antiochus, i. e. the twenty-second of June, A.D. 431, and on that day the Church still honours his memory². The circumstances of his death were written by a Priest named Uranius, who witnessed it. There remain of the writings of St. Paulinus fifty-two letters, and twenty-six entire poems, (ten of them in praise of St. Felix^f), with a few fragments of others.

A. D. 431.
CH. XXXIII.

¹ Ps. 132. 17.

² Martyr. R.
22. Jun.

pleurisy. Thus we read of one, who in meekness, purity, devotion, and resignation to God's will, bore a strong resemblance to St. Paulinus. "The next day he was attacked with *oppression on the chest*, and with cold and stitches, which proved to be the commencement of a pleurisy. On the following day both speech and sense left him; . . . indeed, the disease that carried him off was such by its nature and rapid progress, as to preclude much speaking." Pearson's Life of Abp. Leighton. The circumstances of their death coincided in another point; "His income dropped in slowly from time to time, and the last remittance that he had to expect was made about six weeks before his death; so that (as Bp. Burnet says), *his provision and journey failed both at once*."

^e The Lauds were "the last part of the night service, being, according to

"the Benedictine rule, Psalms 118, 119, and 150, which were also recited at the same time in Cassian's day." Du Cange in v.

We may say of the hours of prayer, as compared with the rest of the day, what St. Paulinus said of the festival days, as compared with the rest of the year. (The version is Vaughan's).

"—Our good God (who would all men bring
"Under the shadow of His saving wing),
"Appointed at set times His solemn feasts,
"That by mean services, men might at least
"Take hold of Christ as by the hem, and steal
"Help from His lowest skirts their souls to heal
"(Ut saltem officiis medioeribus ultima Christi
"Vestimenta legant, et eos sacra tumbria
"sanet)."

^f These were called *Natalitia Carmina*, being written on the anniversary of the Saint's death, the day of decease from this world being called 'birth-day.' It was in a cottage near the tomb of St. Felix that St. Paulinus passed the last thirty years of his life.

A. D. 431. Immediately after the feast of Easter, (which this year was
 CH. XXXIV. on the nineteenth of April,) St. Cyril and Nestorius set out
 XXXIV. each from his place of residence, to repair with all speed to
 The arrival of the Ephesus¹. Nestorius was accompanied by a great number
 of the of the of troops, and by the two Counts Candidian and Irenæus.
 Bishops at Candidian was Count of the Domestics, or Captain of the
 Ephesus. Emperor's Guards, and was to assist the Council with
¹ Soerat. soldiers; Irenæus went thither in no official capacity, but
 7. 34. merely out of friendship to Nestorius², who was also accom-
² Ep. panied by ten Bishops, and found many more already assem-
 Theod. bled at Ephesus. St. Cyril set out from Alexandria, followed
 C. Eph. by fifty Bishops³, or about half of those in his dependance;
 p. 443. D. the others stayed behind to take care of the Churches. The
³ Ep. weather was favourable as far as Rhodes, from which island
 Schism. he wrote to his clergy and people a letter full of paternal
 p. 605. E. affection⁴; the rest of his journey was less tranquil, as he
⁴ p. 439. had some storms to encounter⁵. He at length arrived at
⁵ Apol. ad Ephesus four or five days before Pentecost, which fell this
 Theod. p. year on the seventh of June. On his arrival he wrote
 1052. D. another letter to his clergy and people, in which he says,
 "The wicked one, the beast that never sleeps, is continually
 "going to and fro, watching his opportunity to attack the
 "glory of JESUS CHRIST; but the wretch wounds himself,
 "and shall perish with his children." Some understand
 him to mean Nestorius, but it is rather the devil, the
 author of all heresies, who is intended, though he might
 perhaps wish thus enigmatically to designate the cabals of
 the opposite party. Juvenal of Jerusalem arrived, five days
⁶ Soer. 7. 34. after Pentecost⁶, with the Bishops of Palestine, among whom
 was Peter, formerly named Aspebetus, whom, at the request
 of St. Euthymius, Juvenal had appointed first Bishop of the
 Saracens, as before narrated. St. Euthymius charged him
 at parting to attach himself to St. Cyril and Acacius of
 Melitene, and always to follow their sentiments⁷. St. Eu-
 thymius had himself, when young, been a pupil of Acacius⁸.
 Flavian of Thessalonica also arrived at Ephesus in company
 with the Macedonian Bishops by the time appointed.

⁷ Vita S.
 Euth. [p.
 246. t. 2.
 Coteler.]
 p. 41. t. 1.
 Analecta
 Græca.

⁸ p. 206.
 Coteler.

He had always borne a strong affec-
 tion to him, and "it was there," says
 Vaughan, "that he had taken in his
 "first love, and had made a private vow

"in his seven and twentieth year," or
 eleven years before his baptism, "to
 "become a servant of JESUS CHRIST."
 (p. 98.)

But John of Antioch, and the Syrians, obliged the Council to wait a long time for them. They pretended¹ that it was impossible for them to be at Ephesus by Pentecost, the time appointed. The Bishops, they urged, could not leave their churches before the 'New Sunday,' or 'Sunday of Renewing.' This is the name still given by the Easterns to the day of the octave of Easter²; on which the newly baptized lay aside the white habit, and receive the benediction of the Bishop. In the year we are speaking of, this Sunday was the twenty-sixth of April. The Bishops were first to assemble at Antioch³, from which some of them were distant twelve days' journey; these therefore could not arrive before the eighth of May. From Antioch to Ephesus was thirty days' journey; so that supposing them to have stayed only one day at Antioch, they could not possibly reach Ephesus before the eighth of June, the day after Pentecost. This was the excuse afterwards made by the Eastern Bishops.

A. D. 431.
CH. XXXIV.
¹ Evagr. l. 3.

[² then
called
Theopolis-
v. Evagr.]

In the mean time, while the Council was thus kept waiting, the Bishops already assembled at Ephesus began to discuss the subject of controversy—the Incarnation—both in their sermons, and in private conversation³. We have a sermon preached by St. Cyril at this time, in which, after bestowing great praise on the Bishops assembled⁴, he proceeds to eulogize the city of Ephesus, the Apostle St. John⁵, whose reliques reposed there, and the holy Virgin Mary, whose greatness and dignity he extols, repeating with each article the title of Mother of God⁶. He then turns to Nestorius, and says that it is in vain for him to rely on the Counts and other magistrates whom he has gained over by his presents to undertake his defence. He reproaches him with his blasphemies, which were worse, he said, than those of the Jews, heathens, and all the other heretics put together, and uses the strongest language against him, as against a declared enemy of the Church, who had rejected the wholesome advice given to him. For the truth of this he appeals to Pope St. Celestine, whom he styles Father, Patriarch, and Archbishop of the whole earth⁷, and concludes by saying that

³ Liberal.
Brev. c. 5.

⁴ Cyril. l. 5.
pt. 2, p. 379.
⁵ p. 380. B.

⁶ pp. 380, 1.

⁷ p. 384 E.

² "The Sunday with us called Dominica in Albis is in the Greek Church called Κυριακή διακαινήσιμος,

and νέα or καίνη Κυριακή." T. Smith, de Statu Eccl. Gr.

A. D. 431. Nestorius ought to be deposed from the Priesthood. In this sermon mention is made¹ of another that had been preached on the preceding day, in which he had spoken of the partridge mentioned parabolically by the Prophet Jeremiah.

² Conc. Eph. Pt. 3. c. 7. [p. 983.] Acacius of Melitene also delivered a sermon², in which, after complimenting the Bishops assembled, he expounds the faith of the Church, insisting upon the unity and Divinity of CHRIST, and as a necessary consequence from these, the duty of giving to Mary the title of Mother of God. He says by the way, that the cross is honoured along with the Altars of CHRIST^h, and that it shines on the front of the churches³.

[³ p. 987. A.] There were also read on this occasion two sermons by Theodotus of Ancyra on the Nativity of our LORD⁴, in which the error of Nestorius is amply refuted. These two Bishops, Acacius and Theodotus, though Catholics, were friends of Nestorius, and during their stay at Ephesus had several conversations with him, from which it was evident to them that he still persisted in his heresy⁵. St. Cyril occupied himself with making some extracts from the books of Nestorius, which extracts are still preserved in Mercator's translation⁶.

⁶ Ed. Garn. Pt. 2. p. 103.

XXXV. John of Antioch, being now not more than five or six days' journey from Ephesus, sent information of his approach by some officers of the Master of Offices⁷, and wrote a letter to St. Cyril⁸, filled with professions of friendship and of his impatience to be with him: "By the prayers of your holiness," he says, "I am now in a manner at the very entrance into Ephesus, after having suffered a great deal in this journey. I have been travelling thirty days without intermission; some of the Bishops have fallen sick on the road, and we have lost a great many horses. Pray then that we may be able to finish the remainder of our journey without difficulty; we hope to accomplish it in five or six days,

^h It seems evident from the silence of all the writers of the three first centuries that crosses were not then erected in churches. Eusebius, who frequently describes the churches of Constantine, and others, never once alludes to it, though he often mentions crosses set up in other public places. From the fourth century downward, it became more common; partly, no doubt, in

consequence of Constantine's victory over Maxentius, and the invention of the cross by Helena (A.D. 326). Sozomen speaks of the cross as laid on the Altar in his day, and Evagrius (6. 21) speaks of silver crosses given by Chosroes to one of the churches in Constantinople to be fixed upon the Altar. Bingham, 8. 6. § 20. Gieseler, vol. i. p. 288.

The delay of John of Antioch.

[⁷ *μαγιστριανόν*]
⁸ C. Eph. Pt. 1. c. ult. [p. 443.]

"and then we shall embrace your dear and holy person". A. D. 431
CH. XXXVI.
 "The holy Bishops, John, Paul, Macarius, greet your holiness; we greet all the brethren who are with you." In the mean time two Bishops of his train were announced, both of them Metropolitans,—Alexander of Apamea, and Alexander of Hierapolis². As St. Cyril and the other Bishops complained to them of John's delay, they answered several times; "He charged us to tell you that if his arrival should be delayed, the Council need not be deferred on that account³, but should proceed with the necessary business."

Above two hundred Bishops had already assembled at Ephesus from different provinces. The Emperor's letter for the assembling of the Council, fixed the precise day when those who were absent should be held inexcusable. Fifteen⁴ days had elapsed beyond that time. Many of the Bishops and clergy were incommoded by the expense of so long a stay, many were sick, some had died. The whole Council cried out that John of Antioch was unwilling to appear there lest he should see Nestorius deposed; for as Nestorius had been taken from his Church, a sentence of condemnation could hardly be passed without some disgrace being reflected back upon his instructors. Bishops from more distant places had arrived some time before. If John of Antioch was sincere and in earnest, he had no reason to complain, since he had sent express word by the two Alexanders, that they might begin without him. All these things considered, St. Cyril, and the majority of the Bishops, resolved to hold the Council on June the twenty-second, in the great church dedicated to the Holy Virgin.

The day before, (June the twenty-first,) Nestorius had been apprized of this intention by four Bishops, Hermogenes of Rhinocorura in Egypt, Athanasius of Paralos, or the sea-coast, Peter of the Camps, viz. of the Saracens, and Paul Bishop of Lampe⁵. These four Bishops went in quest of Nestorius, to inform him that his attendance in the Council would be required on the next day. His answer was, that he would see, and would be there if it was his duty. They gave the same notice to six or seven Bishops whom they found with him, but received only the same answer. Nestorius requested Memnon Bishop of Ephesus to throw open

¹ ἱερὸν
ἡμῶν καὶ
ὅσων κε-
φαλῶν.

² Relat. ad
Circul.
act. c. p.
660, 661.

³ μὴ ὑπερ-
θέσθαι τὴν
σύνουδον]

⁴ Fleury,
quinz.
Cone. E.
ἐφ' ὅλαις
δέκα καὶ ἑξ
ἡμέραις ;

XXXVI.
The pro-
test of
Nestorius
and Cau-
didian.

⁵ Act. I
p. 453. C.

A. D. 431.
CH. XXXVI.

to him the church of St. John, that he might hold his assembly there apart, but Memnon refused, and the people of Ephesus, who were very zealous for the Catholic doctrine, opposed it with all their might. The same day, (June the twenty-first,) the Bishops of Nestorius's party made a protestation¹, addressed to St. Cyril and Juvenal of Jerusalem, in which they declared that it was incumbent upon them to wait for John of Antioch, and not to admit those who had been deposed and excommunicated by their Bishops. This protest was subscribed by sixty-eight Bishops, of Syria, Asia, and Thrace; the principal of whom were Tranquillinus of Antioch in Pisidia, Alexander of Apamea, Helladius of Tarsus, Fritilas of Heraclea, Himerius of Nicomedia, Alexander of Hierapolis, Eutherius of Tyana, and Theodoret of Cyrus. Nestorius's name did not appear in it. They also procured a declaration from the Bishops, that they would assemble as soon as the Count Candidian should summon them together².

¹ Synodic.
c. 7. [p.
693.]

² Rel.
Nestor.
Act. I.
p. 566. B.

³ Contest.
Candid.
Synodic.
c. 9.

Candidian, on his part, strained every nerve to prevent the Council from being opened before the arrival of John of Antioch³. As he knew that St. Cyril and the others were assembled that morning in the church of the Holy Virgin, he hastened thither, and represented to them that it was the Emperor's will that no set of persons should assemble apart from the rest, but that all should be done by common consent. The Bishops asked permission to see the Emperor's letter. He at first refused, saying that some who ought to assist at the Council were not there present. They said they were ignorant of the Emperor's injunctions, and pressed him until at last he shewed them the letter which he had hitherto

kept secret. The letter was directed to the Council⁴, but was properly the commission of Candidian; it thus addressed the Bishops: "He is appointed to be present at your holy Council, without interfering in questions of doctrine; that is not permitted to him, since he is not of the number of Bishops. But he is entirely to remove from the city of Ephesus all the seculars and Monks⁵, lest these persons,

[⁵ τοὺς
κοσμικοὺς
καὶ μονά-
ζοντας]

¹ Of course the word 'secular' is here not used in the modern sense in which we speak of secular clergy; it would

seem to mean laymen bound by a vow, or otherwise, to a life of peculiar sanctity; who, while they remained in pos-

“ whose presence is unnecessary, should raise a tumult, and
 “ hinder the peaceable deliberations of your holiness. He is
 “ likewise to take care that the disputes produce no divisions,
 “ but that every thing be done without bitterness. Above
 “ all, we have enjoined him absolutely to prevent any of you
 “ from withdrawing himself, either under the plea of return-
 “ ing home, of coming to our Court, or of going elsewhere;
 “ and that no one propose any other question until the one
 “ under immediate consideration has been decided. Further,
 “ it is our pleasure that no action, civil or criminal¹, be insti-
 “ tuted against any person either in your Council or in the
 “ public Court of Ephesus, but that every thing be referred²
 “ to our city of Constantinople. For the rest, know that the
 “ magnificent Irenæus accompanies the most pious Bishop
 “ Nestorius, simply as a friend, without any power to inter-
 “ fere either with the questions to be laid before the Council,
 “ or with the commission of the most glorious Candidian.”

A. D. 431.
CH. XXXVII.

[¹ Χρηματι-
κῇ ἢ ἐγκλη-
ματικῇ.]
[² συγκρο-
τηθῆναι,
for συγ-
κρατηθῆναι.
See Suicer,
s. v.]

The Bishops having heard this letter read, persisted in their resolution of beginning the Council. Candidian continued his opposition to it, entreating them to stay only four days. He several times renewed his proposal, but with so little success that, thinking himself slighted, he indignantly quitted the assembly; and drawing up a protest against their proceedings, he published it at Ephesus on the same day, and sent off a copy of it to the Emperor.

After he had withdrawn, the Bishops opened the Council in St. Mary's church on the same day, which was the twenty-eighth of the Egyptian month, Paüni³, or, in the Roman calculation, the tenth of the calends of July, after the thirteenth Consulate of Theodosius, and third of Valentinian, i. e. Monday the twenty-second of June, 431. Upon the holy throne, (the Bishop's seat) which stood in the centre, was placed the New Testament, to denote CHRIST's presence among them⁴; the Bishops were ranged down each side. At this first sitting there were a hundred and fifty-eight present, not including Bessûla, Deacon of Carthage, who represented all Africa. St. Cyril presided, as holding the place of Pope St. Cælestine,

XXXVII.
The open-
ing of the
Council.

³ Epist. Cyr.
p. 573. C.

⁴ Cyr. ad
Theod. p.
1043. D.

session of their worldly property, and lived in the married state, or even followed an active profession, were ac-

customed to exercise themselves in acts of austerity and religion like the primitive Ascetics. Bingham, 7. 2. § 6.

A. D. 431. (evidence of which appears in the records,) though he might also have presided in virtue of the dignity of his see^k. Next to him were Juvenal of Jerusalem, Memnon of Ephesus, and Flavian of Philippi, the last as deputy of Rufus of Thessalonica, the Metropolitan of Macedonia. Then came Theodotus of Ancyra, Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Acacius of Melitene in Armenia, Iconius of Gortyna in Crete, and Perigenes of Corinth, all Metropolitans, with others, to the number already mentioned¹, most of them of Greece, Asia Minor, Palestine, and Egypt.

¹ p. 445,
sqq.

[² Πριμ-
κήριος
Νοταρίων]
³ p. 451.

When they were all seated, Peter, Priest of Alexandria and chief Notary², said³, “Not many days after the most reverend Nestorius had been appointed Bishop of the holy church of Constantinople, some of his sermons were brought, which disturbed the minds of his readers so much, that a great tumult was raised in the church in consequence. The most pious Bishop of Alexandria, Cyril, being informed of it, wrote to him a first and second letter, full of advice and counsel, all which he rejected, and sent back only a polemical reply. Cyril, being further apprized that Nestorius had sent letters accompanied by

^k As the Patriarch of Rome was unable to come, as the Patriarch of Constantinople was the person arraigned, and the Patriarch of Antioch not yet arrived, there was no one in any way capable of rivalling the claims of St. Cyril to the presidency of the Council. Juvenal does indeed afterwards speak (c. 51) of the right possessed by the Bishops of Jerusalem, according to apostolical tradition, to correct those of Antioch; but the revival of an obsolete claim could have been of little weight when opposed to the dignity of the Patriarch of Alexandria, even had the Patriarch not been a man of the energy, talent, and assiduity of a Cyril. It is evident throughout that his was the impelling mind which both first set the Council in motion, and afterwards sustained and directed its movements. Even St. Cælestine appears to have rather shrunk before his *caractère*. The calling of the old Roman intellect was not to analyze questions in higher dogmatic theology, but *regere imperio populos*; as that of the Greeks was *regere animas hominum philosophiâ*.

According to Balsamon (Meditat.,

Lib. vii. p. 461, Juris Græco-Rom.), St. Cyril “the Pope of Alexandria,” while presiding in the Council, wore the golden diadem which had been appointed by Constantine to be the badge of the Roman Bishop; and in memory of this, the Alexandrian Patriarchs wore the same mark of honour down to his day. Smith (de Eccl. Gr. p. 151) supposes the title of ‘Judge of the Earth’ (κρίτης τῆς οἰκουμένης), assumed by the Patriarchs of Alexandria, to date from this Council.

¹ That is, head of the episcopal notaries, who must not be confounded with the civil notaries mentioned supr. bk. 22. ch. 26. note z. A Patriarch generally had a large corps of these clerks or secretaries attached to him; thus the Patriarch of Constantinople had twelve (δωδεκάς πατριαρχικῶν νοταρίων. Balsamon de Chartoph. p. 459. Juris Græco-Rom.). Besides acting as copyists and reporters, they were employed as attendants on the Bishop's person, carrying his staff, &c. (s.e. an instance of this last in Du Cange, s. v.) The Primicerius of the notaries was the Bishop's Registrar.

“collections of his sermons to Rome, wrote on his part
 “to the most pious Bishop of Rome, Celestine, charg-
 “ing the Deacon Posidonius, who conveyed the letter,
 “thus: ‘If you find that he has received the sermons and
 “‘letters of Nestorius, deliver mine too; if not, bring them
 “‘back undelivered.’ The Deacon, finding that the sermons
 “and letters had been delivered, was obliged to deliver his
 “also, and the most holy Bishop of Rome returned such
 “answer as was required, embodying a precise statement of
 “his views. Since, then, the holy Council is assembled here
 “by order of the Emperor, we are bound to declare that
 “we have in our possession the papers which relate to this
 “business, and are ready to make such use of them as shall
 “seem best to your Piety.” Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem,
 proposed that the letter of the most pious Emperors, directed
 to each of the Metropolitans, should be read, and placed at
 the head of the Acts there and then to be drawn up. The
 Priest Peter produced it, and it was read. Firmus, Bishop
 of Cæsarea, said, “Let the most holy Memnon, Bishop of
 “Ephesus, testify how many days have passed since our
 “arrival.” Memnon said, “Sixteen days have passed since
 “the expiration of the time defined by the Imperial letter.”
 St. Cyril said¹, “The holy Council has exercised sufficient
 “endurance in waiting thus long for the arrival of the holy
 “Bishops who were to be here. But now, since many of
 “those already assembled have fallen sick (some of them
 “even to death), what remains but that, in pursuance of the
 “Emperors’ orders, we should begin to treat of the matters
 “relating to the Faith, and seek to maintain the unity of the
 “whole Church²? Let the papers therefore which relate to
 “this subject be read in succession, and let us adopt that
 “course which seems more especially binding upon us, since
 “the most magnificent Candidian, Count of the Domestics,
 “has read to the Council the second order of the Emperors,
 “bidding us to examine and settle without delay the matters
 “relating to the Faith.”

A. D. 431.
 CH. XXXVIII.

[¹ p. 454. B.]

[² εἰς ὁμολο-
 λειαν ἀπά-
 σης τῆς ὑπὸ
 οὐρανῶν.]

Theodotus of Ancyra said, “The papers will be read in
 “their proper place; but order first requires that the most
 “pious Bishop Nestorius be present, that whatever regards
 “religion may be determined by common consent.” Her-

XXXVIII.
 Citations
 sent to
 Nestorius.

A. D. 431. mogenes of Rhinocorura said¹, "We were yesterday sent by
 CH. XXXVIII.
¹ p. 454. C. "your holiness to the most pious Nestorius with an ad-
 monition that he should be present at this holy Council.
 "He answered, 'I will see, and if duty calls me, I will be
 " 'there.' " The three other Bishops who had been deputed
 along with him²,—Athanasius of Paralus, Peter of the Camps,
 and Paul of Lampe,—testified the same. Flavian, Bishop
 of Philippi, proposed that some of the Bishops should again
 admonish him to come and take his seat in the Council.
 The three selected were Theodulus of Elusa in Palestine,
 Anderius of Chersonesus in Crete, and Theopemptus of Ca-
 bassus in Egypt, to whom was added Epaphroditus, Reader
 and Notary of Hellanicus, Bishop of Rhodes. They were
 charged to deliver a monition in writing, in which men-
 tion was made of the one delivered on the preceding day.

² Supr.
 c. 36.
³ p. 455. D. On their return the Priest Peter said³, "Since the pious
 "Bishops who were deputed from the holy Council are
 "again present, we desire them to declare what answer
 "they have received." The Bishop Theopemptus said,
 "We went to the house of the most pious Nestorius, and
 "seeing a number of soldiers with clubs, we desired that
 "our presence might be announced, but they prevented it,
 "saying, 'He is alone, he is taking repose, and we have
 " 'orders to admit no one to speak with him.' We replied,
 " 'It is impossible for us to return without an answer, for
 [⁴ παρανα- " 'the holy Council sends a monition⁴ to him, inviting him
 γνωστικόν] " 'to be present there.' Some of his clergy coming out, an-
 "swered us as the soldiers had done. When we persisted in
 "demanding an answer, the Tribune Florentius, who accom-
 "panies the Count Candidian, came out and prevailed on
 "us to wait, intimating that he would get an answer for us.
 "So we waited until Florentius came out with the clergy of
 "Nestorius, and said, 'I have not been able to see him, but
 " 'he sent me word to tell you, that as soon as all the
 " 'Bishops are assembled, he will be amongst them.' We
 "desired him, the soldiers, and the Clerks, to bear witness
 "to what had occurred, and then departed." The two other
 Bishops who were of the deputation confirmed this report.
 The soldiers had been given to Nestorius by the Count Can-
 didian, as a body guard⁵.

⁵ Cyril. ad
 Dalm. p.
 561. E.

Flavian of Philippi said¹, “Since we would in all things
 “conform to the rules of ecclesiastical procedure; and as it
 “is plain that the most pious Nestorius being cited yesterday
 “and to-day has not appeared, he shall be summoned a
 “third time by Anysius, Bishop of Thebes, Domnus of
 “Opuns, John of Hephæstus, and Daniel of Darnis.” These
 accordingly went to him, attended by Anysius, Notary and
 Reader to Firmus of Cappadocia, who carried the following
 monition in writing: “The most holy Council in obedience
 “to the canon, summons your Piety by this third citation,
 “bearing with patience the delay to which you have sub-
 “jected them. Be pleased therefore even now, late as it is,
 “to attend and clear yourself of those heretical doctrines
 “which you are charged with having publicly propounded in
 “the church, knowing that if you do not appear, the holy
 “Council will be obliged to pass judgment upon you accord-
 “ing to the canons.”

A. D. 431.
 CH XXXVIII.
¹ p. 437. B.

On their return, they were desired by the Priest Peter to
 make their report. John, Bishop of Hephæstus in the Au-
 gustannica^m in Egypt, said, “Following the orders of the
 “pious Council, we went to the hotel of the most pious
 “Nestorius, but we found a number of soldiers stationed in
 “front of the porch with clubs. We desired permission to
 “enter the hall, or, if that were denied, we asked that at
 “least they would announce us as having been sent by the
 “holy Council with a third monition, inviting him with all
 “gentleness and mildness to be present at their sitting.
 “Long we waited under the burning sun, for the soldiers
 “would not permit us to stand under shelter, but rudely
 “pushed us back, and refused us a civil answer. We said,
 “‘We are four Bishops, we are not sent to treat him with
 “‘contumely, but simply, in pursuance of legal order², to
 “‘invite him to come to the church and take his seat in the
 “‘Council.’ At last the soldiers repulsed us, saying that we
 “should have no further answer if we stayed at the gate till
 “night, and adding that they were placed there to prevent
 “any member of the Council from entering, Nestorius him-

² μετὰ
 πάσης ἀκο-
 λουθίας]

^m The part of Lower Egypt between
 the right (or Pelusiac) branch of the
 Nile and the Red sea. Hephæstus is

the Hellenized form of Phthas, the god
 worshipped in Lower Egypt as Ammon
 was in Upper.

A. D. 431. "self having given order to that effect." This report was confirmed by the three other Bishops.

CH. XXXIX.

XXXIX.
The examination
of the doctrine.

¹ p. 459. C.
[On the
trina monitio, v.
Can. Apost.
73. Con-
cilia. p. 41.
(74. Beve-
reg. Van
Espin. 76.
Cotelier.)
Cf. Con-
stant. Ep.
Pont. Rom.
t. I. p. 1121.
not. a.]

Juvenal of Jerusalem said¹, "Although the requirements of the Church are satisfied by three monitions, we were not unwilling to send a fourth to the most reverend Nestorius. But as he has surrounded his house with a troop of soldiers, who suffer no one to come near him, it is plainly soreness of conscience which makes him decline attendance on the Council. We must therefore proceed according to the order of the canons, to take such steps as may tend to uphold the integrity of the Faith. Let the Nicene Creed be first read, so that comparing with it the doctrines that have been put forward concerning the Faith, we may appoint of those which shall be found conformable to it, and reject those which are not." After the Nicene Creed had been recited, the Priest Peter said, "We have in our hands a letter of the most holy Archbishop Cyril, written to the most reverend Nestorius, full of counsel and advice: this, if the holy Council order me, I will read aloud." Acacius of Melitene demanded it might be read². It was the second letter of St. Cyril to Nestorius, which begins thus: "I understand that some persons slander me³." When it had been read out, St. Cyril said, "You have heard my letter; I believe that in it I have in no respect departed from the Catholic Faith and the Nicene Creed; I desire you to give your opinion respecting it."

² p. 462. A.

³ Supr.
c. 8.

Juvenal of Jerusalem said, "The Nicene Creed, and the letter of the most holy Archbishop Cyril, having been severally read, they both appear agreeable to each other; I consent to, and approve of, this holy doctrine." Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, addressing himself to St. Cyril, said, "What the holy Council of Nice had delivered compendiously your holiness has explained in detail⁴, making it more clear and intelligible to us; wherefore I find nothing ambiguous in it; every thing is perfectly consistent, and free from innovation⁵. I accordingly assent to it as the very doctrine which I received from the holy Bishops my fathers." Memnon of Ephesus, Theodotus of Ancyra, Flavian of Philippi, spoke in substance the same thing; this last not only in his own name, but in the name of Rufus of Thessalonica, and of

[⁴ λεπτῶς
καὶ παρὰ
πρόδας]

[⁵ νεωτε-
ρισμόν]

all the Bishops of Illyria, whom he certified to be in the same Faith. Acacius of Melitene, Iconius of [Gortyna in] Crete, Hellanicus of Rhodes, Palladius of Amasea, and most of the other Bishops, were of the same opinion, which they delivered singly, to the number of a hundred and twenty-six; saying, in different words, the same thing, namely, that they found the letter of St. Cyril agreeable to the Nicene Creed, and approved of its doctrine". The other Bishops, who did not give their opinions singly, declared all together that they agreed in the sentiments expressed¹. Then Palladius of Amasea, said, "Order now requires that we also have read to us the letter of the most reverend Nestorius, of which the very reverend Priest Peter spoke at the beginning, that we may see if it agrees with the faith of the Nicene Creed." They read the second letter, which begins, "I will not dwell upon the wanton injustice done me in your extraordinary letter²." After it had been read, St. Cyril demanded of the Council what they thought of it. Juvenal of Jerusalem said³, "It is not at all consistent with the Nicene Creed. I anathematize all persons of this belief, for this doctrine is remote from the Catholic Faith." Flavian of Philippi said, "The whole contents of the letter which has been read, entirely contradict the Nicene Creed; and we judge those who are of this persuasion to be strangers to the true Faith." Firmus of Cappadocia said, "He has disguised himself at the beginning under an appearance of piety, but as he proceeds, unable to conceal his thoughts, he drops the veil and plainly discovers that he agrees neither with the Nicene Faith, nor with the letter of Archbishop Cyril."

Acacius of Melitene enlarged somewhat more than the

A. D. 431.
CH. XXXIX.

¹ p. 492. E.

² Supr.
c. 10.

³ p. 494.

"The following may be added.—Prothymius of Comana said, "As St. Cyril's exposition differs from that of the three hundred and eighteen holy Fathers in expression only; I avouch that in this faith I was baptized, in this I grew up, in this I was ordained and made Priest; in this I pray that I may die, and in this see my Lord and Saviour at the resurrection." Valerian of Iconium; "Each form is dictated by the same Spirit: St. Cyril's letter is the precious Nicene

"faith re-opened, whereby it again diffuses its fragrance like ointment poured forth." Silvanus of Cerasstapa; "Although I was late in obtaining the grace of baptism, yet this is the faith, as set forth by the Nicene Creed and expounded by St. Cyril, into which I was myself baptized, and into which I have baptized many others. This may I preserve to the day of the resurrection, and present it to Christ spotless."

A. D. 431. others, and said, "The letter of Nestorius shews that it is
 CH. XXXIX. "not without reason that he is afraid of coming to the
 "Council. He knows, in his conscience, that he has cor-
 [1 παρα- "rupted¹ the Divine writings, and removed the landmarks²
 χυράξαντα] "of the holy Fathers; and hence the fear which obliges him
 [2 παρα- "to guard his house with soldiers. For his letter clearly
 σαλεύσαντα ὕρια] "shews that he has put out the words which the Nicene
 "Creed and the holy Bishops made use of in speaking of
 "the only Son of God, with a view to attribute the Incarna-
 "tion only to the flesh; saying that the birth and death
 "belong simply and merely to the Temple of God³. And in
³ p. 496. A. [ψιλδν τὸν "this he has misrepresented the Scriptures, as if they at-
 ναν] "tributed the birth and sufferings to the humanity only,
 "and not to the Divinity." Acacius means that Nestorius
 seems to deny the eternal generation of the Word. He
 continued, "He has also slandered the letters of Cyril, as
 "if they affirmed that God is capable of suffering, which
 "neither he, nor any other pious man ever thought of
 "asserting. And it is evident throughout, that he confesses
 "the unity of God with the flesh in name only, while in
 "effect he entirely denies it. He himself shews that he is
 "conscious of having introduced a strange doctrine, where
 "he says that he has succeeded in at length rescuing these
 "doctrines from the darkness in which they had been in-
 "volved. All this being of a character so alien to truth,
 "and so full of impiety, I do renounce, and I separate
 "myself from the communion of those who hold such
 "language."

The other Bishops expressed their opinions to the same
 purpose, condemning the letter of Nestorius as contrary to
 the Nicene Creed; and after thirty-four had spoken, all cried
⁴ p. 502. B. out together⁴, "Whosoever does not anathematize Nestorius,
 "let him be anathema. The orthodox Faith anathematizes
 "him, the holy Council anathematizes him. Whoso com-
 "municates with Nestorius, let him be anathema. We all
 "anathematize the letter and doctrines of Nestorius. We
 "all anathematize the heretic Nestorius. Those who
 "communicate with Nestorius we all anathematize. We
 "anathematize the impious faith of Nestorius. All the
 "earth anathematizes his impious religion. Whosoever

“ does not anathematize him, let him be anathema.” Then A. D. 431.
 they added, “ Let the letter of the most holy Bishop of Rome CH. XL.
 “ be read :” Juvenal thus put the motion ; “ That the letter
 “ which the most holy Celestine, Archbishop of Rome, has
 “ written concerning the Faith, be likewise read.” The Priest
 Peter read Pope St. Celestine’s letter to Nestorius¹ translated ¹Supr. c. 14.
 into Greek ; then he added, “ Our most pious Bishop Cyril
 “ wrote a letter in unison with the sentiments of the one just
 “ recited : if it be your pleasure, we will read a copy of it
 “ which we have now in our hands.” Flavian of Philippi
 ordered that it should be read, and inserted in the Acts.

The Priest Peter therefore read St. Cyril’s third letter to XL.
 Nestorius², which is the Synodical letter containing the The depo-
 twelve anathemas. He then added, “ These letters of Cyril sitions
 “ and Celestine have been sent and delivered to Nestorius by against
 “ the Bishops Theopemptus, Daniel, Potamon, and Macarius. Nestorius.
 “ I suggest that Theopemptus and Daniel, who are here ²Supr. c. 21.
 “ present, may be examined as to this point³.” Flavian of ³ p. 503.
 Philippi asked them to state whether they had delivered the
 letters. Theopemptus, Bishop of Cabasa, said, “ We went to
 “ the cathedral one Sunday during service-time, and de-
 “ livered these letters to Nestorius in the presence of all the
 “ clergy, and almost all the Illustres⁴.” Daniel, Bishop of ⁴ Supr. c. 29.
 Darnis, testified the same. Flavian of Philippi said, “ Did he
 “ comply with the demands of the letters ?” “ He told us,”
 replied Daniel, “ to come on the following day, and we
 “ should have a private interview ; but on going to his house,
 “ he shut the doors against us without vouchsafing any
 “ answer.” Theopemptus added, “ He was so far from com-
 “ plying with the terms of the letters, that ever since the
 “ receipt of them, his public discourses in the church have
 “ declined more and more from the line of orthodoxy, and
 “ still continue to do so.”

Fidus, Bishop of Joppa, said, “ The Bishops Acacius and
 “ Theodotus, who are present, can tell you whether he still
 “ holds the same doctrine. They have discoursed with him
 “ often⁵ ; one of them indeed at considerable risk. We ⁵ Supr. c. 34.
 “ entreat and conjure them by the holy Gospels which lie
 “ here before us, to enter their deposition in these Acts, as to
 “ what they have heard Nestorius say within the last three

A. D. 431. "days." St. Cyril said, "Since the subject we are discussing
 CH. XL. "is not one of light moment, but of the very deepest and
 "gravest interest, being no other than the true Faith of
 "JESUS CHRIST, it is but reasonable that Theodotus and
 "Acacius, sincere and pious as they are, should say what
 "they have heard from him here at Ephesus." Theodotus
 of Ancyra said, "I am sorely grieved for my friend, but the
 [¹πάσης "claims of religion are paramount to those of any friendship¹,
 φιλίας προ- "so that however loath I may be to do it, I feel bound to
 τιμῶ τὴν "give a simple statement of the truth, in reference to the
 εὐσεβείαν.] "questions put to me. I do not however think our testi-
 "mony necessary, for it is sufficiently clear from his letters
 "what his opinions are. As in them, when speaking of the
 "Divine Word, he said that the weaknesses of man's nature
 "cannot be attributed to Him; so too he has said here: as
 "in them he contended that we ought not to say God was
 "born of a virgin, or nourished with her milk; so he has
 "here several times said that one ought not to talk of a
 "God two or three months old. Many other persons besides
 "ourselves heard him talk thus at Ephesus, not many days
 "ago."

Acacius of Melitene said, "Where the Faith is concerned,
 "private affection must be content to lie idle. No one could
 "have loved Nestorius more than I have done, no one have
 "more heartily desired by all means to save him, yet I will
 "speak the truth, lest I bring my own soul into condemna-
 "tion. As soon as I came to Ephesus, I had a conversation
 "with him, and finding his opinions erroneous, did my utmost
 "to reclaim him. I was so far successful as to obtain an
 "oral promise that he would not persist in these opinions.
 "Ten or twelve days afterwards, the discussion being resumed,
 "I again maintained the cause of truth. I saw that he
 "opposed it, and by an absurd question² placed his answerers
 "under the necessity of either denying altogether that the
 "Godhead of the only SON was incarnate, or of confessing
 "with no less impiety, that the Godhead of the FATHER,
 "SON, and HOLY GHOST is incarnate along with the Divine
 "WORD. Thus maliciously was the question constructed, in
 "order to overthrow the Faith. Again, in another conver-
 "sation, a Bishop who was with him took up the discourse,

[² ἐπερω-
 τήσεως
 ἀτόπου
 οὔσης]

“ and said that the Sox who suffered was different from V. D. 431.
 “ God the Word. Unable to bear this blasphemy, I CH. XL.
 “ took leave of the company, and withdrew¹. Another of [¹ συντα
 “ those who were with him, pleaded on behalf of the Jews ξάμενος
 “ that their crime had not been against God, but against a πᾶσιν
 “ man.” ἀπὸ λαθον.]

Flavian next requested that the authorities of the Fathers N.L.
 upon the subject might be read, and inserted in the Acts. Authorities of the
 The Priest Peter said, “ We have here before us the books of Fathers.
 “ the Fathers, Bishops, and Martyrs, out of which I have
 “ selected some few chapters which with your permission I
 “ will read;” so when Flavian had again put the motion, he
 read a passage from the book of St. Peter, Bishop of Alex-
 andria and Martyr^o, “ on the Deity²;” another from St. ^o p. 507.
 Athanasius against the Arians, and a third from his letter
 to Epictetus³; one from a letter of Pope St. Julius to Docimus, [³ p. 509.]
 one from the letter of Pope St. Felix to Maximus and the
 Alexandrian clergy, and two from the (fifth and sixth)
 paschal letters of Theophilus of Alexandria⁴. Of all these [⁴ p. 511.]
 works, none but those of St. Athanasius are now extant.
 The Priest Peter read likewise a passage from St. Cyprian’s
 treatise on alms-giving; two out of St. Ambrose, in his book
 ‘On the Faith;’ another from the letter of St. Gregory of
 Nazianzus to Cledonius⁵, containing anathemas; another out [⁵ p. 514.]
 of St. Basil, and another from St. Gregory of Nyssa⁶; two from [⁶ p. 515.]
 Atticus of Constantinople, and two out of St. Amphilochius,
 whose works have perished⁷. In all, there are twelve Fathers [⁷ p. 518.]
 whose authority was referred to, but some copyists retrench
 the two last, and Vincentius of Lerins reckons only ten⁸.

The Priest Peter said, “ We have likewise at hand the
 “ blasphemous books of the most reverend Nestorius, from
 “ one of which we have selected some articles; if it is agree-
 “ able to the holy Council, we will read them⁹.” The Bishop ^o p. 519. A.
 Flavian said, “ Let them be read and inserted in the
 “ Acts;” and all the Bishops gave their consent. They read
 twenty articles taken from Nestorius’s book, which was a
 collection of sermons in twenty-seven loose sheets¹. After [¹ τετραδία
 Quaterniones]

^o See Euseb. H. E. vii. 32; viii. 13; Ruinart, Acta Mart. p. 315, and Fleury
 ix. 6. Athanas. Vita S. Ant. c. 47. ix. 37.
 Epiphani. de Hær. c. 68. (t. I. p. 716.)

⁸ Comm.
 c. 42.
 [sacratio
 Decalogi
 numero]

A. D. 431. the reading, Flavian said¹, "Since these discourses of Nes-
CII. XLII. torius are horrible blasphemies, [let not our ears be
¹ p. 529. C. "polluted by listening to them any further, but] let them
 "be entered among the Acts, to the condemnation of him
 "who uttered them."

[² Cf. *supr.*
 21. 26.]

The Priest Peter said, "The most reverend Metropolitan
 "and Bishop of Carthage, Capreolus, has written a letter to
 "the holy Council by Bessula the Deacon. If it be your
 "wish, I will read it along with the translation." Its import
 was, that St. Augustine, who had been called by name to the
 Council, was dead when the letter of the Emperor arrived,
 and that the letter was addressed singly and solely to St.
 Augustine; that when Capreolus had received it, he wrote
 to all the provinces of Africa to assemble the national
 Council² in order to choose deputies for the general Council;
 but the desolation of the country, and the ravages of the
 Vandals, made such assemblies impracticable; besides, the
 period of time allotted was too brief; the Emperor's letters
 did not arrive at Carthage till Easter, when there remained
 only two months to elapse before the meeting of the general
 Council, and that time was insufficient even for convening
 the African Council in full peace; that being thus unable to
 send a solemn deputation, Capreolus wished at least to mark
 his observance of ecclesiastical discipline, and his respect for
 the general Council, by sending a Deacon to carry his ex-
 cuses. He therefore entreats the Bishops courageously to
 oppose those who would introduce new doctrines into the
 Church, and not to suffer that which had been already de-
 termined to be again called in question, or to allow the
 decisions of the Fathers to be disputed. St. Cyril desired
 that this letter of Capreolus might be inserted in the Acts,
 as it clearly imported that the ancient opinions concerning
 the Faith ought to be maintained, and the new rejected.
 All the Bishops cried out, "We are of the same opinion, we
 "all desire the same to be done."

XLII.
 Sentence
 against
 Nestorius.
 (June 22.)
³ p. 533.

Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced against
 Nestorius in these terms³; "Nestorius having, among other
 "things, refused to obey our citation, and to receive the
 "Bishops who were sent on our part, we have been obliged
 "to proceed to an examination of his impieties; and having

“ convicted him, as well by his letters as by his other writ- A. D. 431.
 “ ings, and by discourses which he lately held in this city, CH. XLII.
 “ (duly attested,) of holding and teaching impious doctrines;
 “ being reduced to this necessity by the canons, and by the
 “ letter of our most holy Father and colleague¹ Celestine, [¹ συλλει-
 “ Bishop of the Roman Church; after having shed many τουργοῦ]
 “ tears, we are agreed upon this unhappy sentence. Our Lord
 “ JESUS CHRIST, whom he hath blasphemed, has declared by
 “ this holy Council that he is deprived of the episcopal dig-
 “ nity, and excluded from all ecclesiastical assemblies. Cyril,
 “ Bishop of Alexandria; I have subscribed to the judgment
 “ of the Council. Juvenal, Bishop of Jerusalem, I have sub-
 “ scribed to the judgment of the Council.” All the other
 Bishops present subscribed in the same way, to the number
 of one hundred and ninety-eight. Some called themselves
 Bishops by the grace and mercy of God; others, Bishops of
 the Catholic² Church of such and such a place. Some sub- [² ἀγίας]
 scribed by the hand of a Priest, one having his hand dis-
 abled, others being sick. Some Bishops also subscribed who
 were not present till after the first session³; so that Nestorius ³ p. 548. E.
 was deposed by more than two hundred Bishops, for some of
 them had a delegated authority⁴ as well as their own, since [⁴ ἐτοπο-
 they represented others who were unable to get to Ephesus. τήρησαν]
 This was the first session of the Council, and it lasted from
 morning till night, although the days were then at the longest,
 for it was the twenty-second of June, and at Ephesus the sun
 does not set on that day till eleven minutes after seven o’clock.
 The people of the city waited from morning till night in ex-
 pectation of their decision⁵; and when they heard that Nes- ⁵ Ep. Cyr.
 torius was deposed, they began with one voice to bless and p. 573.
 applaud the Council, and to praise God that the enemy of
 the Faith was fallen. The Bishops, on coming out of the
 church, were conducted to their hotels with torches, the
 women carried perfumes before them, the city was illu-
 minated with lamps, and every thing expressed universal
 exultation.

On the next day, (June the twenty-third,) they acquainted
 Nestorius with his sentence of deposition, in these terms⁶; ⁶ p. 549. A.
 “ The holy Council assembled at Ephesus by the grace of
 “ God, and in pursuance of the decree of our most pious

A. D. 431. "Emperors, to Nestorius the new Judas: know, that for thy
 CH. XLIII. "impious doctrines, and disobedience to the canons, thou
 "wast deposed by the holy Council agreeably to the laws of
 "the Church, and declared to be excluded from all eccle-
 "siastical dignities, on the twenty-second day of this present
 "month of June." This sentence was fixed up in the public
 places, and published by criers. The Council wrote on the
 same day to Eucharius, defender of the Church of Constantinople,
 to the Priests, the Stewards, and the rest of the clergy, acquainting
 them that Nestorius had been deposed on the previous day, and desiring
 them to take care of the goods of the Church, as they would give an
 account of them to the future Bishop of Constantinople, "who will be
 ordained," says the letter, "according to the will of God, and the
 permission of our most pious Emperors."

XLIII.
 Letter to
 the Abbot
 Dalmatius,
 &c.

¹ p. 549. E. St. Cyril wrote at the same time a letter¹ addressed to the
 Abbot Dalmatius, and to such of his partizans as resided at
 Constantinople; these were, first, the Bishops Macarius and
 Potamon, (two of those who had been deputed to Nestorius
 by the Council of Egypt, in the preceding year; the other
 two, Theopemptus and Daniel, were at Ephesus;) and secondly,
 two of St. Cyril's Priests at Constantinople, Timotheus and
 Eulogus. The Abbot Dalmatius² was, of all the
 Monks of Constantinople, the most eminent for his piety.

[² Bolland,
 t.33.p.213.]

He had borne arms under Theodosius the Great, and served
 in the second company of his guards, living even then a life
 of piety. The better to serve God, he left his wife and
 children, taking with him only his son Faustus. Thus accompanied,
 he went to seek the Abbot Isaac, under whose guidance he placed
 himself, and embraced the monastic life. Isaac had dwelt in the
 deserts from his infancy, living in the practice of every virtue.
 It was he who predicted to the Emperor Valens his approaching
 death³. Under his teaching Dalmatius advanced to so high a
 degree of perfection, that Isaac on his death-bed appointed him
 Hegumen, or superior of the monastery, under the Patriarch
 Atticus. It is said that he passed forty days without eating,
 being enwrapt during the whole time in a trance. The Emperor
 paid him visits⁴, and he was looked up to by the Senate with
 great veneration. They granted to him and to his successors the

³ Fleury,
 17. 37.

⁴ Conc.
 Eph.p.752.
 D.

Abbots of the monastery for ever, the title of Archimandrite, A. D. 431. CH. XLIII. that is, Head of all the monasteries of Constantinople^p; and this is the title by which St. Cyril addresses him in his letter. The Greek Church honours the memory of all three, Isaac, Dalmatius, and Faustus, on the same day, the third of August¹.

In this letter St. Cyril informed Dalmatius and the others of all that had passed in the Council; of the affected delay of John of Antioch, the contemptuous behaviour of Nestorius, and his deposition. He concludes thus²; "As I am told that^q the Count Candidian has sent in some reports³, be on the^{563.} look out, and let it be known that the acts relating to the^{5 [ἀναφο- ραί]} deposition of Nestorius are not yet copied out fairly; this is the reason why the report, which is to be sent in to the Emperor, has not yet been despatched; but if it be God's will, both it and the Acts shall be sent presently, provided any one is allowed to carry them. Should the Acts and report be delayed, you may be certain it is only because we are not permitted to send them⁴; adieu." The Acts would seem to have been conveyed soon after, by the Bishops

¹ Menolog.
Aug. 3.

^p *Μάνδρα* is explained in the old glosses by *σπέος, σπήλαιον*, spelunca (see Dufresne). But as the hollows of rocks are used in eastern countries for folds and stalls (see Grotius on Luke ii. 7. and cf. *Caula* in Facciolati), it came afterwards to mean, as Hesychius explains it, *σηκὸς βοῶν καὶ ὑπῶν*, whence finally it is used for a 'herd of cattle,' as in the 'stantis convicia mandræ' of Juvenal (iii. 237). Thus, then, a mandrite would at first be a person who lived in a solitary cave, but as people became attracted around him by his wisdom or piety, his cave would gradually enclose a *fold* of monks, so to speak, who on rearing a monastery would still retain their old title. The head of any such monastic establishment was called Archimandrite (supr. 20. 6. p.) The word was, in course of time, limited to the signification mentioned in the text, denoting a General-Abbot, or head of an aggregation of monasteries; and so the word is still used in Mt. Athos, and (according to Ersch and Gruber) in the St. Salvator's convent at Messina.

In the Russian Church, *Archimandrites* are the heads of superior monas-

teries (or Lavras, see Mouravieff, p. 38. Oxf. ed.), the *Hegumens* of inferior; corresponding respectively to the Abbots and Priors of the Western Church, though possessing far less power, since they are subject to minute episcopal surveillance. In the Coptic Church, the Archimandrite is second in dignity only to the Patriarch, being Grand-Prior of all the convents of the country.

In the letter from the Bishops of Constantinople to the Council of Ephesus (Conc. p. 752), Dalmatius is only called "one of the Archimandrites," and "all the Archimandrites" are said to have gone to the palace. Hence it would seem that the explanation given by Fleury is somewhat premature. The Abbey over which Dalmatius presided was raised to the dignity of Chief Abbey, but this precedence was not (as yet) indicated by the word Archimandrite. On the 'Abbots of St. Dalmatius' see Dufresne *De Constantinop.* Christ. lib. iv. p. 155.

^q Probably the Nestorian party pursued the same tactics at Ephesus as at Constantinople. V. infr. xxvi. 4. at the end.

A. D. 431. Theopemptus and Daniel¹, whom we next meet with at Constantinople²: they had got there before the arrival of Count Irenæus³.

CH. XLIV.
¹ p. 700. D.
² [p. 771. B.]
³ p. 717. B.

XLIV.
Nestorius's
Report.
⁴ Baluz.
Synod. C.
II. [p.
703.]

On the day after the session of the Council, i. e. Tuesday, June the twenty-third, the Count Candidian published an edict⁴ at Ephesus, in which he protested against what had been done on the preceding day, and again admonished all the Bishops to wait for the arrival of John of Antioch, and of the other Bishops who were on the road. He sent to the Court at the same time either Nestorius's own report or another like it. We have that of Nestorius, addressed to the Emperor, in these words⁵:

⁵ C. Eph.
p. 563 E.

“ Being summoned by your Piety to Ephesus, we repaired
“ thither without delay. In accordance with your injunc-
“ tions, we were desirous to wait for the Bishops who were
“ assembling from all parts, but when we found that the
“ Egyptians were growing impatient, and imputed the delay
“ to some preconcerted scheme on our part, we promised to
“ assemble whenever the Count Candidian should think fit.
“ He, knowing that Bishop John of Antioch and his attend-
“ ants were near, and that others were on their way from the
“ west, signified his wish that all should wait for their arrival.
“ We therefore, in obedience to your orders, remained quiet,
“ but the Egyptians and Asiatics, in contempt of the
“ laws both ecclesiastical and imperial, assembled themselves
“ apart, and have done what every body will inform your
“ Majesty of. They placed soldiers of their party in the
“ market-place, they filled the city with confusion, they sur-
“ rounded our houses, and used terrible menaces against us.
“ The Bishop Memnon was the leader in this sedition; he
“ had shut up the churches, that, when pursued, we might
“ not have any place of refuge; but for the others he opened
“ the great church, and prepared whatever was necessary for
“ holding a Council. We therefore beg and conjure you,
“ that since we came to Ephesus by your order, without fore-
“ seeing this so barbarous an insult, you would provide for
“ our safety, and issue orders that the Council may be
“ held in the usual form, and that none of the clergy or
“ Monks, whether belonging to us or to the Egyptians, nor
“ any of the Bishops who were not called, may come in to

“disturb it, and that there should be admitted to sit with
 “the Metropolitan only two Bishops of each province, being
 “men who have some knowledge in questions of this sort:
 “or if this be not granted, that we may at least have orders
 “to return to our homes in safety, for they threaten us
 “even with loss of life.”

The petition for two Bishops of each province with their Metropolitan, had an artifice in it;—the Patriarch of Alexandria had very few Metropolitans under him^r. This letter was subscribed by Nestorius, Frtilas of Heraclea, Helladius of Tarsus, Dexian of Seleucia, Himerius of Nicomedia, Alexander of Apamia, Eutherius of Tyana, Basil of Thessaly, Maximus of Anazarbus, Alexander of Hierapolis, Dorotheus of Marcanopolis, eleven in all. In the mean time¹, Count Cam-

A. D. 431.
 CH. XLIV.
¹ Ep. Memn.
 p. 761. D.

didian annoyed the Bishops of the Council with his soldiers, preventing even the necessaries of life from being brought to them, and permitting the people whom Nestorius entertained, particularly a large body of the peasants belonging to the Church lands², to load them with insult.

When a fair copy had been made of the Acts of Nestorius's deposition, they were sent to the Emperor together with a synodical letter, giving a history of all that had passed, their reasons for not waiting for the eastern Bishops, the contumacy of Nestorius, and so forth. The Pope is spoken of in these terms³: “We approved of what the most holy Bishop of Rome, “Celestine, had done in having already condemned the here-
 “tical dogmas of Nestorius, and in anticipating us in pass-
 “ing sentence against him.” It concluded thus: “We beg,
 “therefore, of your Majesty to command that Nestorius's doc-
 “trine be banished from all our holy Churches; that his books,
 “wherever they are found, be burnt; and if any one fail in
 “due observance of these commands, that he incur your impe-

[² Χαρικοί
 ἀπὸ τῶν
 ἐκκλησι-
 αστικῶν
 κτημάτων]

³ p. 572. C.

^r Indeed it is doubted whether he had any Metropolitans under him, strictly speaking. In this respect the Primate of Alexandria had more power than any of the other Primates. While his diocese contained six provinces, with one hundred suffragan Bishops, (or thirty-one more than the Primate of Rome had under him,) he possessed a metropolitical power over the whole, i. e. he had the power of ordaining all the

suffragan Bishops. Bingham, 2. 16. § 23 and 17. § 11. Indeed, if each of the six provinces had had a Metropolitan, St. Cyril's diocese would still have been inadequately represented, if Nestorius's project had succeeded; for Vincentius of Lerins, speaking of this Council, says, p. 112. ed. Cantab., that “the majority of the Priests assembled were “Metropolitans,” (pæne ex majori parte Metropolitani).

A. D. 431. "rial displeasure." The Council likewise wrote to the clergy
CH. XLV. and people of Constantinople, to acquaint them with the fact
 of Nestorius's deposition, as a piece of agreeable news^a. It is
¹ p. 573. A. in this letter¹ that the Council joins together the Holy Virgin
 and St. John, as equally honouring the city of Ephesus. It
² p. 605. A. is certain from another letter², that the sepulchre of St. John
 was there, in a Church bearing his name¹. St. Cyril also sent
 an account of the proceedings against Nestorius, to his clergy
³ p. 576. A. and people of Alexandria³, and the Monks of Egypt⁴. Mean-
⁴ p. 576. D.] while, he preached some sermons; one at the church of St.
⁵ p. 584. Mary⁵ on the occasion of seven Bishops, who had been attached
 to Nestorius's party, coming over to re-unite themselves with
 the Council: another at the synaxis or liturgy⁶, which would
 seem to have been celebrated on Friday the twenty-sixth of
 June; Reginus Bishop of Cyprus, and some others, having
 spoken before him. In these discourses St. Cyril declaims
 with great vehemence against Nestorius.

XLV.
 Arrival of
 John of
 Antioch.

On the fifth day after the sentence of deposition, i. e. on
 Saturday, June the twenty-seventh, John of Antioch arrived
 at Ephesus. The Council, on hearing of his approach, deputed
 some Bishops and clergy to meet him, hoping thus at once
 to shew him a proper mark of respect, and to caution him
 against having any intercourse with Nestorius, who had been
 deposed by the Council⁷. The soldiers who accompanied John
 of Antioch prevented the deputies from speaking with him on
 the road; however, they followed him to his hotel, and waited
 there several hours, vainly seeking to obtain an interview with
 him, and subjected to much insult from the soldiers. At last,
 [when it suited his humour,] some of the guards were sent
 to introduce them. As soon as they had declared the mes-
 sage with which they were charged on the part of the
 Council, he abandoned them to Count Irenæus, and to the
 Bishops and clergy of his train, who beat them so that their
 lives were in peril. The deputies returned to the Council,
 detailed the way in which they had been treated, and shewed
 the marks of the blows they had received; Acts were drawn
 up to record the transaction in presence of the Gospel, that

^a For a graphic description of the
 joy with which the news was received,
 see C. Eph. p. 753. A. and infr. xxvi. 6.

¹ At p. 605 A. "the coffin of the

"Apostle" (τὴν ἀδράνακα) is mentioned.
 The church is called τὸ ἄγιον ἀπο-
 στόλιον. p. 565, E. p. 595, A. p. 715, D.
 Cf. Bingham, 8. 1. § 8.

is, in full Council; but it would seem that some of the Acts A. D. 431.
of the Council of Ephesus are lost, for those just alluded to CH. XLV.—
are not to be found in the extant copies.

The interval during which the deputies were kept waiting had been employed by John in holding a Council of his own with the partizans of Nestorius. The moment he alighted from his chariot, and got into his room, covered with dust, and not waiting even to pull off his cloak, he commenced proceedings against St. Cyril, Memnon of Ephesus, and the whole Council¹. The Count Candidian, who had gone to meet him, was the first to give evidence, and, according to the Acts of this pretended Council², he spoke thus: “It was
“ my wish to have presented the Emperors’ letters, according¹ Ep. ad
“ to their injunctions, in the presence of your Piety and the Celest.
“ whole Council; but five days ago the most reverend Bishop p. 661. A.
“ Cyril, Memnon Bishop of this city, and the other Bishops Apol. Cyr.
“ who accompanied them, assembled in the church. I at p. 1016. A.
“ tempted to hinder them, and advised them to wait till you² p. 590. C.
“ were all come. They demanded that I should read to them
“ the Emperors’ letter³, which I was constrained to do, that³ τῇν
“ they might not have [their ignorance of the Imperial mes- σάκρην]
“ sage to plead as] a pretext for irregular conduct. Before
“ I left the place, however, I conjured them not to do any
“ thing precipitately, as many of the Bishops who were then
“ present can testify; but so little regard had they for what
“ was said, that they contemptuously drove out the Bishops
“ who had been sent by the most holy Nestorius, and all
“ who attended them; they even expelled me, and would
“ not suffer the protest⁴ which the Bishops had drawn up⁴ παρα-
“ to be read. I sent information of all this to the mighty γνωστικὸν]
“ Sovereigns, representing to them that I awaited the arrival
“ of your holiness, and the attendant Bishops.”

Bishop John desired that the Emperors’ letter⁵ should be⁵ τὰ ἐν-
read. The Bishops all stood up, and Candidian read it. The σεβῆ γράμ-
Bishop John next desired him to state if any thing else had ματα]
happened. Candidian said, “On the following day, knowing p. 592. C.
“ nothing of what they had been doing, I suddenly heard that
“ they had deposed the most holy Bishop Nestorius. Meeting
“ with the sentence of deposition fixed up in public, I tore
“ it down, read it, and sent it to the Emperors. A little

A. D. 431.
CH. XLV.

¹ p. 594.

[² ἐρήμην]

“after I heard the public criers proclaim it formally in the market-place; on this I sent to inhibit them from doing any thing beyond the Emperors’ orders; and I induced those Bishops who were not assembled with them to wait for your arrival.” Bishop John said¹, “Did they proceed agreeably to the canons, and to the Emperors’ mandate, to take full cognizance of the affair, or did they condemn Nestorius by default²?” Candidian said, “All the Bishops who were present with me know that they neither sifted evidence, nor made any examination.” John of Antioch said, “Certainly their treatment of us corresponds to the account you give: for instead of giving a brotherly welcome to men fatigued with a long journey, and of testifying to them their affection, they immediately come to trouble and harass us with their usual petulance; but the holy Council, which is with me, refused even to hear them, and will consider what steps should be taken against those who act thus tyrannically and illegally.”

After this the Count Candidian withdrew, and John of Antioch put it to the Bishops to say how this contempt of the Imperial letter should be dealt with. The Council said, “It is plain that its provisions have been infringed by the most reverend Cyril, and the most reverend Memnon, who has seconded him throughout, as we very well know, who were here before your Piety, and saw all his proceedings; for Memnon shut up the churches, especially those of the Martyrs, and of the holy Apostle, not suffering the Bishops to solemnize even Pentecost in them; he collected a body of peasants, with whom he disturbed the peace of the city, and lastly, he sent his clergy to the Bishops’ hotels, menacing them with the most terrible consequences, unless they attended his disorderly assembly. Their evil consciences drove them to involve every thing in confusion, in hopes that inquiry would thus be diverted from the heretical doctrine contained in the articles which have been lately sent by Cyril to Constantinople, and of which the greater part sanction the impiety of Arius, Apollinarius, and Eunomius. We must therefore strive courageously in defence of our religion; and those who are at the head of this heretical and seditious movement must receive a condign sentence,

“ while those who have suffered themselves to be seduced A. D. 431.
 “ should also be subjected to an ecclesiastical censure.” CH. XLVI.

John of Antioch said, “ Cyril and Memnon, being the
 “ authors of the disorder, having despised both the laws of
 “ the Church and the Emperors’ mandate, and having put
 “ forth the heretical articles before mentioned, ought to be
 “ deposed; those whom they have seduced ought to be ex-
 “ communicated; to the end that, acknowledging their fault,
 “ they may anathematize the heretical articles of Cyril, and
 “ assemble with us to examine the subject of controversy like
 “ brethren, and so confirm our holy Faith.” The Council
 approved of his proposal, and sentence was accordingly pro-
 nounced and subscribed by three-and-forty Bishops¹ u. The ¹ p. 593.
 chief of these were John of Antioch, Alexander of Apamea,
 John of Damascus, Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, Alexander of
 Hierapolis, Dexian of Seleucia, Fritilas of Heraclia, Himerius
 of Nicomedia, Helladius of Tarsus, Eutherius of Tyana, and
 Theodoret of Cyrus. Such are the Acts of the false Council
 of the Easterns; in which the vaguest accusations were re-
 ceived, while no particular witness was called upon to give
 evidence, no examination made of any document, no hearing
 allowed the accused, nor even any citation sent him.

The sentence was never published at Ephesus, and the
 Bishops of the Council knew nothing of their proceedings²; ² p. 661. C.
 but they sent it to Constantinople, with letters severally
 addressed to the Emperor, the princesses, the clergy, the
 senate, and the people³; in which the same calumnies against ³ pp. 601,
 3, 899.
 Cyril and Memnon were repeated in different forms. They
 are charged with having effected their deeds of violence by
 means of Egyptian seamen and Asiatic peasants⁴, and with ⁴ p. 604. D.
 having affixed placards to make the houses of those whom
 they intended to assault the more conspicuous⁵. John of [⁵ p. 608. B.]
 Antioch avers that St. Cyril had written to him only two
 days before the holding of the session, saying that the whole
 Council waited for his arrival⁶.

[⁶ p. 602. C.]

In the mean time, Candidian’s report had arrived at Con-
 stantinople, and the Emperor, prepossessed by his plausible

XLVI.
 The Em-
 peror’s
 letter by
 Palladius.

¹ Of the sixty-eight who signed the protest (supr. c. 36) only twenty-six signed the sentence of deposition against St. Cyril. The complementary seven-

teen would seem, judging by the names of their sees, to have all belonged to the diocese of Antioch.

A. D. 431. statements, had sent a rescript by a magistrian named Palladius.
CH. XLVI. (These magistrians, or officers of the Master of the Offices, are elsewhere called Emperor's agents^x.) The rescript declared that the sentence which a part of the Bishops at Ephesus had passed in cabal and passion, (meaning Nestorius's deposition,) should be null and void. "It is for this reason," says the Emperor¹, "that until the doctrines of religion be examined by the whole Council, and until we send some one as associate to Candidian, to ascertain the true character of what has been done and to annul whatever is illegal, we ordain that none of the Bishops assembled leave Ephesus; and lest these letters should be thought insufficient, we have given orders to the governors of the provinces, not to suffer any one to enter their territories, [without a passport from us.]" This letter was dated the third of the calends of July, in the consulate of Antiochus; that is, June the twenty-ninth, A.D. 431, seven days after the session of the Council.

¹ C. Eph.
p. 706. A.

² C. Eph.
p. 745. D.

The Council returned an answer by Palladius², complaining that the Count Candidian had pre-occupied the Emperor's mind, before he could be informed, by the Acts, of what was the real truth: that Candidian still prevented him from having this information, and that John of Antioch only arrived twenty-one days after the time fixed for the Council. "We beg your Majesty," they add, "to send for Count Candidian, with five Bishops of the Council, who will place before you a defence of what has been done; for the apostates from the Faith are so skilful in concealing³ their error, that they even seduced, for a time, some Bishops who have since returned and joined us in condemning Nestorius. Those who still remain with him and John of Antioch, number only seven and thirty, or thereabouts; the greater part of whom are attached to Nestorius, because they share in his guilt and fear the judgment of the Council. We have sent you their names: some are Pelagian heretics, others were deposed some years back. We may add that the Council has the consent of all the Bishops of the world,

[³ συσκιάζειν]

^x They are also frequently called Ἀγγελιάφοροι, or Royal Messengers. Their duties are detailed in full by

Gothofr. ad C. Theod. tom. ii. p. 163; see also *supr.* xviii. 23. l. xix. 33. p. and xxii. 32. c.

“ since the Bishop of Rome and those of Africa have assisted A. D. 431.
 “ at it, in the person of the most holy Archbishop Cyril. If CH. XLVI.
 “ we had not been so pressed for time, we might have written at
 “ length the hardships we have suffered from Count Irenæus;
 “ but if you grant our petition, the five who shall repair to
 “ you will inform you of every thing. More than two
 “ hundred of us [from every part of the world] pronounced
 “ the sentence of Nestorius’s deposition, having with us the
 “ consent of the whole west; the reason why so few of us
 “ subscribe this letter, though we are all present, is that
 “ the magistrian Palladius hastens us, and cannot wait all
 “ the time that such subscriptions require.” Then follows
 a list of the names of the schismatics, amounting only to
 thirty-four.

The schismatics also sent an answer to the Emperor by
 the same Palladius¹; their letter is full of adulation to the 1 C. Eph.
p. 70. Emperor, and calunmy against St. Cyril and the Council.
 They mention the sentence they had passed in their would-
 be-council²; they repeat Nestorius’s request, that each Metro- [2 con-
ciliabulum]politan should be accompanied by only two Bishops of his
 province, saying that for their part they had brought no
 more; that the Egyptians numbered fifty, that the Asiatics
 at the beck of Memnon were forty, that there were twelve
 Messalian heretics of Pamphilia, besides others who accom-
 panied Memnon, and some who had been deposed and ex-
 communicated; “making up altogether,” they say, “a troop
 “ of ignoramuses, fit for nothing but to breed confusion.”
 At any rate, on their own shewing, there were no less than
 a hundred and fifty opposed to them. They proceed:
 “ We imagined that your letter would have restored them to
 “ reason; so when we had read it, we went to the church of
 “ St. John the Apostle, to thank God and pray for your
 “ Majesty; but as soon as they saw us, they closed the doors.
 “ After we had prayed outside the church, we were return-
 “ ing in silence, when a company of servants rushed out,
 “ who seized some of us, took away the horses of others,
 “ wounded some, and pursued us with clubs and stones a
 “ great distance. Memnon had contrived the whole long
 “ before, not suffering any of us to pray in the churches, or
 “ to treat in quiet of ecclesiastical affairs. Wherefore, we pray

A. D. 431. "you more particularly to expel from the city this tyrant,
 CH. XLVII. "whom we have already deposed, and who is now throwing
 "every thing into confusion only because he fears the result
 "of an examination into his conduct."

A letter written by Memnon to the clergy of Constantinople about this time, reveals to us the occasion of this tumult, and of the pretended outrages of the Catholics. The Bishops, whom the Council had sent to meet John of Antioch, and who had been so ill treated¹, after complaining of it to the Council, declared him to be excommunicated, and sent him a notification of the same. [Some such measure was now indeed absolutely requisite,] for the Council had heard that a writing, without name or subscription, was fixed up in a certain part of the city, containing the sentence of John against Cyril, Memnon, and the whole Council. John went every day to solicit the common council of the city of Ephesus and the magistrates, to grant an order for the installation of another Bishop in the room of Memnon; but the inhabitants of the city, being all orthodox, took possession of the churches, and remained there to prevent John from putting his design into execution. He went so far as to give out that he would hold the ordination² in St. John's church, and actually went up to the church for the purpose, but the people resisted him, and as he had brought several armed men with him, a riot ensued, in which some of the poor belonging to the church were left half dead on the spot. Memnon's letter, after furnishing us with this account of the transaction, concludes by requesting the clergy of Constantinople to publish the violent proceedings of John and his party, and to procure the removal of Counts Candidian and Irenæus, who only fomented discord, from Ephesus. In the case of Irenæus, this was unnecessary, as he was sent by the schismatics to Constantinople, more effectually to solicit the Court in their favour. He was furnished by them with a letter, and a second "report," which contained the same calumnies against Cyril and Memnon, and expressed a desire that the Council should be transferred to some other place³. The letter supplied him with credentials.

Meanwhile, the legates of the Holy See arrived at Ephesus, and a second session of Council was immediately held in

¹ Supr. C.
 45. Ep.
 Memn. p.
 764. C.

[² *Χειροτονῆσαι.*]

³ C. Eph.
 p. 713. E.
 XLVII.
 Arrival of
 the Pope's
 legates.

the episcopal house of Memnon; on the sixth of the ides A. D. 431.
of July, in the Roman style, or in the Egyptian, on the CH. XLVII.
sixteenth of Epiphi; i. e. July the tenth, in the same year,
431¹. St. Cyril always presided, having the Pope's authority
also committed to him². Juvenal of Jerusalem, Memnon of
Ephesus, Flavian of Philippi, (representing also Rufus of
Thessalonica,) Theodotus of Ancyra, Firmus of Cappadocia,
and all the other Bishops, with Bessula the Deacon of Car-
thage, assisted. The Deputies of the West, who were three in
number, Arcadius and Projectus Bishops, and Philip who
was Priest, were introduced to sit with them. Philip spoke
first, and said³, "We render thanks to the adorable Trinity," p. 610.
"for having brought us to your holy assembly. Our Father
"Cælestine long ago declared his judgment on this subject
"in the letters to the holy Bishop Cyril, which have been
"shewn you: he has now sent others to you, which we here
"present; let them be read and inserted in the ecclesiastical
"Acts." The two episcopal deputies, Arcadius and Pro-
jectus, seconded the proposal. As they all three spoke in
Latin, what they said was interpreted in Greek, the language
of the Council. St. Cyril ordered St. Cælestine's letter to be
read, and Siricius, 'Notary of the Holy Catholic Church,
'of the City of Rome,' read it in Latin. Juvenal, Bishop
of Jerusalem, moved "that it be inserted in the Acts." All
the Bishops asked that it might be translated into Greek,
and read. The Priest Philip said, "We have satisfied
"custom², which requires us to read the letters of the Apo-
"stolical See³ first in Latin; but we have taken care to have

¹ More literally, "acting also as
"proxy for Cælestine," i. e. concu-
rently with his own right of presidency,
he held the authority of the Bishop of
Rome. See Baluz. in l. (p. 488.) supr.
c. 36. Palmer 'on the Church of
'Christ,' vol. ii. p. 522.

² Such was also the custom of the
old Roman magistrates. Baluz. quotes
Valer. M. ii. 1; "Among other ex-
"pressions of the dignity they wished
"to maintain, was one which they
"always scrupulously observed, —
"never to give an answer to Greeks
"except in Latin." He also refers to
Sueton. in Tib. c. 71; and in Claud. c.
16; and Ritterhus. iii. Saer. Lect. c. 1.
The Greeks on their part were singu-

larly firm in resisting the encroach-
ments of the Latin language. Cen-
turies after Britain, Gaul, Spain, North
Africa, Switzerland and Hungary had
(more or less fully) adopted it, the
population of South Italy still spoke
Greek. "The Greek language in Cala-
"bria did not begin to give way until
"the fourteenth century." Niebuhr,
Rom. II., vol. i. p. 61.

³ In the western part of the Church
this title was given pre-eminently to
Rome, as being the only western see
founded by an Apostle. In the Eastern
Church there were several sees to which
the designation was applied. Thus
Sozomen (H. E. i. 17.) calls Jerusalem,
Antioch, and Alexandria, "apostolic

A. D. 431. "it translated into Greek:" "and that," as the Bishops
 CH. XLVII. Arcadius and Projectus added, "because many of the Bishops
 "do not understand Latin." Priest Peter of Alexandria
 1 p. 614. then read Pope St. Cælestine's letter in the translation¹.

[² *ιερέων*. It began thus: "The assembly of Priests² is the visible
 Fleury *evéques*.] "display of the presence³ of the HOLY GHOST; [He who
 [³ *ἐμφανίζει* "cannot lie has said, 'Where two or three are gathered
 τὴν παρου- "together in My Name, I am in the midst of them⁴;' much
 σίαν] "more will He be present in so large a crowd of holy
 4 Matt. 18. "men;] for the Council is indeed holy in a peculiar sense,—
 20. "it claims veneration as the representative of that most

[⁵ *τῆς με-* "noble⁵ Synod of Apostles [which we read of⁶.] Their
 γίστης Master, whom they were commanded to preach, never
 Fleury, *la* "forsakes them; it was He who taught them, it was He
nombreuse] "who instructed them what they should teach others; and
 6 Acts 15. "He has assured the world, that in the person of His Apo-

7 Luke 10. "stles, they hear Him⁷. This charge of teaching has de-
 16. "scended equally upon all Bishops. We are all engaged to
 "it by an hereditary right; all we who, having come in their
 "stead, preach the name of our LORD to all the countries of
 "the world, according to what was said to them, 'Go ye and

8 Matt. 28. "'teach all nations⁸.' You are to observe, my brethren, that
 19.

"sees" (*ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον*). So Eusebius H. E. vii. 32. (*ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον*) of Jerusalem; and Gregory the Great, Ep. iv. 37, of Antioch (which is also called *πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ὕντως ἀποστολική*, Theodoret. v. 9). It would seem from Tertullian, de Proscr. Hær. c. 36. (p. 215. ed. Rigalt.) that the very chair (cathedra) of the first Bishops was preserved in most of the apostolical Churches. St. Augustine frequently refers to the apostolical sees as the great bond of orthodoxy; See Gieseler, vol. i. § 92. n. 5. To the instances there given add, De Doctr. Chr. ii. c. 8. (T. iii. p. 23). "Among the Catholic Churches surely must be placed those which had the honour to have the apostolic chairs (sedes), and to receive letters from the Apostles." And even Isidore of Seville, (died 636,) De Off. ii. 5. (p. 597. ed. Prioul.) "The rest of the Apostles, receiving equal honour with Peter, preached the Gospel throughout the world, and were succeeded by the Bishops who are placed throughout the world on the

"sees of the Apostles." In a secondary sense, all Catholic Churches are called apostolical (Tertull. Præser. Hær. 32.) (p. 213): first, as deriving their succession of Bishops ultimately from the Apostles (*apostolici seminis traduces*); secondly, as holding the Apostles' doctrine (*pro consanguinitate doctrinæ*). "In this sense," says Tertullian (c. 20. p. 209), "all are first, all are apostolical, so long as all seek to maintain the same unity. (*Omnes primæ, et omnes apostolicæ, dum unam omnes probant imitatem.*)" Thus Sidorius (vi. Ep. 1. Galland. x. p. 513) says to St. Lupus of Troyes, "You who have now sat on the apostolic 'see forty-five years;' and in Synod. Chalc. Act. x. p. 614. A, the see of Constantinople is called apostolical; though this may have been intended in the first sense, according to the tradition that it was founded by St. Andrew. See also Bingham, 2. 2. § 3. and 11. § 24. Baluz. not. ad Agobard., p. 162. (ed. 1666.) Neander's Church History, vol. i. p. 210. ed. 1842.

“ the order we have received is a general order¹, and that
 “ He intended that we should all execute it, when He charged
 “ them with it as a duty, devolving equally upon all. We
 “ ought all to enter into the labours of those whom we have
 “ all succeeded in dignity^b.”

A. D. 431.
 CH. XLVII.
 [¹ γενικὴν
 ἐντολήν.]

Thus Pope St. Cælestine acknowledged that it was CHRIST Himself who established Bishops, in the persons of the Apostles, as the teachers of His Church: he places himself in their rank, and declares that they ought all to concur for the preservation of the sacred deposit of apostolical doctrine. This is, in fact, the tendency of all the remainder of the letter; in which, among other considerations, he refers to the place in which they were assembled,—the city of Ephesus, where St. Paul and St. John had preached the Gospel: “ St. John,” says the letter², “ whose present reliques you honour.” It contains credentials for the Bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and the Priest Philip, “ who will be present,” says the letter, “ at your Acts, and will execute that which we have long ago determined upon.” The date is the eighth of the ides of May, which coincides with the eighth day of that month.

² C. Eph.
 p. 615. D.

When the letter was ended, all the Bishops cried out³,
 “ This is a just judgment. To Cælestine the new Paul, to
 “ Cyril the new Paul; to Cælestine the guardian of the
 “ Faith, to Cælestine who has but one soul with the Council;
 “ the whole Council gives thanks to Cælestine. One Cæles-
 “ tine, one Cyril, one Faith of the Council, one Faith of the
 “ whole earth.” The Bishop Projectus said, “ Remark the

³ p. 615.

^b The views of the episcopal office maintained in this truly apostolical letter are often dwelt upon by St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome. Thus St. Cyprian, de Unitate Eccl. p. 108. ed. Oxon., “ The Episcopate is one, “ and each individual Bishop has an “ equal share in it as *joint-tenant*” (in solidum, v. Fell. ad l.), and Ep. 55. p. 112. “ The one Episcopate diffused “ through the harmonizing numerosity “ of the Bishops,” and Ep. 68. p. 178. (to Stephanus, Bp. of Rome). “ Hence, “ my dearest brother, it is that the “ body of Priests is united by the “ bonds of concord and unity; that if “ any of our colleagues should attempt “ to introduce heresy, and so tear and “ waste the flock of Christ, the rest

“ should all come to its aid, and, like “ good and kind shepherds, re-collect “ the Lord's sheep into the fold.” And August. ad Bonifac. e. duas. Ep. Pel. i. l. (t. x. p. 411), “ To sit on our “ watch-towers and guard the flock, be- “ longs in common to all of us who “ have episcopal functions, although “ the hill on which you stand is more “ conspicuous than the rest.” And St. Jerome, Ep. 101 (al. 85) ad Evang. (iv. p. 803.) “ Wheresoever a Bishop is, “ at Rome, at Eugubium, at Constan- “ tinople or at Rhegium, at Alexandria “ or at Thanis, he is of the same worth “ and of the same priesthood; power of “ wealth or lowness of poverty do not “ make a Bishop higher or lower, but “ all are successors of the Apostles.”

A. D. 431.
CH. XLVII.

"form of the Pope's letter; he does not pretend to instruct you as if you were ignorant, but aims at putting you in remembrance of what you know already: wishing you to execute that on which he has long ago adjudicated." Firmus of Cappadocia said, "The holy see of Cælestine decided this affair and pronounced sentence on it before, in the letters addressed to Cyril of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Rufus of Thessalonica, and to the Churches of Constantinople and Antioch. In accordance with which sentence and in furtherance thereof, we have pronounced a canonical judgment against Nestorius, the term which was granted him for recantation being overpast, and we having waited at Ephesus long beyond the day fixed by the Emperor."

Bishop Arcadius, one of the legates, said, "The length of our voyage, arising from bad weather, prevented our arriving here so soon as we wished. We therefore beg to be informed what you have decreed." The Priest Philip, after having thanked the Council for their acclamations in honour of the Pope, and having extolled the primacy of St. Peter, made the same request. Theodotus of Ancyra said, "God has shewn how just the sentence of the Council is, by the coming of the most pious Bishop Cælestine's letters, and by your presence. But as you ask what has passed, you shall receive full information from the Acts of Nestorius's deposition. You will there see the zeal of the Council, and the conformity of its faith with that which Cælestine so loudly publishes." Thus ended the second session of the Council.

The Pope's legates had written instructions, bearing the same date as the letter to the Council, (May 8,) and to this effect¹: "Injunctions of Pope St. Cælestine to the Bishops and Priests going to the East. When by the grace of God, as we hope, you shall have reached your destination, bend all your thoughts upon our brother Cyril, and do whatever he shall think advisable. We also recommend to you to watch over the authority of the Apostolic See; since the instructions which have been given you import that you are to attend at the Council, but in case of disagreement you are to judge of their opinion without enter-

¹ Baluz.
Nova Coll.
p. 382.

“ing into discussion. If you find that the Council is over,
 “and that the Bishops are returned, you are to inquire how
 “matters were concluded. If it be in favour of the ancient
 “Catholic Faith, and if you find that my brother Cyril has
 “gone to Constantinople, you are to follow him and present
 “our letters to the Prince. If it happen otherwise, and
 “dissension prevail, you will judge by the state of affairs,
 “with the advice of our aforesaid brother, how you are to
 “act.” The instructions here mentioned are not in existence; but we have a letter from the Pope to the Emperor Theodosius¹, dated May 15, which contains credentials for the
 three legates, and another to St. Cyril², dated May 17, advising that he who retracts his errors should always be admitted to penitence.

A. D. 431.
 CH. XLVIII.

¹ C. Eph.
 p. 619.
² p. 621.

On the next day, the fifth of the ides of July, or the
 seventeenth of Epiphi, i. e. July 11, the Council again assembled in the episcopal house of Memnon. Juvenal of Jerusalem asked the Pope's legates, if the Acts of Nestorius's deposition had been communicated to them pursuant to the order of the Council. The Priest Philip said that they had found, by a perusal of the Acts, that the Council had proceeded throughout in accordance with the canons. He desired, however, that the documents might be again read in full Council³; and the Bishop Arcadius joined in the request. Memnon of Ephesus ordered that their wish should be complied with, and Priest Peter of Alexandria read the Acts of the first session, the beginning of which, along with the sentence of deposition against Nestorius, was inserted in this third. When the reading was ended, the Priest Philip said⁴,
 “No one doubts but that St. Peter, chief of the Apostles,
 “pillar of the Faith, and foundation of the Catholic Church,
 “received from our LORD JESUS CHRIST the keys of His
 “kingdom, and power to bind and loose sins, and that even
 “to the present time he lives, and exercises this judicial
 “power in his successors^c. Our holy Pope, Bishop Caeles-

XLVIII.
 The legates confirm Nestorius's deposition.
 (July 11.)

³ p. 623.

⁴ p. 626.

^c The other Apostles, it is true, shared in this commission: as St. Cyprian says, *De Unit. Eccl.* (p. 107. ed. Oxon.) “Of course the rest of the Apostles were what Peter was, being endowed with an equal joint-possession” (*pari consortio*) both of honour and

“power;” and St. Ambrose (in *Ps.* 38. t. I. p. 858), “Hear Him saying, ‘I will give thee the keys;’ That which is said to Peter is said to ‘all the Apostles.’” But though thus equal, it could not be in the nature of things but that one should have a *præ-*

A. D. 431. "tine, who at this time holds his place¹, has sent us to represent him in this holy Council, which our most Christian Emperors have convened in order to preserve intact the Catholic Faith, which has descended to them from their ancestors." He then briefly sums up the proceedings against Nestorius, and adds, "The sentence pronounced against him remains firm, agreeably to the judgment of all the Churches, since the Eastern and Western Bishops have either in person, or by deputy, assisted at the Council; let Nestorius, therefore, know that he is cut off from the communion of the priesthood of the Catholic Church."

CH. XLVIII.
[¹ διὰδοχος
καὶ τοπο-
τηρητής]

The Bishop Arcadius spoke next, concluding thus: "According to the tradition of the Apostles and the Catholic

rogativa, or precedence in order, though not a superiority in rank, and this precedence is unanimously assigned to St. Peter. Hence it was that he was chosen to represent the whole Church; for the ancient Fathers "teach with one consent that the keys were given to the whole Church in the person of Peter" (Du Pin, de Antiq. Eccl. Disc. p. 308. ed. 1686), and this as St. Cyprian (u. s.) in particular urges, "with a view to exhibit the oneness of the Church."

Whatever may be thought of the dogma that this precedence remained *de jure divino* with the Bishops of Rome as his successors, the *fact* is certain, that from an early period the Bishops of that city were looked up to by all the Christian Churches. The number of its martyrs, its apostolic origin, (unique in the West,) its active charity, and more than all, its singularly unswerving orthodoxy, all tended in this direction; and the resultant of these forces was increased in intensity by the respect and influence which naturally attached to the centre of political government. (Such interdependence of ecclesiastical and temporal power is evidently recognised by the canon which forbids Bishops to be ordained to villages). The history of its gradual increase up to the period we are now considering is of too wide a range for a note; but it may be as well to point out the principal steps to be observed. First, the maintenance of the time of celebrating Easter, by Amicetus against Polycarp, and by Victor against the Churches of Asia Minor; an opposition, however, not grounded on any

alleged superiority in power, but on the possession of primitive tradition. Secondly, the distinct assertion of a derived primacy in the Bishops of Rome by Irenæus; (this interpretation of the passage is vindicated by Neander, vol. i. p. 216). Thirdly, St. Cyprian's recognition of Rome as the centre of the Christian Theocracy (De Unit. Ecc. p. 108), though in practice he did any thing rather than countenance the supposition of an inherent superiority in the see of Rome. (Ep. 73, &c.) Fourthly, the decision of Aurelian; Euseb. vii. 30. (Fleury, viii. 8.) Fifthly, the flight of the orthodox Bishops to Rome, under Pope Julius, A.D. 341. Socrat. ii. 15; Sozomen, iii. 8; Fleury, xii. 20. In his letter to the Easterns, Julius only claims a share in the decision of a Council of Bishops. (Mansi, ii. p. 1219, C.) Sixthly, the letter of the Council of Sardica. Concilia, t. ii. p. 660, and Canons, 3, 4, 5. pp. 628, 9. Seventhly, the rescript of Gratian and Valentinian (Mansi, iii. p. 627), and the laws of Theodosius I. (Codex xvi. tit. 1. p. 4). Eighthly, the decision of Can. 3. of the Council of Constantinople, though this Council (virtually) repealed the Canon of Sardica. Ninthly, St. Chrysostom's appeal to the Pope, *supr.* xxi. 49 (though to him in common with the Bishops of Milan and Aquileia), and St. Innocent's decretal letter, *supr.* xxiii. 26. Tenthly, the affair of Apollinarius, *supr.* xxiv. 6, 11, 35, and Bingham, 9. 1. § 11. Cf. Casaubon De Rebus Eccl. Exercit. p. 424.

“ Church; pursuant also to the decision of the most holy A. D. 431. CH. XLIX.
 “ Pope Celestine, who sent us to execute his share in this
 “ business; and pursuant to the decrees of the holy Council,
 “ we declare to Nestorius that he is deprived of the epi-
 “ scopal dignity, excluded from the whole Church, and from
 “ the communion of all Bishops.” The Bishop Projectus
 concluded thus¹: “ I too, by my authority as legate of the ¹ p. 627. C.
 “ apostolical see, being joined with my brethren to execute
 “ this sentence, declare that Nestorius, enemy of the truth
 “ and corrupter of the Faith, is deprived of the episcopal
 “ dignity, and of the communion of all orthodox Bishops.”
 St. Cyril said, “ The Council sees what has been declared in
 “ the name of the apostolical see and the whole Council of
 “ the holy Bishops of the West. Since, then, they have
 “ executed the sentence of the most holy Bishop Celestine,
 “ and have approved of the judgment passed by the holy
 “ Council against the heretic Nestorius; let the Acts of
 “ what passed yesterday and to-day be joined to the pre-
 “ ceding, that they may signify their consent by subscrip-
 “ tion.” The legates offered to subscribe, the Council or-
 dered the Acts to be presented to them, and they all three
 subscribed to Nestorius’s deposition. Thus ended the third
 session of the Council.

They sent the Emperor an account of what they had done XLIX. Synodal letters.
 in a synodal letter, which ran thus²: “ God, favouring your
 “ zeal, has stirred up that of the Bishops of the West to ² C. Eph. p. 630.
 “ avenge the injury done to JESUS CHRIST; for although the
 “ length of the journey is such that they could not all come
 “ to us, yet they assembled in a synod of their own, Caeles-
 “ tine the holy Bishop of Rome himself presiding; they ap-
 “ proved our opinions concerning the Faith, and cut off
 “ from the priesthood³ those who differ from us. Celestine
 “ had already declared the same before the meeting of the ¹³ παντες
 “ Council, by his letters to the most holy Bishop Cyril, ^{ιερατικοῦ}
 “ whom he also appointed to act in his stead; he has now ^{κληρου και}
 “ again confirmed it by letters sent to the Council of Ephesus ^{βαθμου]}
 “ by the Bishops Arcadius and Projectus, and the Priest
 “ Philip, his Vicars. On their arrival they made known to
 “ us the opinion of the whole Council of the West, and have
 “ also witnessed, in writing, that they perfectly agree with

A. D. 431. "us in regard to the Faith. We therefore inform your
 CH. L. "Majesty of this, that you may be assured that the sen-
 "tence we have now pronounced is the common judgment
 "of the whole world. Thus, since the business for which we
 "assembled is happily concluded, we beg your permission to
 "depart; for some among us are oppressed with poverty,
 "others with diseases, and others sunk under the weight of
 "years, so that we are unable to endure the inconvenience
 "of staying longer in a foreign country, to which some of
 "the Bishops and clergy have already fallen victims. The
 "whole world is unanimous, except the interested few who
 "prefer Nestorius's friendship to religion. It is but just,
 "therefore, that some one should be appointed to fill up
 "his place, and that we should be left in peace, to enjoy
 "the confirmation of the Faith, and offer up our sincere
 "prayers on behalf of your Majesty." This letter was sub-
 scribed by St. Cyril and all the other Bishops.

¹ p. 634. A letter was also sent by the Council to the clergy and
 people of Constantinople, in which¹, after acquainting them
 with the sad necessity they had been under of deposing
 Nestorius, they exhort them to pray to God that a successor
 may be appointed who shall be worthy of ruling over so
 great a city. This letter is subscribed first by St. Cyril,
 then by the Priest Philip, the Pope's legate, (who styles
 himself Priest of the Apostles' Church;) by Juvenal of
 Jerusalem; by the two legates, Bishops Arcadius and Pro-
 jectus; by Firmus of Cæsarea, Flavian of Philippi, Memnon
 of Ephesus, Theodotus of Ancyra, and Berinian of Perga.
 A note is appended, saying, "Although more than two
 "hundred united in deposing Nestorius, we think these
 "subscriptions sufficient."

L. Five days after the third session the Council held a fourth
 in St. Mary's church, on the seventeenth of the calends of
 August, i. e. July 16. St. Cyril is named in it first, hold-
 ing the place² of Pope St. Cælestine; afterwards the three
 legates; first the two Bishops, Arcadius and Projectus, then
 the Priest Philip; Juvenal, Memnon, and the rest, follow.
 This variation in the order of their sittings and subscriptions
 is a pretty fair proof that they were no sticklers for prece-
 dency; nor do we meet with any incident at all bearing

The com-
 plaint of St.
 Cyril and
 Memnon.
 (July 16.)
 [* διέποντος
 καὶ τῶν τό-
 πων]

upon this subject. Since the proceedings in this case related to the interests of St. Cyril, the Priest Peter of Alexandria resigned his office of Proctor¹ into the hands of Hesychius, Deacon of Jerusalem; who said, "The most holy Archbishop of Alexandria, Cyril, and the most holy Bishop of Ephesus, Memnon, have presented a petition to the most holy Council. It is in our hands; under your order, we will read it." Juvenal of Jerusalem gave an order to that effect, and the Deacon Hesychius read it.

It complained² that John of Antioch, vexed at Nestorius's deposition, had assembled about thirty Bishops who were his partizans, some of them long ago deposed, others only titular Bishops without a see^d; "With these," says the petition, "he pretends to have deposed us, as appears from an insulting and illegal document which he has put forth; although neither by the laws of the Church, nor by the Emperor's order, has he power to judge any one of us, or to attempt any thing of the kind, much less against a superior see. And if he had possessed the power, he ought to have observed the canons, by sending us an information, and summoning us, with the rest of the Council, to make our defence. But from the hour that he arrived in Ephesus, he has done every thing clandestinely, and has left us in ignorance of what he has been doing up to this day. He would not have treated in this way the meanest of the clergy under his authority. Since, then, he is here with his accomplices³, we conjure you by the holy Trinity to summon them to give an account of their proceedings, for we are ready to make it appear that they are both impious and illegal."

Acacius of Melitene said^d, "The charge here brought against the accused, however true it may prove, yet need not have been inquired into, and so the request of the holy Bishops Cyril and Memnon is unnecessary; it is altogether unlawful for men who have separated from the holy Council and joined Nestorins, while they themselves are charged with so heinous a crime, to undertake to pass sentence against the presidents of the general Council; but since

A. D. 431.
C. II. L.

[¹ Fleury,
promoteur.]

[³ συνδραμα-
τουργή-
σαντας]

[^d περιττή
μὲν ἢ περὶ
τῶν αἰτια-
θέντων ὑπό-
νοια, εἴ γε
καὶ αὐτῇ
ἀληθείᾳς εἴη,
καὶ περιτ-
τὴ.] p. 638.
E.

^d The law with regard to titles (supr. xix. 57, note r) applied to Bishops as well as to the inferior clergy. "The Nullatenenses of later ages, as Panor-

"mitanus calls Titular and Utopian Bishops, were rarely known in the Primitive Church." Bingham, 4. 6. § 2.

A. D. 431. "you have thought it advisable to prosecute them, John of
 CII. LI. Antioch, the leader of the schismatics, shall be summoned
 "by the pious Bishops Archelaus, Paul, and Peter, to give
 "an account of his deed." The three Bishops immediately
 "set out, namely, Archelaus of Myndus in Caria, Paul of
 Lampe in Crete, and Peter of the Camps in Palestine; and
 on their return, Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia desired
 them to state how they had succeeded on their mission.

LI. The Bishop Paul said¹, "Drawing near to the hotel of
 The cita- "the reverend John of Antioch, we saw several soldiers and
 tions of "other persons carrying arms, who guarded the door; after
 John of "much ado we got near them, and said, 'We are but three
 Antioch. "in number, the Council has sent us to the most reverend
¹ p. 639. "'Bishop John, with words of peace, concerning an eccle-
 "siastical affair.' A large crowd gathered around us, and
 "among other discourses, they spoke disrespectfully of the
 "Council and the orthodox Faith; the noise and confusion,
 "however, was such that we cannot repeat exactly the blas-
 "phemies they uttered." The Bishop Archelaus said, "The
 "people about us were in an uproar, and we were exposed to
 "some danger; the soldiers threatened us, with their swords
 "drawn and clubs in their hands." Bishop Peter added,
 "Some of John's clergy, who were present, were informed by
 "us that we were sent from the Council, but no one would
 "give us admittance."

St. Cyril said, "The Council sees that Memnon and I are
 "here present, relying on the purity of our consciences; but
 "the heretic Nestorius, and John his abettor, suffer no one
 "to have access to them, and are afraid to attend the Council.
 "Order, then, that the sentence pronounced against us be
 "declared null, and set forth such a decree against John as
 "may seem to you called for by the occasion." Juvenal of
² p. 641. B. Jerusalem said², "The Bishop John ought to respect the apo-
 "stolic see of Rome, which is here present, and [the apostolic
 "see] of Jerusalem, whose custom it is, agreeably to apostolic
 "tradition, to judge and correct that of Antioch^e. However,

^e Respecting this claim, see c. 58. *infr.*
 St. Jerome in his letter against John of
 Jerusalem (Ep. 38. t. 4. pt. 2. p. 330),
 says, "But why go to the Patriarch of
 "Alexandria from Palestine? Did not

"the Nicene Council decree that Cæ-
 "sarea should be the metropolis of
 "Palestine, and Antioch the metro-
 "polis of the whole East? Your ap-
 "peal, therefore, should be either im-

“that we may observe the canons, let us send Bishops to A. D. 431
 “cite them a second time.” They accordingly sent three, — ^{CH. LI.}
 Timotheus of Thermesus and Endocias, Eustathius of Do-
 cimum, and Eudoxus of Choma in Lycia.

When they returned, Eudoxus said, “On arriving at the
 “house of Bishop John, we found soldiers standing around
 “it with drawn swords, and with them some ecclesiastics;
 “we desired these to announce that we were present: they
 “went in, and at their return told us that Bishop John
 “said he had no answer to make to folks who were deposed
 “and excommunicated; we asked them, by whom we had
 “been deposed and excommunicated; they said, by Bishop
 “John of Antioch; and on our pressing them for a more
 “definite account, they told us that they were willing to
 “give an explanation to us in presence of a Notary¹.” St. ¹ p. 643.
 Cyril again desired that John’s procedures might be declared
 null, and that he should be cited once more. Memnon
 seconded his request, and the Council accordingly declared
 all the proceedings of John, since he had not dared to
 appear and defend them, to be absolutely null; it also ordered
 that a report should be sent to the Emperor of that day’s
 transactions, and that John should be cited a third time². ² p. 646.
 This closed the fourth session of the Council.

The fifth was held on the next day, the sixteenth of the
 calends of August, or July the seventeenth, in the Church
 of St. Mary. St. Cyril animadverted on what had passed
 the day before, and added, that John, and his party, had
 done a scandalous thing, worthy only of the lowest rabble³: ³ C. Eph.
 “For,” said he, “instead of presenting himself before the p. 647. A.
 “Council, to declare his reasons with a Christian modesty, [ἀγυπτῶ-
 δες.]
 “(no one hinders him, and the Council is not surrounded
 “with soldiers, as they are,) they have composed a placard
 “filled with statements which nothing but the most frantic
 “ignorance could have dictated, and have fixed it up publicly
 “in the theatre⁴, to excite the whole city to sedition. If ⁴ p. 664. C.
 “they have done this to give us pain by making us witness

“mediately to Cæsarea or else to An-
 “tioch.” The canons referred to are
 the well-known sixth (τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθνη
 κρατεῖτω. κ. τ. λ.) and the seventh; which
 last provides that the Bishop of Elia

should have that respect paid to him
 which custom and ancient tradition
 assigned him, but without encroaching
 on the dignity exclusively possessed by
 the metropolis.

A. D. 431.
CH. LI.

“our brethren’s dishonour, and the ridicule which will be
“heaped upon them on all sides, they have gained their
“point; but if it is, as the writing sets forth, to shew that
“we maintain the heresy of Apollinarius, let them appear
“even now, and, if they can, convict us of it, instead of
“spending their strength in idle abuse. For our parts, we
“have never held the opinions of Apollinarius, Arius, or
“Eunomius, but have been instructed in sound learning, and
“educated under orthodox Fathers from infancy. We
“anathematize Apollinarius, Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius,
“Sabellius, Photinus, Paul, the Manichees, and all other
“heretics: ay, and Nestorius too, the inventor of new
“blasphemies, with all who adhere to his communion and
“sentiments, and those who hold the opinions of Cælestius
“and Pelagius. We desire the Council canonically to
“summon John of Antioch, and those who, with him, were
“the authors of this calumny against us, to come and make
“it appear that we are heretics, under pain of having the
“censure retorted upon themselves; and this more espe-
“cially, because, as the writing implies, they have now
“carried these stale calumnies to the Emperor’s ears.”

¹ p. 650.

The Council deputed three Bishops¹, Daniel of Colonia, Commodus of Tripolis in Lydia, Timotheus of Germa in the Hellespont, with a Notary named Musonius, and a written citation against John of Antioch, suspending him, for the time, from the exercise of episcopal functions; and informing him, that if he should refuse obedience to this third citation, they would pronounce against him such sentence as the canons prescribed. When they returned, Bishop Daniel said, “On our way to Bishop John’s house we alighted at
“some distance, and in the most conciliating manner possible
“informed his clergy that we were sent from the holy Council.
“We found the Priest Asphalius standing there, who belongs
“to the Church of Antioch, and resides at Constantinople
“to represent and watch over the interests of that Church^f.

^f It was customary for each Patriarch to have one of his clergy stationed at Constantinople, to represent the interests of his Church, thus anticipating the modern institution of resident ambassadors. We have seen that Martyrius was placed there to defend

the cause of the Egyptian Church, *supr.* c. 8. This practice was continued down to modern times. Thus in 1584, the new Russian Patriarch was advised to select some Greek Metropolitan to represent him, and “cause him to reside constantly near

“ He accompanied us, and procured us a nearer approach to
 “ the house, stopping those who came out to oppose us.
 “ We must also acknowledge our obligation to the soldiers;
 “ for on recognising the Bishop Commodus, in whose city
 “ they had been quartered, they kept off the clergy who
 “ would have insulted us. Asphalius and the other clergy
 “ having informed Nestorius of our presence, his Archdeacon
 “ came down to us. We do not know his name, but he is a
 “ little pale man, with a light beard¹. He brought a paper,
 “ which he presented to us, saying, ‘ The holy Council sends
 “ ‘ you this, for your acceptance.’ We told him that we
 “ were sent to speak on the part of the holy Council, and not
 “ to receive writings. ‘ The Council invites the Lord John to
 “ come and take his seat in it.’ The Archdeacon replied,
 “ ‘ Wait till I go and speak to the Bishop.’ He went, and
 “ coming back, presented us again with the same paper,
 “ saying, ‘ Send us nothing, and we will send you nothing
 “ ‘ further; we wait for the Emperor’s decision.’ We said,
 “ ‘ Hear, then, what the Council enjoins.’ But he immedi-
 “ ately withdrew, saying, ‘ You have not received my paper,
 “ ‘ I will hear nothing that the Council has to say.’” The
 two other Bishops confirmed this statement.

The Council said², “ This citation is sufficient to preclude
 “ Bishop John from hereafter making use of the plea of
 “ ignorance.” St. Cyril said, “ I and the Bishop Memnon
 “ are again present to hear what defence Bishop John can
 “ set up; but as he continues to absent himself, it now re-
 “ mains for the Council to issue its decree.” The Council
 pronounced sentence in these words; “ The injuries which
 “ the Bishop John of Antioch, and his accomplices, have
 “ offered to the Bishops Cyril and Memnon, ought (after
 “ their disobedience to this third citation) to move the holy
 “ Council to pronounce against them a sentence worthy of
 “ their arrogance, but considering that it becoms the meek-
 “ ness of Bishops to be long-suffering, we only exclude them
 “ for the present from ecclesiastical communion, namely,
 “ John of Antioch, and his accomplices, John of Damascus,

A. D. 431.
CH. LII.

[¹ σπανός,
ὑπαρχος,
μικροφυ, &c.]

LII.
The sen-
tence
against
John of
Antioch,
(July 17.)
* p. 651.

“ the Œcumenical Patriarch, for that
 “ it was usual for the other patriarchs
 “ also to have commissioners to act in

“ their stead, residing with the Œcu-
 “ menical Patriarch at Constantinople.”
 Mouravieff, Hist. of Russ. Ch., p. 337.

A. D. 431.
CII. LIII.

“ Alexander of Apamea, Dexian of Seleucia, Alexander of Hierapolis, and the rest,” who are named to the number of thirty-three, Theodoret being one of them. The Council adds: “ They shall not be permitted to use the sacerdotal authority, to do good or ill to any one¹ till such time as they recollect themselves, and confess their error: and they are to know, that unless they do this speedily, they draw upon themselves the extreme sentence [of the canons:] let them understand too, that their uncanonical proceedings against Cyril and Memnon are (as was yesterday declared) of no force whatever, and that all that has passed shall be reported to our most pious Emperors.” Juvenal of Jerusalem, the three Deputies of Rome, and all the other Bishops, subscribed to this sentence: and thus the fifth session ended.

[¹ βλάπτειν
ἢ ὠφελεῖν]

LIII.
Synodical
letters.
² p. 656.

The Council wrote a letter to the Emperors, giving an account of their acts². It says, that thirty Bishops of Nestorius's party, fearing the punishment due to their crimes, had had the audacity to assemble apart, and assume the title of Council, being presided over by John of Antioch, who was himself afraid of being called to account for his delay. “ They have pronounced,” says the letter, “ a sentence of deposition against Cyril the president of the Council, and against Memnon; no canonical order being observed, no accusation, citation, or examination of evidence being made. Such temerity would have only met with our contempt, had they not gone so far as to report it to your Majesty. We have now proceeded, in accordance with the canons, to receive the complaints of Cyril and Memnon. We have summoned John of Antioch three several times, but as his house was surrounded with soldiers and other people in arms, he would neither admit those who were sent by the Council, nor deign to give them an answer. We have therefore annulled all the proceedings against Cyril and Memnon, and excommunicated these rebels, till such time as they appear before the Council to defend their acts.

“ We have thought it our duty to write thus much, that you might not misconceive what is in reality only a party of criminals to be a Council. At the great Council of Nice, some Bishops separated themselves in a similar way from

“fear of being punished, but the great and holy Emperor A. D. 431.
 “Constantine, so far from taking them to be the Council, CH. LIII.
 “punished them for their schism^g. In fact, what can be more
 “absurd than for thirty Bishops to oppose themselves to a
 “Council of two hundred and ten, with whom all the Bishops
 “of the West, and through them the Bishops of the whole
 “world, are consentient? Besides, of these thirty some have
 “been long ago deposed, some have embraced the errors of
 “Cælestius, and others are anathematized for maintaining
 “those of Nestorius. Ordain, therefore, that the decree
 “which the Œcumenical Council has passed against Nes-
 “torius’s impiety remain in full force, receiving from your
 “approval still further sanction.”

The Council wrote also to Pope St. Cælestine¹, giving him¹ C. Eph.
 an account of all that had passed since the commencement p. 660.
 of the proceedings against Nestorius; of the sentence of
 deposition, of the measures concerted by John of Antioch,
 and of his condemnation in presence of the legates of the
 holy see. They add², “As to our brethren, Cyril and Mem-² p. 665. C.
 “non, we have all remained in communion with them ever
 “since this piece of childish wantonness was perpetrated,
 “celebrating the liturgy and synaxes all in common. For if
 “men are to be allowed to trample upon the superior sees
 “and those who are beyond their jurisdiction, the Church
 “must be involved in the utmost confusion.” And after-
 wards: “After the Acts relating to the deposition of the
 “impious Pelagians and Cælestians, of Cælestius, Pelagius,
 “Julian, Perses, Florus, Marcellinus, Orontius, and their
 “adherents, had been read in the Council, we ordered, that
 “the sentence which your holiness pronounced against them
 “should remain firm, and we are all unanimous in looking
 “upon them as deposed. For your fuller information we
 “send you the Acts and subscriptions of the Council.” It
 is thus that the Council of Ephesus condemned the Pelagians
 by confirming the Pope’s sentence against them.

^g Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of Ptolemais, Bishops, were banished along with Arius (Soer. i. c. 9) into Illyria. (Philostorg. Suppl., p. 552). Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognis of Nice, and Maris of Chalcedon

at first signed the creed (Sozom. l. 21) but afterwards changed their minds and were banished to the Western Gauls (i. e. Gaul as contrasted with Galatia). Philostorg. Suppl., p. 553.

A. D. 431. St. Cyril preached a sermon¹ at this time, in which he
CH. LIV.
1 C. Eph. speaks with great warmth against John of Antioch, com-
p. 668. plaining, that instead of joining the orthodox in the war
 against heresy, he had taken up arms in its favour, even to
 the length of attacking those who were opposing it.

LIV.
Letters of
the schis-
matics.
2 C. Eph.
p. 697. The schismatics, on their side, wrote a letter to the Em-
 peror, in which they say², "Cyril and Memnon, when we
 "deposed them for holding the heresy of Apollinarius, pre-
 "sented petitions to those of their own party, and sum-
 "moned us to trial. We answered that we waited your
 "orders; but in contempt of the dictates of piety, they
 "have re-established in the Priesthood (as they pretend)
 "those who were placed under excommunication and in-
 "terdict. We pray you, therefore, to defend the Faith and
 "the canons with all possible speed, and to give orders that
 "we may be removed hence to Constantinople, or at least
 "to Nicomedia, that under the shelter of your Piety we
 "may unravel the whole tissue of their wickedness; and we
 "also beg an ordinance to be made that each Metropolitan
 "shall be attended with two Bishops only, for numbers do
 "not aid the investigation of truth, tending only to occasion
 "tumult. This is the reason why so many assembled, wishing
 "to impose on the people by the number of their subscrip-
 "tions; for our parts, we have brought only three out of
 "each province, and up to the present time, in obedience to
 "your orders, we have refrained from sending Bishops to
 "you, as they have done. We request of you also to order
 "that all persons shall subscribe the faith of Nice, (which
 "we have prefixed to this letter,) and that no addition shall
 "be made to it, either to affirm that our LORD JESUS CHRIST
 "is a mere man, or that His Godhead is passible." To this
 letter they joined an Act of their pretended Council³, in
 which they transcribed the Creed of Nice, adding, that this
 was their faith, and that they rejected the heretical articles
 of Cyril, with his anathemas. John of Antioch and all the
 other Bishops of his party subscribed this decree.

* p. 701.

At the same time they wrote to three of the most powerful
 friends of Nestorius; to Antiochus, Præfect of the Prætorium,
 and Consul for this year; to Valerius, Master of the Offices,
 and Consul the year following; to Scholasticus, Præfect of

the Chamber. The same letter was sent to the two first A. D. 431.
in common; it began thus¹: “We are reduced to such ex- LV.
“tremity that we have daily, we may say, death before our 1 p. 709.
“eyes. The outrages of Cyril and Memnon exceed the ut-
“most fury of barbarians. They constantly attack us, as if
“in an open war. They have twice placarded our houses, to
“make them a conspicuous mark for an assault; all the
“churches are shut against us; and though worn out by
“disease, we dare not shew our heads to take a little air.
“We entreat you to take pity of us, to rescue us from death,
“and to provide that we may be removed to the Imperial
“city, to give a reason for our faith, and prove the heresy
“and malice of these people, otherwise we shall fall a prey to
“their fury. We conjure you by your children, by all you
“hold most dear, by the judgment of God, not to forsake us,
“but to deliver us as soon as possible from this place, that
“we may breathe the air freely.” The letter to Scholasticus² [2 p. 712.]
is not so pathetic, although it contains the same complaints;
they desire him to contrive that their letters may be read to
the Emperor. They sent all these letters to Count Irenæus,
who was at Constantinople, and from whom they received, a
few days after, an account of the incidents that had followed
his arrival³.

“It is with difficulty,” he says, “that I am at present able LV.
“to write to you, or to get a courier to my mind. The The letters of Count
“Egyptians had arrived at Constantinople three days before Irenæus.
“me. By their falsehoods and calumnies they had prejudiced
“every body against us to such a degree that even some
“persons of rank and dignity believed that this fine deposi-
“tion” (meaning that of Nestorins,) “had been decreed after
“due examination and a regular process, and in an assembly
“of all the Bishops, whom they supposed to have unanimously
“pronounced that judgment which went by default. They
“had persuaded the noble Scholasticus, that Nestorius
“would never suffer any one to utter the word Theotocos
“at Ephesus. However, having, by the invincible force of
“truth and by your prayers, overcome the difficulties that
“presented themselves at the outset, I was at last able to
“speak with the magistrates, and explained to them the
“truth of the case. They were obliged to report it to the

A. D. 431.
CH. LV.

“Emperor, and at length, after many discourses on both sides, it was resolved that the Emperor should give an audience to us both, that is, the Egyptians and myself, in the presence of the magistrates. I protested, indeed, as strongly as was possible, that this was not within the sphere of my mission, that I had received no orders of this kind from the Bishops, being only employed to bring their letters. I thought I should have been pulled in pieces for saying this.

“Our adversaries, then, have, by God’s assistance, been condemned, as being utterly unable either to justify the Acts of the deposition, or to substantiate the false reports they had spread about: for it was clearly shewn that the Egyptian had not assembled the Council in due order, that he was not competent to sit as judge, being himself one of those who were to be arraigned, and that he ought not to have opened the proceedings without Candidian’s consent. All the protests sent in by Candidian, together with the letter which he had brought from the Emperor to the Council, were then read, and the whole case fully explained, so that the enemies of the truth were condemned without one dissenting voice, and your decision approved and ratified. The deposition of the Egyptian was immediately sent into the Church by the Emperor’s order, and all his proceeding condemned as tyrannical and illegal. Such was the result of this audience.

“But when John, Cyril’s physician and syncellus, was come, (you know how he came,) we found the greater part of the magistrates to be quite altered men; they now refused to hear us even speak on the subject which had been decided before, and that too by themselves. Some say that the acts of both parties ought to be confirmed, and so the deposition not only of two, but of all three persons to be authorized: others are for having all the depositions made equally void, and other Bishops sent to ascertain the truth of what has passed at Ephesus. There are some who use every effort to get themselves sent by the Emperor to Ephesus, armed with a discretionary power of making such arrangements as the state of affairs shall seem to demand. They who love you pray God that this advice

" may not be followed, knowing well the intentions and motives of those who desire it; but this must be as the Lord shall please. In the mean time, pray fervently for me, who have been exposed to so many hazards, and am not yet out of danger; for God is my witness, when I was called to the audience of the Emperor, I expected no less than to be thrown into the sea." This is Count Irenæus's letter. The latter of these plans was adopted, and John, Count of the Largesses, or grand Treasurer¹, was sent to Ephesus.

A. D. 431.
CH. LVI.—

While he was on his road, the Council held a sixth session² in the episcopal house of Memnon, on the eleventh of the calends of August, or the twenty-eighth of Epipli, i. e. July the twenty-second. St. Cyril presided in it, also representing St. Celestine³; the legates of the holy see [of the Romans⁴] are named in it at the end, after all the Bishops. Priest Peter of Alexandria, Chief of the Notaries, said, "The holy Council, wishing to guard well the faith and the peace of the Church, has put forth a definition of its doctrines, which we have now in our hands." The Council ordered it to be read and inserted in the Acts. They had placed at the head of it the Nicene Creed, after which it proceeds, "This is the holy Faith, in which all the world ought to agree; for it might well suffice to uphold the integrity of the whole Church under heaven. But because some, while in pretence they confess it, explain away its meaning according to their fancies, it has become necessary that we should adduce the sentiments of the orthodox Fathers, and shew in what manner they understood and preached the Faith, and how they whose faith is pure, ought to understand, explain, and preach it." The Priest Peter said, "We have in our hands the books of the holy Bishops and Martyrs, and have made an extract of some few passages from them." The Council ordered them to be read and inserted in the Acts; they were the same passages as were read prior to Nestorius's condemnation at the first session⁵.

[¹ Supr. xviii. 51. note x.]

LVI.
The sixth session, Charisius's petition.

² Ap. Baluz. p. 610. [³ agente etiam vicem Celestini] [⁴ apostolica sedis Romanorum.]

⁵ Supr. c. 41.

Charisius, Steward⁶ and Priest of the Church of Philadelphia in Lydia, next represented to the Council that some heretics of that province, wishing to be instructed in the doctrine of the Catholic Church, had fallen into very great

[⁶ οἰκονόμουν Labbe, p. 673. dispensator. Baluz. p. 617.]

A. D. 431. errors; for two Priests, named Anthony and James, had
 CH. LVI. come from Constantinople with letters of recommendation¹
 [1 παρα- from Anastasius and Photius, who were also Priests, but
 θέσεως] who at that time sided with Nestorius. In virtue of these
 letters, James and Anthony had been received by the Bishops
 of Lydia as Catholics, and had induced the heretics, who wished
 to return to the Church, to sign an exposition of the Faith
 which was full of impious doctrines. In order to the better
 explanation of these circumstances, Charisius presented to
 the Council his own petition in writing, along with the false
 exposition of the Faith, and the subscriptions of those who
 had been deceived. The petition accused only the Priest
 James, who had come to Philadelphia and deceived many
 weak persons and even some of the clergy, so that these
 last had testified by letter that James was a Catholic, while
 they deprived Charisius of the Communion, and stripped
 him of his functions, as a heretic. Charisius, at the end of
 his petition, sets down his confession of the Faith, which is
 that of Nice.

The next step was to read the false exposition of the Faith,
 which began thus: "They who would be exactly instructed
 " in the doctrine of the Church, or be converted from any
 " heresy, are to know that we believe one God alone, the
 " eternal FATHER," &c. The mystery of the Trinity is suf-
 ficiently well explained, but on the subject of the Incarnation
 * p. 677. E. it says², "We do not say two SONS or two LORDS, since there
 " is but one SON by essence, GOD the WORD, the only SON of
 " the FATHER, to whom the manhood being joined, and partak-
 " ing of the Divinity, partakes likewise of the name and honour
 " of SON. GOD the WORD is also LORD by essence; and the man,
 " being conjoined³ to Him, partakes of His honour, for which
 " reason we say neither two SONS nor two LORDS, because
 [3 συνημι- of the inseparable conjunction⁴ of the WORD with Him,
 μένος.] " whom He has taken upon Him for our salvation, which
 [4 ἀχάρισ- " makes Him SON in a special sense, far above that in which
 τον συνά- " we are called the children of GOD. We say, then, that
 φειαν] " there is one only SON and LORD, JESUS CHRIST, meaning
 " primarily GOD the WORD, but taking into our idea that
 [5 συνεπι- " which He took upon Him⁵, that is, JESUS of Nazareth."
 νοούντες δέ The exposition ends thus: "This is the doctrine of the Church;
 τὸ ληφθέν]

“whosoever thinks the contrary, let him be anathema. Whosoever receives not saving penance¹, let him be anathema. Whosoever keeps not Easter agreeably to the rule of the Catholic Church, let him be anathema.” These two last anathemas were inserted on account of the heretics who were to be restored, and who were Quartodecimans, or Novatians².

A. D. 431.
CH. LV1.

[¹ τὴν σω-
τήριον με-
τάνοισιν. Cf.
μετάνοισιν
εἰς σω-
τηρίαν.
2 Cor. 7. 10.]

[² Supr. xx.
b. note m.]

The subscriptions amounted to twenty-one in number, and ran in this form: “I, Budius, son of Vinicius of Philadelphia, Quartodeciman, having had my eyes opened to see the true Faith of orthodoxy, and praying the Bishop Theophanes to receive me, have come over to the holy Catholic Church, and anathematize all heresies, particularly that of the Quartodecimans, by which I was deluded; and I assent to the above exposition of the orthodox Faith, anathematizing all who do not keep Easter as the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church does. I swear this by the holy Trinity, and by the piety and victory of the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian; and in case I ever infringe³ it, I submit myself to the rigour of the laws. This exposition having been read to me, not being able to write myself, I have subscribed it by the senator Hesychius.” Hesychius also subscribed for himself in the same form. Some subscribed for themselves and their whole family; many stated that they were unable to write; among the rest, a Priest named Patricius.

[³ παρὰ-
λείπω]

After this had been read, the Council forbade any other profession of faith to be written or propounded than that of Nice⁴, and ordained that they who should propose any other to people desirous of being converted from paganism, Judaism, or any heresy whatsoever^b, if Bishops or Clerks, should be deposed; if laymen, anathematized. “In like manner,” they add, “if any one is found to believe or teach, respecting the Incarnation of the Son of God, what is contained in the

p. 689. A.

^b This rule must evidently be interpreted by the occasion which called it forth; otherwise it might seem to be opposed to the practice of requiring the Athanasian Creed, or other dogmatic formulæ of later times, from heretics. Its obvious meaning is; “Let no individual draw up a confession of faith to be subscribed by converts; let the au-

thorized Creed of the Church, and that only, be made use of.” Nor again, does it affect the use of such *negative* forms as are necessary to enable the heretic to protest against his errors, and which will vary with the ever-varying shades of error; these remain as they were left by the Council of Constantinople; can. 7.

A. D. 431. " exposition of faith reported by the Priest Charisius, or the
 CH. LVII. " impious doctrines of Nestorius which are hereto subjoined,
 " the Council condemns him, if a Bishop or Clerk, to be de-
 " posed ; if layman, to be anathematized, as aforesaid." They
 then read the extracts from Nestorius's books, which were in-
¹ Sup. c. 41. serted in the first session, and thus the sixth session¹ closed.
 The exposition of faith which they here condemned, was that
 of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, afterwards refuted by Marius
² Ed. Garn. Mercator².
 Pt. 2. p. 250.

LVII. The seventh and last session of the Council of Ephesus
 The claims was held in St. Mary's church³, on the last day of July; for
 of the Bi- so we must read, although the Acts place it on the last day
 shops of of August, since we know that the Council assembled no
 Cyprus. more after the arrival of Count John. In this seventh
 (July 31.) session, Reginus, Bishop of Constantia in the island of Cy-
³ p. 787. prus, presented a petition to the Council, in the name of
 himself and two other Bishops, Zeno and Evagrius, com-
 plaining that the clergy of Antioch had encroached upon
 their legitimate liberty. St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Con-
 stantia, the Metropolis of Cyprus, had been succeeded by
 Sabinus, and Sabinus by Troilus. After his death, John of
 Antioch, pretending that the island was subject to his Pa-
 triarchate, had obtained two letters from Dionysius, Duke of
 the East; one to Theodorus, Governor of Cyprus, the other
 to the clergy of Constantia; both of them suspending the
 election of a Bishop of Constantia till such time as the
 Council of Ephesus had given a decision. However, not-
 withstanding this prohibition, Reginus had been ordained.
 When the petition and the two letters of the Duke Diony-
 sius had been read, the Council desired the Bishops of Cy-
 prus to explain more fully [what had prevailed on the Duke
⁴ p. 800, C. to make him issue such prohibitions⁴.]

The Bishop Zeno said that the letters had been written at
 the suggestion of the Bishop and clergy of Antioch. " What
 " motive had the Bishop of Antioch?" said the Council. The
 Bishop Evagrius answered, " He aims at subjecting our island,
 " and claims for himself the right of ordination, contrary to
 " the canons and the established custom." The Council
 said, " Is any instance known of the Bishop of Antioch's
 " having ordained a Bishop at Constantia?" Zeno said,

“ Since the time of the Apostles, they cannot shew that the
 “ Bishop of Antioch, or any other, ever came there to or-
 “ dain.” The Council said, “ Let us bear in mind the canon
 “ of Nice¹, which preserves to every Church its ancient dig-
 “ nity. Make it appear, then, that the Bishop of Antioch has
 “ not had the right of ordination among you.” Zeno said,
 “ We have already affirmed it; he has never been there, nor
 “ ever held an ordination there, either in the Metropolis, or
 “ in any other city. It was the Council of our province that
 “ appointed a Metropolitan. We request you to preserve our
 “ ancient privilege.” The Council said, “ Inform us whether
 “ the Bishop Troilus, who is just dead, or his predecessor
 “ Sabinus, or the venerable Epiphanius, who was before
 “ them, were ordained by a Council?” Zeno said², “ Those
 “ you have just named, and all the Catholics of Cyprus
 “ [from the time of the Apostles,] have been ordained in
 “ this manner, without any right of ordination having been
 “ possessed by the Bishop of Antioch, or any other person.”

A. D. 431.
CH. LVIII.

[¹ can. 6.]

[² p. 502.
A.]

After so precise a declaration, the Council pronounced
 sentence to this effect³; “ If there be no established custom ³ p. 501.

“ warranting the Bishop of Antioch to hold ordinations in
 “ Cyprus, (as the Bishops of the island have declared in
 “ writing and by word of mouth that there is not,) they shall
 “ be preserved in the free and full privilege to make by
 “ themselves ordinations of Bishops, according to the canons
 “ and the custom. The same shall be observed in all the
 “ other provinces⁴; so that no Bishop may act in any pro-
 “ vince which has not been always subject to him, and if
 “ any one have acted by violence, he shall make satisfaction
 “ for it, that so the pride of secular power may not introduce
 “ itself under the garb of priestly function⁵, and we insensibly
 “ lose that liberty which our LORD JESUS CHRIST purchased
 “ for us with His own blood. Every Metropolitan may take
 “ a copy of these Acts for his security.” The Council could
 not decide otherwise on the evidence given by the Bishops of
 Cyprus in the absence of John of Antioch, who had refused
 to appear; but had he been present, he might have shewn
 that his right was well established, and that the right of or-
 daining the Bishops of Cyprus had only been interrupted
 during the prevalence of Arianism, as appears from the letter

[⁴ τῶν ἁλ-
λων διοικη-
σεων καὶ
τῶν ἀπαν-
ταχοῦ
ἐπαρχιῶν.]

[⁵ ἐν προ-
σχήματι
ἱερουργίας
ἐξουσίας
τύφους παρ-
εσθίηται.
v. not. Jusi-
tel. in Cod.
Can. Eccl.
t. i. p. 91.]

A. D. 431. of Pope St. Innocent to Alexander of Antioch, written about
CH. LVIII. twenty years before¹.

¹ Innoc.
Ep. 18. [24.
Constant.]
c. 2. [Mansi
t. iii. p.
1055.]
Supr. 23. 26.
LVIII.
Other pri-
vate affairs.
² p. 807. A.
The decision of several other private affairs is referred to this last session of the Council of Ephesus. Eustathius, Bishop of Sida, the metropolis of Pamphylia, had been canonically ordained²; but being worn out by the slander and other annoyances which were made use of against him, (though he might have justified himself,) he chose rather, under a sense of his incapacity for business, to lay down the Episcopate, and sent in his resignation in writing. The Council of the province elected Theodorus to supply his place, and he had now governed the Church for a long time. Eustathius came to the Council of Ephesus to desire, not that he might be reinstated in his see, but only that he might retain the title and rank of Bishop, and return as such to his country, from which he had been long absent. The Council was moved with the old man's tears, and restored him to Church communion, of which he had been a long time deprived by his renunciation, for according to the canons no Bishop was permitted to leave his Church^k. The Council also granted him the title and rank of a Bishop, but with the proviso that he should perform neither ordination nor any other function, except by the order or permission of Theodorus. We learn this from a letter sent by

ⁱ St. Innocent's testimony, however, resolves itself into that of Alexander, since he merely decided on the strength of Alexander's assertions (" . . . sané " asseris . . . ") We may therefore say, with Coustant (Rom. Pont. Ep. t. i. p. 853), that his advice to the Cyprians was only hypothetical, that is, it went on the supposition that the information forwarded to him was correct. The question is thus reduced to a balancing of evidence, and there seems to be no reason for preferring Alexander's statement to the clear and explicit testimony of Zeno.

The decision of the Council of Ephesus was confirmed by the Trullan Canons (A.D. 692.) in a remarkable way; the independence of their Metropolitan was guaranteed to them, when they were driven out of their island by a barbarian incursion (can. 39. Labbe, t. vi. p. 1159). Bingham, 2. 18. § 2. See also the account of Peter the Fuller's attempt on the liberties of Cyprus, infr.

xxx. 19. Balsamon (himself Patriarch of Antioch) allows that the Church of Cyprus was independent (*αὐτοκέφαλος*, in Can. 2. Conc. Constant.)

^k The object of this rule being to place a check on individual indolence or caprice, occasions might arise when its operation might properly be suspended; whenever, for instance (as is provided by Can. Apost. 15. [Labbe, t. i. p. 27.] on a kindred subject), such suspension should be thought necessary for the advancement of religion and piety, so long as it was approved by a large number of other Bishops. Thus Gregory Nazianzen resigned in order to restore peace (supr. xviii. 4), his resignation being accepted by the Council of Constantinople; and so Aurelius, Augustine, and the other African Bishops, offered to resign, supr. xxii. 29. The case of Meletius as narrated by Theodoret, ii. c. 31, was somewhat more arbitrary.

the Council of Ephesus to the Council of the province of Pamphylia; it concludes by saying, "Should you be willing — ^{A. D. 431.} ^{CH. LVIII.} "to treat him with yet more indulgence, the Council is not "against it."

The Bishops Valerian and Amphiloehus, who also belonged to the province of Pamphylia, spoke to the Council¹ of the Massalian heretics, who were in their country. Valerian brought forward an ordinance of the Council held at Constantinople under Sisimius four or five years before²; the Council of Ephesus confirmed it, and authorized Valerian, Amphiloehus, and all the other Bishops of Pamphylia and Lycaonia to put it in execution. It provided that all who were infected with that heresy, or suspected of being so, should be summoned to anathematize it in writing; such as refused, if Clerks, were to be deposed and excommunicated; if laymen, to be anathematized; and none who were convicted of it were to be permitted to have the care of monasteries. The manual of these heretics, called *Asceticon*, (presented by the Bishop Valerian,) and all books of a like tendency, were anathematized.

Two Bishops of Thrace, Euprepus of Byza, and Cyril of Cela, presented a petition to the Council; setting forth, that it was an ancient custom in their province, for every Bishop to have two or three sees¹. Thus the Bishop of Heraclea, had Heraclea and Panium; the Bishop of Byza, had Byza and Arcadiopolis; the Bishop of Cela, Cela and Callipolis; the Bishop of Sabsadia, had Sabsadia and Aphrodisias. These cities had never had distinct Bishops; in other words, the Bishoprics had been always held conjointly; "Hence," they add, "as Eritilas, Bishop of Heraclea, has "quitted the Council to join himself to Nestorinus, we are "apprehensive that, in order to be revenged upon us, he will

¹ Throughout the whole *diocesis* of Thrace, the dioceses were very large; that of Tomi comprised all the northern province called Seythia. "To this day," says Sozomen, "the Seythians retain "the old custom of having all the "churches of the province subject to "but one see" (vi. c. 21, and again, vii. 19). As to the cities mentioned in the text, Bingham observes (9. 4. § 2.) that at the Council of Chalcedon there

was a Lucian still styled Bishop of Byza and Arcadiopolis (Act. 16. t. iv. p. 800); but that in the Council of Constantinople under Memas (Cone. t. v. p. 59, 71) Panium is mentioned as separate from Heraclea, and Callipolis from Cela, and in the *Notitia* of Leo the Wise (in Lemmelavius) Byza and Arcadiopolis are both raised to the dignity of *Autocephali*, or independent sees.

¹ p. 800.
Phot. Cod.
52. [p. 13.
ed. Bek-
ker.]
² Supr. 24.
44.

A. D. 431. "ordain Bishops to these cities. That no such innovation
CH. LIX. "may take place, we entreat you to order that we may not
 "be deprived of our Churches, (in which we have laboured
 "so much,) and that the ancient custom may not be altered."
 The Council ordered that no innovation should be made in
 respect of these cities of Europe, to the prejudice of the
 canons and the civil laws and ancient custom, which is of
 equal force with law.

In this same Council of Ephesus, Juvenal of Jerusalem
 pretended to assume to himself the primacy of Palestine, and
 offered to prove his claim by some supposititious writings¹;
 but St. Cyril opposed it, and wrote to the Pope about it,
 earnestly begging him not to give his consent to such an
 attempt. We gather this from a letter of St. Leo, written
 twenty-two years after; but the Acts of the Council make
 no mention of this claim of Juvenal, which shews that, as I
 have before observed², they are not entire as we have them;
 the greater part, too, of the Acts of the last session, are only
 extant in Latin.

LIX. The canons composed by this Council are preceded by a
Canons of the Council of Ephesus. synodical letter addressed to all the Churches³. The names
p. 801. of the schismatics who joined with John of Antioch are set
p. 804. down in it, to the number of thirty-five; the letter adds⁴,
 "The holy Council has, with one consent, deprived them of
 "all Church communion and sacerdotal function." After
 this follow the canons, which are to inform those who could
 not assist at the Council, of the regulations which had been
 made in reference to the schismatics. The first canon directs
 "that the Metropolitan who shall have quitted the Œcu-
[⁵ Concilium] "menical Council to attach himself to the self-styled Council⁵,
 "or who shall maintain the opinions of Cælestius, shall not
 "have power to act against the Bishops of his province, being
 "excommunicated and interdicted; on the contrary, he shall
 "be subject to these very Bishops, and the neighbouring
can. 1. "Metropolitans⁶. The Bishops who are not Metropolitans,
 "and have joined in the schism, either in the first instance,
 "or after having subscribed to Nestorius's deposition, shall
can. 2. "be cut off from the priesthood and deposed⁷. The clergy
 "who may have been interdicted by Nestorius or his party,
 "for maintaining right opinions, shall be re-established; and

“ in general, the clerks who adhere to the general Council A. D. 431.
 “ shall not in any wise be subject to schismatical Bishops¹, <sup>CH. LIX.
can. 3.</sup>
 “ but the clerks who shall maintain the schism, or the errors
 “ of Nestorius or Cælestius, shall be deposed². Those who,³ ^{can. 1.}
 “ having been condemned by the Council or by their own
 “ Bishops for malpractices³, have been re-established by Nes- <sup>3 ἐπὶ
ἀποστολῶν
πράξεσι]</sup>
 “ torius or his adherents, shall remain deposed as at first⁴. ^{can. 3.}
 “ If any one opposes, in any manner whatsoever, the Acts of
 “ the holy Council of Ephesus, if Bishop or Clerk, he shall
 “ be deposed; if layman, excommunicated⁵.” To these six ^{can. 6.}
 canons, some editions add two more, namely, the definition
 or decision of the Council^m that no additions should be made
 to the Symbol of Nice, which was called forth by the false
 creed of Theodorus, and the decision regarding the conserva-
 tion of provincial rights, made at the instance of the Bishops
 of Cyprus. This is all we know of the Acts of the Council
 General of Ephesus.

^m This decision was quoted by Eutyches at the Council of Chalcedon. (Labbe, t. iv. p. 136. a.) When Eusebius of Dorylæum denied its genuine-

ness, Dioscorus offered to produce four copies in confirmation of it, but explained that it was not one of the canons but a decision (*ὑπόθεσις, οὐ κανὼν*).

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXVI.

IN the mean time¹ Count John, by dint of hard travelling, had arrived at Ephesus. He immediately went to visit the Bishops of each party separately, since their dissension prevented him from seeing them all together. Neither St. Cyril nor Memnon appeared. Count John, besides issuing a manifesto to the absent, personally requested those who were present to assemble on the morrow at his hotel: and as such evident animosity prevailed on both sides, he deemed it necessary to station some troops of soldiers between them, in the vicinity of their respective quarters. Along with the dawn of next morning Nestorius made his appearance; John of Antioch came up soon after, with the Bishops of his party; and St. Cyril also came, attended by all the other Bishops, Memnon alone excepted. It was not long before a great tumult arose amongst them; those who were with St. Cyril, that is, the Catholics, refusing to tolerate the presence of Nestorius. Count John wished that the letter with which he was charged from the Emperor should be recited: but the Catholics would not consent either that Nestorius and the eastern schismatics should be present, or that St. Cyril should withdraw as the easterns demanded. A long dispute ensued, in which the greater part of the day was wasted. Count John proposed that both Cyril and Nestorius should retire, since neither of them was mentioned in the Emperor's letter. In spite of much opposition from the Catholics, who wished that none of the schismatics should be present, he at length carried his point, and St. Cyril and Nestorius both withdrew.

About eventide therefore, all the other Bishops remaining,

A. D. 431
CH. I.

I.

Arrival of
Count John
at Ephesus.

¹ C. Eph.
p. 723.
Synodic.
Baluz. c.
16. [p.
708.]

A. D. 431. the Emperor's letter¹ was read. It was addressed to Pope Cælestine, Rufus of Thessalonica, (as if they had been present,) and the rest of the Bishops, of whom, including these two, fifty-one were named; Catholics and schismatics being placed side by side indiscriminately. It seemed as if the only point on which any care had been taken, was that the names of St. Cyril, Nestorius, and Memnon, should not appear, all three being looked upon as deposed; nor are we left only to infer this, since the letter expressly says, "We give our approval to the deposition of Nestorius, of Cyril, and of Memnon, which your Piety has notified to us;" and this is the only thing of any importance contained in it. It mentions a letter from Acacius of Berrhæa, who, being prevented by old age from attending the Council, had written to exhort all the Bishops to maintain unity and concord. The Emperor sent this letter of Acacius to the Council, and empowered Count John to adopt such measures as the occasion should seem to demand.

The Emperor's letter was patiently listened to by the schismatics, who testified their approbation of it². The Catholics, on the contrary, expressed much dissatisfaction at the sanction it gave to the pretended deposition of Cyril and Memnon. To prevent any further tumult, Count John ordered all the three who were deposed, to be arrested. Count Candidian, who had been present at all the deliberations and proceedings of Count John, undertook the custody of Nestorius; and in such hands we may presume that he was not very harshly treated. St. Cyril was placed under the custody of Count James, captain of the fourth school³. As Memnon was absent, Count John sent for the steward, the defender, and the senior deacon^{4a} of the Church

[³ *Præposito quartæ scholæ*, v. Gibbou, c. 17.]
[⁴ Fleury *Archidiacon.*]

^a These are called *Dispensator*, *Licitor*, and *Protodiaconus*, in Labbe (p. 724), and *Economus*, *Defensor*, and *Primus Diaconus*, in Baluz (p. 710). The first of these three (*οἰκονόμος*) had to look after the building and repairing of the churches, to manage the college estates and other revenues, to keep the accounts, overlook the slaves and workmen, pay the stipends of the clergy, and attend to the widows and poor of the Church:—so Isidore, ad Leudfred, p. 693 (quoted by Suicer).

These duties had previously devolved on the Bishop and his Archdeacon, but as the dioceses were gradually augmented, it was thought advisable to take it out of their hands, while at the same time it cleared the Bishop from any suspicion of mismanagement of the revenues. This last is assigned as the reason for the canon passed in the Council of Chalcedon (Can. 26, Cone. t. iv. p. 778. cf. act. ix. p. 631 A.); that every Episcopal Church should have a steward, who was to be elected

of Ephesus, and telling them of Memnon's condemnation, he charged them to take great care of the money belonging to the Church, since they would be held responsible for it¹. He supposed that the see of Ephesus had been vacated in consequence of this deposition.

A. D. 431.
CH. II.
[¹ Baluz.
p. 710.]

After this, Count John went down to the great church to prayers, and understanding that Memnon was in the episcopal house, he sent one of the officers of his suite thither, to see whether he would speak with him, or would refuse to come. Memnon immediately came, and being reproached by Count John with his absence in the morning, he replied that he had been indisposed; and to shew that this was no studied excuse, he went of himself to Count John's hotel to submit himself to the Emperor's orders. He too was delivered to Count James; who placed over him, as over St. Cyril, a guard composed of the soldiers called *Scutarii* and *Palatini*. Count John immediately sent off to the Emperor this account of the first day's proceedings, adding, that he had exhorted the Bishops to peace, and that he would use every expedient in his power, though he had little hope of success, so mutually embittered and estranged were the minds of both parties.

The Catholic Bishops, that is, all the true Council, were very dissatisfied with the whole transaction. They complained of it to the Emperor in a letter, which, after recounting the measures adopted by the schismatics against the heads of the Council, proceeds²: "They have sent you an account of this deposition, as if it had been the act of the whole Council, and your Majesty has received and ratified it, doubtless under the impression that it had emanated from the Council; instead of which, it was done in opposition to the Council, by the partizans of Nestorius, and out

II.
Complaints
of the Ca-
tholics.

² C. Eph.
p. 766. C.

from the clergy of the Church, and to take charge of the Church revenues during the vacancy of the see: (Can. 25. *infra*. xxviii. 29). The *second* (*ἐκδικος τῆς ἐκκλησίας* or *ἐκκλησιέδικος*) had to defend the rights of the Church, in the courts of law. According to Gothofred, in Cod. Theodos. (t. vi. p. 76, 77), he was generally a clerk, until the law of Honorius (l. 16. tit. 2. leg. 38) allowed the Churches to select their Defensors from the *Scholastici* or Law Advocates. The *last*, according

to Sahmasius, was originally the same as Archdeacon, though the Archidiaconate afterwards ceased to be determined by seniority and became an elective office (*de Primatu*, p. 89). He was possessed of very great influence, and in the Church of Rome was looked upon almost as Bishop elect (*διάδοχος τοῦ ἀρχιερατεύοντος*, Eulog. ap. Phot., Cod. 182. p. 127); and hence he thought himself injured by being ordained Priest (St. Jerome in *Ezech.* c. 18. t. iii. p. 1066).

A. D. 431. " of revenge for our having deposed him. We would there-
 CH. II. " fore all of us approach your Piety, beseeching you that
 " the proceedings against Nestorius and his abettors may
 " remain in full force, and that what they have done against
 [¹ ἐξάρχων] " the leaders¹ of our Council may be declared null. For if
 " the sentence of the Council against Nestorius is reasonable,
 " and if your Majesty approves of it, it is evident to your
 " Majesty, that what the partizans of Nestorius have done
 " in opposition to the Council is absolutely void, since it is
 " merely an outbreak of revengeful feeling. We beseech
 " you, then, at length to deliver us from this affliction, and to
 " cause the heads of the Council, the holy Bishops Cyril and
 " Memnon, to be restored to us ; for [now that religion has
 " been vindicated and her enemies subdued] it is but right
 " that they who have assisted us in achieving this victory for
 " the Faith, should be honoured, and not involved in the
 " condemnation of those who have been convicted of blas-
 " phemy against our LORD and SAVIOUR." This letter was
 subscribed by Juvenal of Jerusalem and all the rest.

Further annoyance, however, was yet in store for them. They soon heard that Count John had not made a faithful report to the Court² ; and that it was even under consideration whether St. Cyril and Memnon should not be sent into banishment, as if the Council had approved of their deposition. This made the Catholics write in a more decided tone to the Emperor, whom they address as follows³ : " The letter
 " which has been lately read to us by Count John, has given
 " us no common pain, since it reveals to us the imposture
 " with which your ears have been abused ; for your Majesty
 " speaks as if you had received a report from us signifying
 " the deposition of the holy Bishops Cyril and Memnon.
 " We take the liberty, therefore, to represent to you, that
 " the general Council, supported by all the West, with the
 " apostolical see of Rome, by all Africa, and all Illyricum, has
 " not deposed these holy Bishops ; on the contrary, it highly
 " esteems their zeal for the Faith, and judges them worthy
 " of receiving great applause from men, and from our LORD
 " JESUS CHRIST the crown of glory. We have deposed none
 " but the heretic⁴ Nestorius, as we wrote to your Majesty.
 " We were also much grieved to find that the names of the

² Ep. Cyril.
 ad Con-
 stantinop.
 C. Eph.
 p. 760.

p. 758.

[¹ τῆς αἰρέ-
 σως τῶν
 ἀνθρώπων
 λατρῶν κή-
 ρυκα]

“ partizans of John of Antioch, who have separated from the A. D. 431.
 “ Council, and of the deposed Celestians, who are with him, — ^{CH. III.}
 “ were inserted (fraudulently¹, we presume) along with ours, [¹ ἐκ συνα-
 “ and that you sent but one and the same letter to them ^{παγῆς]}
 “ and to us. However, we long since gave you to under-
 “ stand how they had separated from the Council, the injury
 “ they have offered to our leaders, and the sentence of ex-
 “ communication pronounced against them by the Council.
 “ We again declare to you that we cannot admit them to our
 “ communion, not only because of this enormity, but also
 “ because they always defend Nestorius, (so far are they
 “ from subscribing to his deposition,) and because of their
 “ daring attempt to impose upon you. We beg you to re-
 “ store to us the holy Bishops Cyril and Memnon, and to
 “ adopt measures for the preservation of the Faith, which is
 “ to be seen in its integrity in our Acts against Nestorius.
 “ And if you wish for more exact information about the
 “ transactions between us and the schismatics, we beg your
 “ Highness will send to the Council some men on whom you
 “ can rely, who will then be able to explain them to you *vivâ*
 “ *voce*.”

The Council wrote also to the Bishops then at Constantinople, ^{III.}
 and to the Priests and Deacons of that city, in these terms²: <sup>Other let-
 ters from
 the Catho-
 lics.</sup>
 “ Know that we have been shut up at Ephesus, as in a prison,
 “ for three months, so that neither by sea nor land can we ² C. Eph.
 “ send any one with safety, either to Court or any other ^{p. 767.}
 “ place. For whenever any account of us has arrived at its
 “ destination, those who carried it were only able to effect
 “ their purpose by assuming disguises, varying their routes,
 “ and facing a thousand perils. The reason of our being
 “ thus guarded is, that the Emperor has received false re-
 “ ports of every thing that concerns us. Some have said
 “ that we are sedition-mongers; others, that the general
 “ Council has deposed Cyril and Memnon; others, that we
 “ confer amicably with the schismatics, of whom John of
 “ Antioch is the head; and that the truth on all these points
 “ may not be known, we are confined and maltreated. In
 “ this extremity we hasten to write to you, as the true sons
 “ of the general Council, not to desert the Faith, but to
 “ prostrate yourselves before the Emperor with tears, and

A. D. 431. " give him an account of the whole matter; for we never
CH. III. " condemned Cyril and Memnon, we cannot separate our-
 selves from their communion, and should think ourselves
 [1 *συνεξορι-* " very happy to be banished along with them¹. We are also
σθηται του- " resolved not to admit the schismatics to our communion
τοις κέρδος " till they have made amends for all their enormities; we
μέγιστον " would rather quit our Churches (which God forbid) than
ήγούμεθα.] " do so. Ask the Emperor to take compassion upon us, that
 " we may at length be delivered from this specious imprison-
 [2 *εὐπροσώ-* " ment². If we are worthy to see the Emperor, let us be or-
που περι- " dered to do so; if it be thought that we are unworthy, let
ορισμοῦ] " permission be granted us to return to our Churches, that
 " we may not all perish here, either by sickness or grief."
 [3 *Com-* To this letter a short note³ was subjoined, in these words;
monito- " The hot and unhealthy air kills us, scarcely a day passes
rium.] " without a funeral, and the servants are all sent away sick
 " to their homes. Know, however, that though they should
 " make us all perish here, we will do nothing but what our
 " LORD JESUS CHRIST hath by us ordained." It is supposed
 that this note was intended specially for St. Dalmatius.

St. Cyril wrote to the clergy and people of Constantinople, noticing the two letters written by the Council to the Emperor, and adding⁴, "Count John has tried a hundred different
⁴ p. 759. " ways to induce the Council to receive the schismatics into
 " communion, but it has hitherto refused to listen to him;
 " all continue resolute, and tell him, that until the dissidents
 " reverse their uncanonical Acts, ask pardon of the Council,
 " and by a written document anathematize both Nestorius
 " and his doctrine, all communion is impossible. Count
 " John being foiled in this design, bethought himself of
 " another plan, and requested the Council to give him a
 " written exposition of faith, that he might make the others
 " subscribe it, and say at his return, 'I have reconciled them;
 " 'it was nothing but human passions that caused these di-
 " 'visions^b.' The Council readily saw his drift, and boldly
 " opposed it, saying, 'We do them no wrong; we have not
 " 'been summoned hither as heretics, but to defend the

^b Besides, if the Council had fallen in with his proposal, he might then have dismissed them, and they would

thus have lost all means of procuring the re-establishment of St. Cyril. Tille-
 mont, xiv. p. 460.

“ ‘ Faith, as we have done ; and the Emperor does not want
 “ ‘ to be instructed in it, he knows it already, and has been
 “ ‘ baptized into it.’ The Easterns, therefore, met with no
 “ better success in this scheme. An attempt which they
 “ made to draw up an exposition of faith, has occasioned a
 “ division among them, about which they are still disputing.
 “ Some are willing to call the holy Virgin *Theotocos*, if *An-*
 “ *thropotocos* be added^c ; others say that they would sooner
 “ have their hands cut off than subscribe to it. They have
 “ thus rendered themselves ridiculous, and their heresy is
 “ palpable. Let every one know this, especially the Archi-
 “ mandrites, lest Count John on his return should report
 “ things to be otherwise than they really are. Be not weary
 “ in labouring for us, and be assured that you shall win
 “ favour both with God and man. Even here there are
 “ Bishops who never saw us before, that are ready to lay
 “ down their lives for us, and that come to us saying with
 “ tears, that they would willingly go into banishment, or die
 “ with us. We are all greatly afflicted, a guard of soldiers
 “ being set over us, and lying at the doors of our chambers,
 “ and of mine more particularly ; the rest of the Council
 “ are sunk in despondency or sickness^d, many are dead, and
 “ others are forced to sell all they have to defray their ex-
 “ penses.”

A. D. 431.
CH. III.

[¹ ἀπέκαμε
καὶ κάμνει.]

St. Cyril wrote at the same time to Theopemptus, Daniel, and Potamon, three Egyptian Bishops then at Constantinople. Potamon had gone thither the year before ; Theopemptus and Daniel had been at Ephesus², and had taken part in the deposition of Nestorius. It seems probable, therefore,
² Supr. 25.
⁴⁰, 43.

St. Cyril wrote to them thus³ : “ Many calumnies have been
 “ published against me here ; as that several persons from
 “ the baths had followed me from Alexandria, that some
 “ religious women⁴ had left their convents, that the deposi-
³ C. Eph.
^{p.} 772.
⁴ καλονι-
καί]

^c We have seen that Nestorius himself conceded thus much to orthodoxy. Supr. xxv. 29.

^d Partly, no doubt, owing to the heat of the month of August, which is very intense on the coast of Asia Minor, so

that travellers in that country are advised always to take refuge during the summer months in Constantinople or the villages of the Bosphorus. Handbook for Travellers in the East, p. ix. and 258.

A. D. 431.
CH. IV.

tion of Nestorius was brought about, not by the free will of the Council, but by my cabals; however, thanks be to the SAVIOUR, those who spread these scandalous reports have been convicted, for Count John finding, on his arrival at Ephesus, that nothing of this was true, condemned them. He ascertained also that the Council, in condemning Nestorius, had been prompted only by their own zeal, because they were unable to endure his blasphemies. Since the reading of the Emperor's letter, which confirms the deposition of all three of us, we have been kept under guard, and know not what is to come of it; but we return thanks to God that we are thought worthy to suffer for His Name's sake, for it will not go unrewarded. The Council refused to communicate with John of Antioch, and continues resolute, saying, 'Here are our persons, our churches, our cities, they are in your power; we cannot communicate with the Easterns unless their proceedings, full of calumny and defamation against our brethren, be cancelled, and unless they confess the Catholic Faith,' for they are of Nestorius's opinions, and that avowedly." These letters from the Council, and from St. Cyril, were conveyed to Constantinople by a beggar¹, who concealed them in the hollow of a cane^e which he held in his hand as he begged alms on the road. They were obliged to make use of this expedient, because Nestorius's party at Constantinople kept a strict look out upon all the ships and thoroughfares, to prevent any communication between the city and the Council.

¹ C. Eph.
p. 752. C.

IV.
Letters
from the
schis-
matics.
² Baluz.
Synod. c.
17. [p. 710.]

The schismatics, on their part, wrote to the Emperor by Count John²; whether it was that he actually returned himself, or that he forwarded their letters. As the Emperor had enjoined the Council in his letter not to depart from the Nicene Creed, they took occasion thence to inveigh against the twelve anathemas of St. Cyril, whose pretended errors they paint in the strongest colours; they quote the letter from Acacius of Berrhæa, which the Emperor had sent them, and add, "He knows well what the truth is, he who is now a hundred and ten years old, who has spent his life in de-

^e In the East the cane is too common an attendant of the poor to have caused any suspicion. See for instance the

case of the Moosellikátée in Lane's Mod. Egypt., vol. ii. ch. 1.

“fence of the Gospel, who has assisted at several Councils^f, A. D. 431.
 “and who has always had the followers of Apollinarius in CH. V.
 “his neighbourhood.” So much indeed was true; for Laodicea, the city to which Apollinarius belonged^g, was situated in Syria as Berrhæa also was¹. The Easterns add, that [1 *Supr.* 25. 12.]
 Count John had ordered them in the Emperor’s name to explain themselves with regard to the expression ‘Mother of God;’ this they accordingly do, setting down their confession of faith, which is orthodox and in fact the same as that with which St. Cyril afterwards declared himself satisfied. They wrote at the same time to the Church at Antioch², that is, to the clergy, the monks, and the people, ² c. 18. [p. 713.]
 acquainting them with the proceedings of Count John at Ephesus, and saying how the Emperor had approved the condemnation of Cyril and Memnon, and that these were in consequence strictly guarded; but they omit to say that Nestorius was to be treated in the same way. They exhort the preachers to direct their sermons against the pretended error of Cyril, and advise that if any persons should endeavour to spread it at Antioch, they should be observed and brought before the judges as seditious persons. This letter is subscribed by John of Antioch, and twelve other Bishops. They also wrote to Acacius of Berrhæa³, remarking, in much the ³ c. 19.
 same way, the condemnation and imprisonment of Cyril and Memnon, without any mention of Nestorius, and complaining that their adversaries are every where writing letters, and filling both cities and provinces with sedition.

The letters written from Ephesus against St. Cyril, made an impression even upon St. Isidore of Pelusium, one of the most famous monks of this period¹. Though a native of Alexandria, he passed his life at Pelusium⁵. He was in Priest’s orders, and united a profound knowledge of theology to the austerities of the monastic life. He had com-

v.
 Letters of
 St. Isidore
 of Pelu-
 sium.
 1 Evagr. l.
 c. 15.
 5 Ephrem,
 ap. Phot. c.
 228, p. 247.
 Suidas, s.v.
Isid.

^f As at the Council of Constantinople, *supr.* xviii. c. 1. Baronius places his consecration to the see of Berrhæa in the year 378.

^g Apollinarius the elder was a native of Alexandria; he settled first at Beyrout, and then at Laodicea (Ladikiyeh), where the younger Apollinarius, the principal heresiarch, was born. Soer.

ii. c. 46. Ladikiyeh itself is above a hundred miles south-west of Aleppo (or Berrhæa), but the heresy of which it was the focus disseminated itself over the whole basin of the Orontes (el-'Asy), or “from Cilicia to Phœnicia,” as Gregory Naz. testifies (quoted by Sozom. vi. c. 27).

A. D. 431. posed several works,—among others, a treatise against the
CH. VI. Gentiles¹,—but all that we have remaining is a collection of
1 Isid. ii. his letters, to the number of two thousand and twelve; they
Ep. 137. are written in a laconic style, and with considerable elegance.
228.

² i. Ep. 310. His letter to St. Cyril on this occasion, runs thus²: “Com-
 “passion does not see clearly, but aversion does not see at
 “all. If, then, you would avoid both these faults, pass no
 “violent sentences, but examine matters equitably. Many
 “of those who are assembled at Ephesus, accuse you of seek-
 “ing to revenge a private quarrel of your own, in preference
 “to sincerely striving to promote the interests of JESUS
[³ ἀδελφί-
δοῦς] “CHRIST. He is nephew³, they say, to Theophilus, and
 “treads in his steps; he desires to be thought a man of
 “consequence like his uncle, who wreaked his fury upon
 “the blessed John, though, to be sure, there is a great
 “difference between the persons accused.”

St. Isidore wrote also to the Emperor Theodosius in
⁴ i. Ep. 311. these terms⁴; “If you could find time to go in person to
 “Ephesus, the sentence which would then be passed would
 “be superior to all censure: but if you leave the decision to
[⁵ ὁχλώδει
ἀντιπαθείῃ] “ill-regulated passion⁵, who will guarantee the Council’s
 “credit? You will apply the true remedy if you prevent
 “your domestics from interfering with doctrine; for they
 “are far from being able to serve their Prince, and at the
 “same time take care of what relates to God. Beware lest
 “they destroy the empire through their infidelity, by run-
 “ning it against the Church, the solid Rock, which in the
 “strength of God’s promise is immoveable.” In another
⁶ Ep. 323. letter to St. Cyril⁶, he gives a short statement of his faith
 concerning the mystery of the Incarnation, which is alto-
 gether Catholic.

VI. The beggar who carried the letters from the Council ar-
 Remon- rived without any mischance at Constantinople, and delivered
 strances of them to the Bishops, the clergy, the Archimandrites, and in
 the Catho- particular to St. Dalmatius. The clergy of Constantinople
 lics at Con- presented a petition to the Emperor upon this occasion⁷, no
 stantinople. less resolute than respectful; “If your Majesty,” say they,
⁷ C. Eph. “should approve of the deposition of Cyril and Memnon,
p. 778. “made by the schismatics, we are all ready to expose our-
 “selves, with a courage becoming Christians, to the same

“ dangers with these holy men, being persuaded that this A. D. 431.
 “ will be only a fit return for the sufferings they have under- CH. VI.
 “ gone in behalf of the Faith. We beg you, therefore, to
 “ support the sentence of those who form the majority, who
 “ have on their side the authority of the chief sees, and who,
 “ after having carefully examined into the orthodox Faith, are
 “ of the same opinion with this holy man, (that is, St. Cyril;) [¹ περιστή-
 “ and do not suffer the world to be thrown into universal σεται]
 “ confusion under the pretence of procuring peace, and [² τὴν τιθη-
 “ merely to hinder the separation of a small part of the νησαμένην
 “ East, who, if they obeyed the canons, would not separate ὑμᾶς]
 “ at all. For if the head of the general Council should suffer
 “ any indignity, it would extend to all who are united with
 “ him in opinion; all the Bishops of the world must be de-
 “ posed with these holy men, and the name of orthodox come
 “ to be attached¹ to Arius and Eunomius. Let not then the
 “ Church, in which you have been nurtured², be torn in pieces,
 “ and let no martyrs be seen in your time, but imitate the
 “ piety of your ancestors, by obeying the Council and sup-
 “ porting their decrees by your ordinances.”

St. Dalmatius being engaged in prayer on this subject³, a a C. Eph.
 voice from heaven ordered him to leave his monastery, to p. 751. E.
 which he had confined himself for the preceding forty-eight
 years, refusing to leave it, though the Emperor had fre-
 quently entreated him to assist at the processions which were
 made on account of the earthquakes. But now he went out,
 accompanied by the monks of all the monasteries, with their
 Archimandrites at their head. They proceeded in the direc-
 tion of the palace in two companies, singing antiphonally^b,

^b The singing was called Antiphonal among the old Greeks in which the same harmony was executed by two voices or sets of voices together, the one being an octave higher than the other. (Aristot. Probl. s. 19. § 39. ed. Weise.) In Christian times it assumed an entirely different meaning, that of responsive singing; whether in the form of interlocutory addresses between the Priest and people, or of alternate singing between the people divided into two parts. The last approached somewhat to the character of the antistrophic singing of the Greek chorus; but to derive the one from the other (as sug-

gested by Milman, Hist. of Chris. iii. p. 523) seems wide of the mark. So, too, the former bears a close resemblance to the responses which the mystæ returned to the daduchus in the Eleusinian mysteries (schol. in Arist. Ran. 479); yet we should hardly think of deducing the one from the other, as Casaubon does (Exercit. in Baron. p. 519). It is much easier to derive it from the Jews who had the practices from the beginning. (Exod. xv. 1, 21. Philo-Jud. t. i. p. 312. ed. Mangey. 1 Sam. xviii. 7. et lexica ad v. ענה).

The construction of many of the psalms seems to imply that they were

A. D. 431.
CH. VI.

and a large body of Catholics followed them. On their arrival, the Archimandrites being sent for by the Emperor, entered the palace, but the monks and the people remaining outside, continued to chaunt their antiphons. The Archimandrites came out, after having received a favourable answer; the people all shouted, "The Emperor's orders!" The Archimandrites answered, "Let us go to the church of St. Mocius¹ and the letter shall be read to you, and you shall also hear the Emperor's answer;" thither accordingly

snug antiphonally; e. g. Ps. cxviii, cxxiv, cxxxv, cxxxvi. The last of these seems from the *réfrain* to have been the one which the Priests and Levites "sang together by course," in Ezra, iii. 11, as also the one which was chaunted alternately by the Deacon and people during Athanasius's escape. (Theodoret, ii. 13.—on the word *ὑπακούειν*, see Coteler, Annott. in Apost. Const. p. 179. and Bingham, 1. 1. § 12.) In Nehem. xii. 24, the singing "ward over against ward" is referred to the "commandment of David." (Lowth, de Sacr. Poes. præl. 19.) The Seraphim in Isaiah's vision in the temple "cried one to another" (vi. 3. cf. Apocal. iv. 8—11. and xix. 1—6). The Therapeutæ as described by Philo (De vit. Contempl. t. ii. p. 485, and ap. Euseb. H. E. ii. 17) retained the custom. It prevailed among the Christians in the very earliest times. Pliny says (Ep. x. 97. Tauchn.) that they sang hymns to CHRIST, as God, *in turns* (dicere seculum invicem). Socrat. (vi. 8) attributes the origin of it to Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, although Theodoret, ii. 24, says that Flavian and Diodorus of that city first introduced the custom. The discrepancy is cleared up by a passage of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, quoted by Nicetas, Thes. Orth. Fid.: "Flavian and Diodorus transferred the kind of psalmody, called antiphonal, from the Syrian language into Greek, and thus came to be regarded as its authors." (Bibl. VV. PP. xii. p. 593. Colon.) It spread rapidly to Constantinople and Alexandria, and was introduced into the West by St. Ambrose (Isid. de Off. i. c. 7. p. 582. Paulin. in Vit.) to cheer the people during the persecution raised by Justina. (Aug. Conf. ix. 7.) "The Ambrosian chaunt, with its simple and masculine tones is still preserved in the church of Milan." (Milman, iii. p. 523.) St. Augustine

fluctuates in his decision respecting the use of chaunting. On the one hand he approves of the reading of Athanasius, which was almost entirely free from intonation; on the other he calls to mind the salutary tears which the chaunting at Milan drew from him after his conversion. (Confess. x. 33.) However, the Church seemed almost compelled to adopt it in order to counteract the use to which the power of music was applied by the heretics. Thus Arius had composed hymns which were set to popular airs, see note on Athan. c. Arian. p. 94. Oxf. Tr.; Paul of Samosata gained many over by his soft melodies; and the Donatists inflamed the fanaticism of their followers by hymns. (Milman, iii. p. 522.) When the Sabellians at Neocæsarea raised a clamour against St. Basil for his using chaunts, he justified himself by saying that it was the practice of Egypt, Libya, Thebes, Palestine, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. (Epist. 207. (al. 63.) t. iii. p. 310, 311.) The excellence of the early chaunt was seen by the worldly-shrewd Julian, and he accordingly had bands of choristers organized to chaunt in all the temples.

The alternate chaunt was also used in family-worship, see Tertullian, Ad Uxor. ii. 9, and the account of Theodosius and his sisters in Socrat. vii. c. 22. For a defence of chaunting, see Hooker, V. ch. 39. § 4. "The cathedral chaunting of England," says Milman, "has probably almost alone preserved the ancient antiphonal system, which has been discarded for a more complicated system of music in the Roman Catholic service. This," he adds, "has lost as much in solemnity and majesty as it has gained in richness and variety." (p. 524.)

¹ Which according to Procopius (De Ædific. l. i. c. 4) was the largest of all the churches (*ἱερῶν*) in Constantinople.

went all the monks and the people. Their route lay through A. D. 431. one of the principal streets, and the church of St. Mocius CH. VI. was at the farther end of the city, near the golden gate¹. Cange, Const. Chr. iv. c. 65. p. 129. The monks still sung as they went along, carrying wax tapers in their hands; and when they reached the skirts of the city they were just singing the last psalm. The people cried out against Nestorius as the procession passed along.

When they reached the church of St. Mocius², the letter C. Eph. p. 731. from the Council was read, and the people cried out as with one voice, "Let Nestorius be anathema." St. Dalmatius ascended the pulpit, and said to them, "If you wish to hear, keep silence, do not interrupt us, and have patience. The Emperor has perused the letter which has just been read to you, and is persuaded of the truth of the contents. I had told him, when he came to see me, that it was necessary to write to the holy Council certain things which I repeated to him, but which were not put down in writing. To save him trouble, I forwarded to him a suitable answer³, but those who were employed to take [τὰ ἀκρό- λουθῶν. Fleury, *l. i.* restit.] it to him did not present it. I said to him, then, such things as the occasion required, but I cannot repeat them to you at present; for do not imagine that I am elated or boasting: 'The Lord will break in pieces the bones of those who seek to please men⁴.' The Emperor listened to all the details in their proper order, he thanked God that they had turned out as they have, and approved the proceedings of the Council, as became him. Not that he was persuaded by my words; no, he has but adhered to the faith of his fathers. However, he received the letter as was fitting, he read it, and giving it full credit, said, 'If it be so, let the Bishops come.' I answered him, 'They are not suffered to come.' 'No one,' he replied, 'hinders them.' 'They are under arrest,' said I to him. 'Numbers of the opposite party go and come without any hindrance, but the holy Council is not suffered to relate its proceedings to you.' In order to give Cyril's cause my support, I said to him in the presenece of all; 'Which do you prefer to listen to, six thousand Bishops, or one impious wretch?' I said six thousand, taking into account those who are virtually present in their Metropoli-

A. D. 431. "tans. My design in all this was to obtain an order for
CH. VII. "the attendance of some Bishops, as in fact some are on
"their way, being deputed by the Council to explain what
"has passed. The Emperor replied to me, 'You have said
"well; pray for me.' I am sure that the Emperor will
"follow God and the holy Council, and will not again listen
"to perverse men. Pray therefore for the Emperor and for
"us;" then the people of Constantinople cried out all to-
gether, "Let Nestorius be anathema."

VII. The Emperor then sent an order to the Bishops of each
Answers of party, that of St. Cyril, and that of John of Antioch, to send
the Catho- from Ephesus such deputies as they should respectively ap-
lics of Con- prove, to come to Court, and give in their information by
stantinople word of mouth¹. This order was directed to Count John;
to the Coun- St. Cyril and Memnon were in the mean time to continue in
cil. confine-
¹ C. Eph. ment². The Bishops who were at Constantinople, being
p. 782, 3. seven in number, sent an answer by the same messenger to
[² Baluz. the Fathers of the Council³; their letter is dated 'the twen-
p. 727.] tieth of Messori, in the fifteenth indiction,' that is, on the
thirteenth of August, A. D. 431; they congratulate the
Council upon their sufferings for the good cause, and offer
either to repair to them or to continue at Constantinople, as
the Council should decide. The clergy of Constantinople
also sent them a letter. At the head of the letter the
names of Dalmatius, Tigrius, Samson, and Maximian are
mentioned first, as being the chief presbyters⁴. "We have
"received from the Emperor," say they, "your letters re-
"specting the deposition of Nestorius, and have caused them
"to be read publicly in the church. All the people united
"with us in approving it, and were loud in their acclama-
"tions in praise of you. Now, therefore, we would exhort
"you to think of what is necessary for re-settling our
"Church, since that is the only thing remaining to be
"done," (meaning that a Bishop of Constantinople should
be appointed.) Dalmatius signed first, subscribing himself
Priest, Archimandrite, and Father of the monasteries; he also
wrote a private letter to the Council⁵, congratulating them
on their victory over heresy. Alypius, who was Priest of
the Apostles' church, also wrote to St. Cyril on the same
subject⁶, looking upon him as a Confessor and Martyr. At

³ p. 772.

⁴ p. 755.

⁵ Baluz.
p. 653.

⁶ C. Eph.
p. 785.

the conclusion he says, “The Deacon Candidian, who will A. D. 431.
“ deliver this letter to you, will tell you how matters stand CH. VIII.
“ with us, with what freedom and boldness we have spoken,
“ and all that we have done.”

As soon as the Emperor’s orders were published at Ephesus VIII.
by Count John, the Council nominated eight deputies;—the The Coun-
Priest Philip (who represented the Pope¹), and seven Bishops, cil send de-
Arcadius, one of the Western Deputies, Juvenal of Jerusalem, [1 διέπονται
Flavian of Macedonia, Firmus of Cappadocia, Theodotus of τὸν τόπον
Ancyra, Acacius of Melitene, Evoptius of Ptolemais. They . . . Κελε-
received a letter of commission², which enjoined them, first, στίνον]
to have no communion whatsoever with John of Antioch ² C. Eph.
or his schismatical convention; “and if the Emperor con- p. 780
“ strains you to communicate with them,” add the Fathers, [ἐντολικόν]
“ you shall obey him only on condition that they subscribe
“ the condemnation of Nestorius, and send a petition to the
“ Council, praying for the pardon of their headstrong be-
“ haviour to our Presidents; that they anathematize the doc-
“ trine of Nestorius, and labour with you for the restoration
“ of the holy Archbishops Cyril and Memnon. In this case
“ we permit you to promise them communion with you, but
“ you are to send us word, in order that, should we concur
“ in what you have done, a solid foundation may be laid for a
“ durable peace with them. But you need give them no hopes
“ of communion until the holy Council shall have had its
“ Presidents restored. And we would have you know, that if
“ you neglect any of these orders, the holy Council will with-
“ hold their assent from any arrangements you may make,
“ and will exclude you from communion.” Berinian, Bishop
of Perga, subscribed it first, and the rest of the Bishops fol-
lowed. The Council also delivered to their deputies some
documents which enabled them to refute the pretensions of
the Easterns³, and a letter to the Emperor⁴, in which they [³ λιβελλων
chiefly insist on the liberation of Cyril and Memnon, and ἀντιβήητι-
and on having permission granted them to return to their re- κων. p.
spective Churches. It will be easily believed that they also 781. E.]
sent answers, by the deputies, to the seven Bishops who had ⁴ p. 784.
written to them from Constantinople, and to St. Dalmatius.
The Council thanks the former for their affection⁵, and advises ⁵ p. 773.
them to stay at Constantinople and use their diligence to in-

A. D. 431. form the Emperor of the frauds practised by the Easterns.
CH. VIII. “ Since we suspect,” they add, “ that what we have already
 “ written has never reached you, we send you copies of the
 “ same. We would have you enquire, too, whether a former
 “ report which we sent to the Emperor was ever presented,
 “ that if he has not received it he may see what artifices
 “ have been resorted to with a view to prejudice our cause.”

¹ Baluz. In the letter to St. Dalmatius¹ they acknowledge that to him
 p. 653. above all men they were indebted for the Emperor’s being
 acquainted with the truth, and add, “ We are not ignorant
 “ that God revealed to you what was in Nestorius’s heart
 “ before he came to Constantinople, and that you said to all
 “ who visited your cell, ‘ Take heed to yourselves, brethren ;
 “ ‘ an evil beast has set out to come to our city, and many
 “ ‘ are they whom his doctrine shall injure ! ’ ”

The Easterns also, on their side, deputed eight Bishops, John of Antioch, John of Damascus, Himerius of Nicomedia, Paul of Emesa, representing Acacius of Berrhæa ; Macarius of Laodicea, representing Cyrus of Tyre ; Apringius of Chalcis, who represented Alexander of Apamea ; Theodoret of Cyrus, who represented Alexander of Hierapolis ; and Helladius of Ptolemais. The commission delivered to them² was very general, giving them full power to do whatever they thought fit, either before the Emperor or in the consistory^k, in the senate or in the Council, with a promise to ratify all that they should do, and to subscribe synodically whatever concessions they should make, [with a view to conciliation³.]

² C. Eph. The only limitation is with regard to the propositions of
 p. 725. St. Cyril, which they are absolutely prohibited from receiving. Alexander of Hierapolis subscribed first, repeating this restriction, and after him Dorotheus of Marcianopolis. Along with these orders, they gave the Deputies a petition to be presented to the Emperor⁴, in which, without referring to the deposition of Nestorius and the rest, or to the Acts of the Council, they express their deep sorrow respecting the articles of Cyril, and conjure the Emperor by all that is most sacred to be vigilant in maintaining the Faith, (of

^k The consistory was the Emperor’s privy council. Its members (called Consistorians) were the Præfect of the

Prætorium, the Quæstor of the Palace, the Master of Offices, and the Counts of Largesses.

[³ *συμβιβασμοῦ*]

[⁴ p. 727.]

which they make him judge¹) and to oblige their adversaries to discuss the questions relating to it in his presence and by writing, affirming what is certainly true, that two diverse teachings are not to be suffered in the Church^{1m}.¹ p. 728. They take occasion by the way to complain of the encroachments of Juvenal of Jerusalem in Palestine and Arabia, and ask that if the dispute concerning the Faith cannot be decided they may be permitted to return to their Churches.

As soon as the deputies had set out, the Emperor despatched orders to Nestorius to leave Ephesus, though with full liberty to go wherever he pleased. At his own request permission was given him to retire to the monastery of St. Euprepus, near Antioch, where he had been educated in his youth²; he was also furnished with carriages and whatever else was necessary to convey him thither. The letter which Antiochus, Præfect of the Prætorium, sent him on this subject is still extant³, together with his reply⁴, which is filled with expressions of gratitude, and declares that no greater honour could have been conferred upon him than to be banished for the sake of religion. He only desired that the writings of Cyril (meaning chiefly the twelve articles) should be taken notice of in the Emperor's letters, lest the unwary should be led astray.

The deputies of both parties on arriving at Chalcedon, were ordered to stay there, and neither party suffered to enter Constantinople, lest it should excite a tumult [among the monks⁵ n.] The Easterns soon after their arrival found it

A. D. 431.
CH. IX.

² Evagr.
l. 7.

³ Baluz.
Synodic.
c. 24. [p.
721.]
⁴ c. 25.

IX.
The deputies heard
at Chalcedon.
⁵ C. Eph.
p. 731. E.

¹ Ascribing to him something like inspiration; "We would be judged by your Piety," they say, "for God will guide your mind into an exact comprehension of the points in dispute." p. 728. E.

^m Their words are notable. "Your business is to see that the one primitive and orthodox piety, which after a long struggle burst into a glorious effulgence under holy Constantine, and for which your Majesty has opened a way into barbarian nations, and into Persia itself, be not stifled in the very heart of the palaces. You will not surely send two doctrines into Persia; they will reek little of what we offer them, if they see us at variance among ourselves;

"and how are they possibly to adjudicate between us?" p. 728. C.

ⁿ Who were always the staunchest supporters of orthodoxy. Gregory Nazianzen is very express in giving them the merit of stemming the tide of the Eunomian error (ap. Sozom. vi. c. 27). Gieseler places among the causes of the discredit into which Arianism soon fell in the East, "the close alliance which monachism formed with Athanasius," and remarks that "in Asia Minor the three most distinguished men, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa were equally diligent in the cause of monachism and of orthodoxy" (vol. i. p. 201). Hence the Arians directed a large portion of

A. D. 431. commonly reported that Nestorius had been dismissed from
 CH. IX. Ephesus. They were very much dispirited at this evident
 confirmation of his deposition. They wrote on the subject
 [1 Syro- to their friends, on the eleventh of the Macedonian¹ month
 Greek] Gorpiaeus, that is, the fourth of September^o, telling them, in
 addition, that they were expecting the Emperor that very day;
 [2 or the he was to come to Ruffinus's House² near Chalcedon, and
 suburb of there to give an audience to the parties. The Bishop Hi-
 the Oak. merius had not yet arrived, so that there were only seven
 Supr. 19. Bishops on each side.
 51. and 21.
 18.]

The Emperor came as was expected. He gave both parties
 a favourable hearing, and the Easterns thought at first that
 they had the advantage³. The Catholics entreated that St.
 Cyril might be set at liberty, and that he should be sum-
 moned to make his defence in person. The Easterns main-
 tained that it was necessary that the question of the Faith
 should be first of all determined. The Emperor ordered each
 of them to draw up an exposition of faith and present it to
 him. The Easterns said that it was impossible for them to
 make any other confession than that of Nice. The Emperor
 appeared satisfied. They sent back, therefore, to their friends
 the copy of the exposition of faith which they had brought
 with them from Ephesus⁴, desiring them to send two other
 copies duly subscribed. They add, "All the people of Con-
 stantinople are constantly sailing across to us, entreating
 us to fight manfully for the Faith; we use our utmost
 endeavours to restrain their ardour, lest we should seem to
 give any handle to our adversaries."

Theodoret wrote to the same effect to his Metropolitan,
 Alexander of Hierapolis⁵, but probably at a later period,

¹ C. Eph. p. 732.
 Baluz. Syn. c. 30. [p. 728.]

their persecutions against the monks (e. g. Fleury, xvi. 36). Gregory Naz. says of the monks (orat. 21. quoted by Gieseler, u. s.): "However quiet and moderate they may be in other respects, they never purchase their peace at the price of their fidelity to God. On this point they are ready to wage war to the death." (λίαν εἰσὶν ἐν ταῦθα πολεμικοὶ τε καὶ δόσμαχοι.)

² Fleury was probably led by the note in Baluz. "According to Baronius it was Sept. 11, but Lupus makes it Sept. 4" (p. 723). There is little doubt that Baronius was right.

The Alexandrian Chronicle (p. 260) says that the indictions dated (χρηματίζειν ἤρξαντο) from the 1st of Gorpiaeus, but it is also known that they began Sept. 1; so that the days of the two months were connumerary (see Clinton, F. H. vol. iii. App. iv. p. 361). This is to be understood of the Antiochene computation, for the Greeks of Asia Minor began their year a month earlier than the Syrian Greeks, and hence with them Gorpiaeus would nearly correspond with August, actually beginning July 25. (Clinton, p. 350.)

since his hopes appear to be much less sanguine. "We have neglected," he says, "no means that seemed likely to influence the Prince and the consistory; suavity and asperity, entreaty [and invective,] have each in turn been put in motion to induce them not to neglect the Faith, which men are now attempting to adulterate; but up to this day we have not succeeded in producing any permanent impression. We have declared to the Emperor on oath, that we cannot possibly restore Cyril and Memnon, or communicate with the rest, unless they reject the heretical articles. But those who seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ's¹, wish to restore them, even without our consent;" [1 Phil. 2. 21.] in other words, some of the Easterns were then beginning to speak of a re-union. "As to our friend," that is, Nestorius, "it is as well that you should know that whenever we have spoken about him, either to the Prince or the consistory, it has been taken as an insult; and the worst is, that the Emperor goes beyond all the others in aversion to him. He even said to us, 'Let nobody mention his name to me; what relates to him has been decided once for all².' We are anxious to escape from this place, and to procure your liberation from Ephesus. Nothing good is to be hoped for in this place, where all are gained over by bribes, and affirm that the nature of the Divinity and of the humanity is one. However, by God's mercy, the people are all well-disposed: they visit us continually. We have begun to speak to them, and frequently have very large assemblies³; they listen to us with so great pleasure that they would stay on, even at one o'clock in the afternoon, if it were possible to bear the extreme heat of the sun⁴. They assemble in a

A. D. 431.
CH. IX.

[² So in Baluz.; in Labbe, *specimen enim ipse semel dedit.*]

[³ Labbe, *Communiones*; Baluz., *Collectas.*]

^P The disposition to exalt preaching above reading God's word, meditation, and the sacraments, which Theodoret's party had in common with the puritans of later days, is also evident from the conversation between him and the Emperor narrated below. The longest sermons of Origen (the earliest of those whose discourses still survive in the Church) could only have required half an hour for their delivery. From the time of Athanasius downward long sermons formed a characteristic of the service of the Eastern Church as compared with that of the Western. Still

the most prolix addresses of Gregory Naz., Gregory Nyss., Basil the Great, Athanasius, and Chrysostom did not exceed an hour, and many of them not half an hour. Where St. Chrysostom says, "I only ask you for two hours of your time" (Hom. 48. de Inscript. Altar.), he must be understood to include the whole of divine service. Most of St. Augustine's sermons would occupy only a quarter of an hour, many not more than eight minutes; though as some of them imply that they were delivered extempore (Bingh. 14. 4. § 11) they may be only notes of sermons.

A. D. 431. "large court, with quadrangular cloisters, and we address
 CH. IX. "them from a platform near the roof. But all the clergy,
 "with these worthy monks, oppose us violently, so that on
 "one occasion, as we returned from Ruffinus's House after
 "our first audience with the Prince, a collision took place,
 "in which many were wounded, both of the laymen who
 "[¹ Cf. p. 729: "accompanied us, and of the pseudo-monks¹. The Emperor
 Ut tantum "had been told that the people assembled with us; one
 non perde- "day he met me alone, and said to me, 'I hear that you
 remur a "hold irregular assemblies.' 'Since you give me liberty
 servis mo- "to speak,' I answered, 'hear me with indulgence. Is it
 nachorum "reasonable that those excommunicated heretics should
 habitu in- "perform duty in church, and that we who are contending
 dutis.] "for the Faith should be excluded from the churches?'
 "What would you have me do?' said he to me. I replied,
 "What Count John did when he came to Ephesus. Ob-
 "serving that they held solemn assemblies, which we did
 "not, he forbade them, saying, I will not allow either of
 "you to assemble unless you are disposed to make peace.
 "You ought, in like manner, to order the Bishop of this city
 "to suffer neither them nor us to hold assemblies till we
 "are agreed.' The Emperor answered me, 'I cannot give
 "[² Equi- "orders to a Bishop². 'Do not, then, give us any orders,'
 dem epi- "I said; 'We will take a church and call a congregation
 scopu in- "together, and you shall see that there will be far more
 perare non "people with us than with them.' I added, 'In our as-
 possum.] "semblies the Holy Scriptures are not read, nor is there
 "any oblation, but only supplications for the Faith and for
 "your Majesty, with some religious discourses.' He ap-
 "proved of this, and made no further opposition. Our con-
 "gregations still increase in numbers, but we are in daily
 "peril and dread, seeing the outrages of the monks and
 "clergy, and the indifference of the men in power." [Part

The same will apply to Leo the Great, Cæsarius of Arles, Gregory the Great, and the West generally, until perhaps the institution of the Dominicans and Franciscans as preaching monks (in 1217, by Pope Honorius), who frequently spoke for two hours; the Capuchins could even detain an audience for three or four hours. In this point

they have been rivalled by many of the Reformed Churches, including the Lutheran, certainly in defiance of the injunction of Luther himself; "Do not stretch your hearers," he said, "on the rack of long sermons: the ear is a delicate thing." Dr. H. Alt, *Der Christliche Cultus*, s. 98, 99. (Berlin, 1813.)

of] one of the sermons which Theodoret delivered at this A. D. 431. time has been preserved¹, as also another which John of ^{CH. IX.} Antioch preached by way of farewell sermon to the same ^{1 C. Eph. p. 733.} congregation². ^{2 p. 735.}

The schismatics at Ephesus failed not to send to their deputies the required confession of Faith³; it was accom- ^{3 p. 743.} panied with letters⁴, in which they still insist on the con- ^{4 p. 744.} demnation of the twelve Articles of St. Cyril, and maintain that to confirm the deposition of Nestorius would be to sanction these. They sent to their deputies at the same time an exposition of the twelve Articles⁵, which St. Cyril ^{5 C. Eph. Pl. 3. c. 1.} had just drawn up at Ephesus at the request of the Council.

The Emperor heard the deputies five several times⁶, and at ^{6 p. 745.} length, returning to Constantinople⁷, he left the schismatics ^{7 p. 750. A.} at Chalcedon, and commanded the Catholic Bishops to repair to Constantinople to ordain a Bishop to that city. The schismatics complained of this in a remonstrance, which is considered the second⁸, (the first being the one delivered to ^{8 p. 728.} them on setting out from Ephesus). In it, they protest before ^{Baluz. Syn. c. 34.} God, that if the partizans of heresy (so they term the Catholics) ordain a Bishop at Constantinople before the dogmatic question be settled, a schism will of necessity ensue, which will rend asunder the whole Church; "for," say they, "neither
" we who comprise the whole diocese⁹ of the East, nor the ^[9 political]
" provinces of Pontus, Asia, Thrace, Illyricum, and the
" Italies, will ever suffer the dogmas of Cyril to be re-
" ceived; and they have sent you a book written by St.
" Ambrose, to oppose the [now popular] doctrine." This remonstrance is addressed to the Emperor.

They wrote at the same time to Rufus¹, Bishop of Thessa- ^{1 C. Eph. p. 736.} lonica, to try to draw him over to their party by prejudicing him against the Council, and insinuating into his mind a distrust of the report sent him by Flavian of Philippi, who was his representative at Ephesus. In this letter they again mention the book of St. Ambrose, which had been sent to the Emperor by the Bishop of Milan, whom they call Martin, though he should rather have been called Martinian. They say that he wrote to them, and thence infer that Italy is on their side².

² To say in answer to this (with the West generally, supported the Baluz. p. 755, note a) that Rome, and Council (as owned by Theodoret, Sy-

A. D. 431.
CH. X.

But at the time this letter was written, (in September,) there had not been time enough to send to Milan an account of what had happened at Ephesus at the end of June, and to get an answer in return; so that this letter from Martinian must have been written to the Council of Ephesus in general, and have fallen, contrary to his intentions, into the hands of the schismatics: for it is certain that all Italy and the West adhered to the Pope and St. Cyril.

X.
End of the
Council of
Ephesus.
1 Coll. Ba-
luz. p. 656.

Meanwhile the Emperor Theodosius wrote to the Council in these terms¹: "As we have nothing so near our heart as the peace of the Churches, we have endeavoured to restore harmony between you, not only by means of our officers, but in our own person. But since it is impossible to effect a re-union, and since you have refused to hold any discussion on the controverted points, we have ordered that the Bishops of the East return home to their Churches, and that the Council of Ephesus be dissolved. Moreover, St. Cyril shall go to Alexandria, and Memnon shall continue at Ephesus. We declare to you, however, that so long as we live, we cannot condemn the Easterns, for in no respect have they been convicted of error before us, no one being willing to enter into debate with them. If, therefore, you sincerely aim at peace, acquaint us with such your intention; if not, think of retiring without delay. We are not responsible for this result²; with whom the responsibility rests God knows." It is evident from this letter of the Emperor as well as from that of the schismatics, that the Catholic deputies had not been willing to dispute with them before the Emperor, as if the doctrine were in any degree doubtful, but contented themselves with defending the Acts of the Council, and shewing that the deposition of Nestorius was just and canonical, as that of Cyril and Memnon was untenable and unwarranted.

nodic. c. 20. p. 716), seems superfluous and perhaps beside the question. For the word Italy was at this time used, in a confined sense, of the district which afterwards comprised the Lombard kingdom. (Niebuhr, Rom. H., vol. i. p. 21.) The doubt, then (if any), is not whether Italy, in the wide sense, supported the views of the schismatics, but whether the diocese of Milan did so. May not the

truth be that the Milanese, in their love for the memory of St. Ambrose and consequent jealousy for the doctrine he had taught them, imagined that the opposition to Nestorius was a new outbreak of that Apollinarianism which St. Ambrose had combated (in his book *De Incarn. Dom. Sacr.*)? This of course implied no approbation of the opinions really held by the schismatics.

[² Fleury otherwise; *il ne tient pas à nous accorder: Dieu sait à qui il tient.*]

At this blow the deputies of the schismatics lost all hopes. They sent to the Emperor a third remonstrance¹, filled with reproaches and protestations, and threatening him with the anger of God; "If this our entreaty," they say, "fails to make an impression on you, 'we will shake off the dust 'of our feet,' and will cry out with St. Paul², 'We are guilty 'less of your blood.'" They also wrote to their friends at Ephesus³, that although the Emperor had given them audience five several times, all their efforts had been but thrown away; that Cyril would never enter into any discussion respecting his twelve Articles, neither would the judges oblige him to do so; and that no one would listen to the name of Nestorius. They complain of the tyranny of Cyril, "who has seduced every body," they say, "by adulation and bribes; and thus he and Memnon are to continue at their Churches, while this innocent man," that is, Nestorius, "is sent back to his monastery." Such was the termination of the Council of Ephesus. St. Cyril arrived in triumph at Alexandria, and was received there with very great rejoicings, on the third of Athyr, that is, on the thirtieth of October⁴.

In the mean time they proceeded to the choice of a Bishop of Constantinople⁵. The Bishops who were there already, together with the legates of the holy see, and the other deputies of the Council of Ephesus, presided at the election. Philip and Proclus were again proposed, as they had been before the election of Nestorius⁶. Proclus would have gained the election, but that some of the nobles opposed him on the ground of his having been nominated to the see of Cyzicus, although he had never been installed in it⁷. They eventually elected Maximian, a Priest and Monk, who had been long in great reputation for his piety, having erected many tombs, at his own expense, for the sepulture of religious persons.

¹ On the canons which prohibit the translation of Bishops, see *supr.* xviii. c. 3. note f. and add *Conc. Antioch. I.* ap. Labbe, t. ii. p. 571. can. 21. *Conc. Carth. III.* p. 1172. can. 38. Socrates stops (*vii. c. 37*) to shew, by examples, that these canons did not forbid translation, in cases of emergency. (*δσδκις χρέα ἐκάλει.* Cf. *Jus. Græco-Lat. l. 5.*

p. 713. on the same subject, *κατὰ τινὰ οἰκονομίαν λυσιτελοῦσαν κοινῇ.*) He instances Alexander of Jerusalem (*Euseb. vi. c. 11*), Perigenes of Corinth, Gregory of Nazianzus, Meletius of Antioch, and ten others. He quotes the eighteenth canon of Antioch (*u. s. p. 569*) as providing for cases like that of Proclus.

A. D. 431.

CH. X.

¹ C. Eph. p. 730. Synodic. c. 35. [p. 736.]

² Acts 18. 6.

³ C. Eph. p. 745. Synodic. c. 31.

⁴ C. Eph. p. 1057. D. Baluz. p. 582. ⁵ Soerat. 7. 35.

⁶ *Supr.* 24. 55.

⁷ *Supr.* 24. 44.]

A. D. 431. He was a man of plain and simple address, and habitually averse to a life of active employment¹. His election was the more gratifying to the Pope's legates because he had been educated in the Roman Church². He was ordained on Sunday the twenty-fifth of October, A.D. 431, four months after the deposition of Nestorius³.

The Bishops who were assembled in Council for this ordination, sent immediate information of it, as was usual in such cases, to the Pope, St. Cyril, and the other Bishops of the great sees⁴. None of these letters remain, with the exception of the one addressed to the Bishops of Epirus⁵, on whom the schismatics wished to impose, as on the rest, by making them believe that they were in communion with the Council of Ephesus. The Council of Constantinople sent the Epirotes, for their greater security, a list of the schismatics, with the letter of the Council of Ephesus, which contained it⁶. We have also a private letter written from Maximian to St. Cyril⁷, in which he begs the assistance of his prayers⁸ and brotherly counsel, and the answers of St. Cyril, both to the Council⁹ and to Maximian¹. In the latter he explains the article of Faith concerning the Incarnation, and again anathematizes Apollinarius.

The letters to Pope Cælestine about Maximian's ordination were carried by the Priest John and the Deacon Epictetus, who arrived at Rome on Christmas-day². It was about this time that the Pope wrote to the Gallican Bishops in defence of St. Augustine, whose doctrine some of the Priests of Gaul continued to assail even after his death. Prosper and Hilary, who had written to St. Augustine on the subject³, went to Rome and complained to Pope St. Cælestine, and this gave birth to the letter adverted to. It is directed to Venerius, Bishop of Marseilles, Leontius of Frejus, Marinus, Auxonius, Arcadius, Filtanius, and the rest of the Gallic Bishops. The Pope upbraids them severely for their negligence in not having suppressed this public scandal. "The Priests," he says, "ought not to teach so as to invade your prerogative [of being the Doctors of the Church]; your silence upon this occasion looks like connivance, and we should ourselves fall under serious suspicion if we held our peace. All those who teach wrong should be given to understand that

CH. XI. —

[¹ ἰδιωτῆς
τῷ λόγῳ,
(cf. 2 Cor.
11. 6.) καὶ
ἀπραγμο-
νέστερον
ζῆν προαι-
ρούμενος]

² Ep. Cæ-
lest. ap. C.

Eph. pt. 3.
c. 23. p.

1080. E.

³ Socrat.

7. 37.

⁴ C. Eph.

pt. 3. c. 16.

et p. 801. D.

⁵ C. Eph.

pt. 3. c. 16.

⁶ Supr. 25.

59.

⁷ Pt. 3. c. 17.

[⁸ τῆς πρὸς

τὸν δεσπό-

την Χριστὸν

πρεσβέας.]

⁹ c. 19.

¹ c. 18.

XI.

St. Cæles-

tine de-

fends the

doctrine of

St. Augus-

tine.

[² C. Eph.

p. 1071. D.]

³ Supr. 24.

59, 60.

Cone. t. ii.

p. 1611.

Ep. 1. Cæ-

lest.

“ they would do better to sit as learners. What do you do A. D. 431.
 “ in the Church, if they have authority to preach? It would CH. XI.
 “ not be thus, if it were not that some Bishops, having been
 “ but recently taken from among the laity, are ignorant of their
 “ privileges.” He then turns to St. Augustine¹, and speaks [1 n. 2.]
 thus: “Augustine of holy memory, has always, for his great
 “ merits, been in communion with us, and his character was
 “ never assailed by the least breath of suspicion. His know-
 “ ledge was so vast, that I well remember how my prede-
 “ cessors looked upon him as one of the principal doctors of
 “ the Church; I may add that he was loved and honoured
 “ by every body. You must therefore oppose and silence those
 “ who are now audacious enough to attack his memory.”

To this letter of Pope St. Cælestine are appended nine articles concerning divine grace², which are quoted as part of * Ap. Leon. (ed. Quesn.) t. i. p. 73.
 the letter, in the beginning of the following century³. ³ Not. Sirmondi, ad Conc. t. ii. p. 1618. A. et Diss. iii. Quesn.

* According to St. Ambrose (de Offic. Sacr. i. 1), “Preaching was the business of the Bishop” (Episcopi proprium munus docere populum). The Apostolic canons join the Bishop and the Presbyter in the duty of “teaching the people” (can. 57. Labbe, t. i. p. 37); but after having provided (can. 38) that “a Presbyter or Deacon should do nothing without the will of the Bishop” (ἀνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐ.). This rule would seem to have been less rigidly observed in the East than in the West, and especially in Africa. Thus when St. Augustine was called upon to preach by his Bishop Valerius, much jealousy and resentment was shewn by the neighbouring Bishops (Possid. Vit. e. 5); and at Alexandria “none but the Bishop preached,” Sozom. 7. 19. See Jeremy Taylor, Episc. Asserted, sect. 26 and 37. Bingham, 2. 3. § 1 and 14. k. § 3.

† They are referred to by the Roman Pontiff Hormisdas, Ep. 70. ad Possessor. (A.D. 520), but simply as the decrees of the Roman Church. Petrus Diaconus (who lived about the same time) refers to them in his book “On the Incarnation” as St. Cælestine’s; and so Cresconius (A.D. 690), Florus of Lyons, Hincmar of Rheims, Lupus of Ferrara, and many others. But Quesnel has shewn satisfactorily that they were misled by the “Code of decrees” published by Dionysius Exiguus (A.D. 500), though Dionysius, rightly understood, furnishes no

grounds for their opinion, but rather the contrary; for after giving the title of these capitula he does not mention Cælestine as the author, which is his usual practice in such cases, but leaves them anonymous. The first in later times who denied their having been written by Cælestine, was John Wandalstein in his edition of the “Codex Decret. Pontific.” (Mogunt. 1525.) His opinion was re-echoed by Binius and other editors of the Councils; and it was acquiesced in by Cardinals Caraffa and Baronius (ad ann. 431), as well as by Fr. Suarez, J. Sirmondus, and others.

Quesnel urges that they are not mentioned by Prosper (c. Collat.), though he could hardly have overlooked so strong a confirmation of his argument; and similarly, Vincentius Lir., and, in after times, Photius (Biblioth. c. 52, 53) refer to the letter of St. Cælestine, but without any allusion to the capitula. The author of them never refers to Innocent and Zosimus as his predecessors, though these are so styled in the letter of St. Cælestine. Quesnel therefore supposes them to have been drawn up by St. Leo while Deacon, and he quotes several coincidences of expressions between these articles and St. Leo’s Works, particularly a passage in his De Vocat. Gentium, which bears a striking correspondence both in matter and style to Article 8. See Dissert. iii. ad Leon. Opera, t. ii. p. 394.

A. D. 431.
CH. XII.

[¹ magis-
tris; pro-
bably St.
Augustine
and St.
Prosper.]

The Articles are preceded by an advertisement, which states, that "some who boast of their Catholicity, and who anathematize Pelagius and Cælestius, seize every opportunity of speaking against our teachers¹, as if they had exceeded the proper limits of doctrine, and that they profess publicly to approve only of that which the holy see has determined. Hence we have thought it our duty to examine what decisions the Popes have given heretofore, concerning grace, in opposition to the criminal defenders of free will; and we have added certain sentences passed by the Councils of Africa, which the popes, by giving their approbation to them, have in fact adopted."

XII.
Articles
concerning
grace.
[² natura-
lem possi-
bilitatem.]

[³ renova-
tum]

"1. By Adam's sin, all men have lost their natural power² and innocence; and no man can get out of the abyss into which this fall has precipitated him, by his own free will, or without the grace of God to raise him up. 2. No man is good of himself; He who alone is good must communicate Himself to him. 3. No man, though created anew³ by the grace of Baptism, is able to overcome the assaults of the devil, and the lusts of the flesh, unless he receive daily assistance from God, enabling him to persevere in a good life." These three articles are taken from the letter written by Pope St. Innocent to the Council of Carthage, in 417⁴. By *natural* power in the first of them, we are to understand that which man enjoyed in his original uprightness. "4. No man makes a good use of his free will but by the grace of CHRIST:" which is taken out of the letter addressed by the same Pope to the Council of Milevis⁵. "5. All the desires, works, and merits of the Saints are to be referred to the glory of God, because no one is well-pleasing to Him, except by the gifts which he has first received from Him." This is taken out of the letter of Pope Zosimus⁶, directed to the Bishops of the whole world; the reflection, which is added, being that of the African Bishops. "6. God works in such wise upon the hearts of men, and even upon our free will, that holy thoughts, pious resolutions, and the least motion towards a good will, proceed from God, for if we are able to do any good thing it is through Him, without whom we can do nothing." This is from the same letter of Pope Zosimus,

⁴ Ep. 24.
ap. Conc.
t. ii. p.
1284.

⁵ Ep. 25.

⁶ Supr. 23.
56.

which is not now extant. "7. The grace of CHRIST, by which A. D. 431.
 "we are justified, not only serves for the remission of sins - CH. XIII.
 "committed, but also to aid us against committing sin in
 "future; not only by giving us an understanding of the
 "moral law, so that we know what we are to choose and
 "what to avoid, but by making us love, and enabling us to
 "perform what we know to be our duty; and this not merely
 "to facilitate our performance, but absolutely to enable us to
 "perform at all." This is out of the third, fourth, and
 fifth canons of the Council of Carthage, held on the first of
 May, A.D. 418¹. "8. We learn also what we are to believe,¹ Supr. 23.
 "by the prayers appointed by the Apostles throughout 48.
 "the world², and observed with uniformity throughout the [² *ut legem*
 "Catholic Church; in which we request that faith may be *credendi lex*
 "granted to infidels, idolaters, Jews, and heretics; charity³ *statuat sup-*
 "to schismatics, repentance to sinners, and the grace of bap- *plicandi.*]
 "tism to catechumens. These prayers are not unavailing [³ *spiritum*
 "forms, since the effects of them are visible in the conver- *redvivæ*
 "sion of many persons, for which thanks are returned unto *caritalis.*]
 "God. 9. The ceremonies of exorcism and breathing⁴, ob- [⁴ *exsuffla-*
 "served by all the Church as a preparation for baptism both *tionibus*]
 "in the case of infants and of adults, clearly prove that she
 "believes them all to be under the power of the devil.

"We must therefore confess that the grace of God pre-
 "vents the merits of man; that it does not take away free
 "will, but emancipates, illumines, rectifies, and heals it.
 "God is willing, such is His goodness, that His gifts should
 "be our merits, and grants them an eternal reward. He
 "works in us both to will and to do according to His good
 "pleasure, but His gifts are not idle in us; we co-operate
 "with His grace, and if we find any remissness proceeding
 "from our weakness, we immediately have recourse to Him.
 "As to the more deep and difficult questions⁵ which have⁵ n. 10.
 "been fully discussed by those who have combated the
 "heretics, we do not despise them, but are not called upon
 "to treat of them. It is sufficient for us to have declared
 "what we believe to be essential to the Catholic Faith."

The Pope St. Cælestine, being informed of the death of XIII.
 St. Palladius, whom he had sent into Scotland⁶, substituted St. Patrick
 St. Patrick in his place, ordained him Bishop, and sent him in Ireland.
 St. Patrick in his place, ordained him Bishop, and sent him c. 18.
⁶ Supr. 15.

A. D. 432.
CH. XIII.
Bolland.
17. Mart. t. 7.
p. 522. sqq.
[Usser. de
Rer. Br.
Prim. c. 17.
p. 815.]
[² formerly
Dumbrit-
ton. Near
it is Kirk-
Patrick
or Kil-
Patrick.]

to preach the Faith in Ireland¹. St. Patrick was at this time about fifty-five years old, having been born about the year 377, in Scotland, in the territory of the city of Alclud, now called Dumbarton². At the age of sixteen he was carried captive into Ireland, and continued there five or six years, in which time he learned the language and customs of the country. Some pirates having carried him over into Gaul, about the year 400, he went to the monastery of St. Martin, that is, to Marmoutier^u; here he received the monastic tonsure, and remained three years, after which he returned to Great Britain. He next travelled into Italy, and spent seven years in visiting the monasteries of that country, and of the neighbouring islands. He was ordained Priest, and continued three years with St. Senior, who is supposed to have been Bishop of Pisa^x. In the mean time he believed that he had received, by revelation from God, a command to go and labour for the conversion of the Irish. To Ireland accordingly he made his way, but met with no success, the barbarians refusing to listen to him; so he returned to Gaul, and spent about seven years with St. Germain of Auxerre, after which he retired to the isle of Arles³, (that is, Lerins,) where he remained nine years.

[³ una ex
insulis,
quæ dicitur
Aralanen-
sis.]

By the advice of St. Germain he made a journey to Rome, and it was then that the Pope St. Cælestine ordained him Bishop, and sent him into Ireland, in the year 432. He preached the Gospel there with great success, his zeal being supported by miracles, and he is looked upon as the Apostle of that island. About a year afterwards he founded the monastery of Sabal, near the city of Down⁴, and appointed his disciple St. Dunnius to be the Abbot. He also founded the church of Armagh, which is the Metropolitan see of the kingdom. St. Patrick lived an austere life; he performed all his journeys on foot up to the age of fifty-five, that is, until he was made Bishop; and then the bad state of the roads in Ireland obliged him to make use of a car. He first introduced the use of letters among the Irish, who had pre-

[⁴ Sabhul
Padhrig,
two miles
from Down-
Patrick]

^u Anciently Marmontier, i.e. Martini monasterium; the *on* becoming *ou* as in *couvent*. The Abbey is now in ruins, about a quarter of a league from Tours.

^x This is purely conjectural; the

words of Probus are curious; "St. Senior, Bishop, who is on Mt. Hermon, on the right-hand of the ocean sea, and his city is walled with seven walls."

viously possessed no other public registers than the rhymed A. D. 432.
verses in which their bards embodied the traditional history CH. XIV.
of their country. St. Patrick made two more journeys to
Rome, one in 444, another in 445, and died about the year
460, aged eighty-three years.

It was Christmas (A.D. 431) before Pope St. Celestine re- XIV.
ceived the letters which informed him of the condemnation Letters
of Nestorius, and the election of Maximian to the Bishopric from St.
of Constantinople. He ordered them to be read in St. Peter's Celestine
church, to confirm the faith of the Incarnation, which is the to Con-
subject of commemoration at that hallowed tide; they elicited stantinople.
great and general applause from the people while they were
being read. The Pope afterwards returned an answer to
them in four letters, all bearing the same date,—the ides
of March, in the Consulate of Aëtius and Valerius, that is,
March the fifteenth, A.D. 432. The first is addressed to the
Council of Ephesus¹, that is, to the Bishops who had assisted ¹ Cone.
at it, for six months had now elapsed since the Council Eph. pt. 3.
separated. The Pope congratulates the Fathers on their c. 20, p. 1069.
victory over heresy, on the deposition of Nestorius, and on
the ordination of Maximian, whom he commends very highly.
He says that he looks upon him as the immediate successor
of Sisinnius, and considers the see to have been vacant during
the Pontificate of Nestorius, adding, that he had been present
in spirit to assist the other Catholic Bishops at the ordina-
tion of Maximian². He complains that Nestorius had been ² Cum
allowed to return to Antioch, although the Bishop of that ejus capiti
city was one of his adherents, and he exhorts the Fathers verba mys-
not to be satisfied until they have procured his entire re- tica dice-
moval from the midst of Christendom into some solitude. rentur.]
Speaking of those who had sided with Nestorius, he says,
“On occasions like the present it becomes us to act with
“great circumspection. If they see and confess their error,
“they have permission to return, for this is refused to none
“but those who have been [expressly³] condemned with the
“authors of the heresy. In the mean time they must remain
“excommunicated and deprived of their sees until they de-
“clare themselves Catholics: and this, even though the Em-
“peror may have been induced by their misrepresentations
“to restore them¹. As for the Bishop of Antioch, if any ³ propriè
[dammati]
¹ quam
forman-
etiam circa
eos volun-
tum in Ec-
clésiasticis
causis
Christianis
principibus
credide-
runt.]

A. D. 432. "hopes remain of his recovery, we desire that you would
 CH. XIV. "write to him, and if he refuse to condemn in writing the
 "new heresy, then let the Church adopt those measures
 "which a regard for the Faith renders obligatory upon it."

¹ Ibid. c. 21. The second letter is addressed to the Emperor Theodosius¹.

It commends his zeal for the Faith, and approves the ordination of Maximian, whom the Pope recognises as a member of the Roman Church; but he insists chiefly on the necessity of banishing Nestorius, as the only means of successfully eradicating the [gangrene of] heresy. In the conclusion of the letter, he calls the attention of the Emperor to an affair of a private nature. The lady Proba, belonging to the order of Illustres, had bequeathed some lands she had in Asia to a certain person, but under the condition that the larger part of the income arising from them should be employed in the maintenance of poor clergy, and of monasteries. This condition not having been complied with, the Emperor was now called upon to confirm the will. The third letter is to

[² Ibid. p. 1074.]

Maximian²; it exhorts him to rescue the Church of Constantinople from its disorders, and to follow the example of John in his preaching, of Atticus in his vigilance against heresy, and of Sisinnius in holy simplicity of living. In particular he admonishes him to oppose the errors of Cælestius (or Pelagianism), whose followers were constantly making

[³ p. 1075.]

fresh efforts to regain their former position. The fourth letter³ was directed to the clergy and people of Constantinople. It contains a detailed account of the recent events; pointing out the peril they had been in, the anxiety it had caused him, the zeal displayed by St. Cyril, and the attempts he had made to reclaim Nestorius; the several steps he had himself taken in the affair; the demand made by Nestorius for a

[⁴ p. 1078. D.]

Council at which, when convened, he was afraid to appear⁴; and the last expiring effort he had made to support himself by beating up for volunteers among the Pelagians. In conclusion, the Pope exhorts the Church of Constantinople to follow the teaching of Maximian,—from whom they would hear none but the ancient and primitive doctrines which he had learnt in the Roman Church,—and to continue steadfast in the Faith. These four letters were carried by the Priest John and the Deacon Epictetus, who had brought the letters

from Constantinople to Rome. As they arrived at Rome at Christmas, so they were to reach Constantinople on their return by Easter¹, which this year (A.D. 432) fell on the third of April.

The Pope St. Celestine lived only three weeks beyond the date of these letters, since he died on the sixth of April. He had held the holy see nine years and ten months². It is said³ that, whereas before his time they only read the epistles of St. Paul and the gospels, he introduced the practice of chaunting psalms before the sacrifice of the mass. By this we are, probably, to understand that he instituted the custom of singing the psalm of Introit, for St. Augustine furnishes evidence⁴ that they had begun in his day to sing psalms at the Offertory and at the Communion, in Carthage. St. Celestine dedicated the Basilica of Julius, and presented it with a large quantity of silver plate, as he did also St. Peter's church; the whole amounting to 1,136 Roman pounds⁵, that is 1,704 marks, equivalent to 51,120 livres². St. Celestine held three ordinations in the month of December, at which thirty-two Priests, twelve Deacons, and forty-six Bishops were ordained. He was interred in the cemetery of Priscilla. After a vacancy of twenty days, Sixtus, the third of that name, and a native of Rome, was appointed to be his successor in the holy see. He was ordained on the twenty-sixth of April, A.D. 432, and continued in the see

XV.
Death of
St. Celestine.
Sixtus III.
Pope.
² Supr. 21.
32.
[³ Lib.
Pontif. ap.
Labbe, t. ii.
p. 1610.]

⁴ ii. Retract.
c. 11. [t. i.
p. 45.]

¹ Tillemont, to account for the late period at which the letter is dated, supposes that St. Celestine was prevented from finishing it sooner by the attack of illness which so soon after proved fatal. He also suggests that during the winter months navigation was generally at a stop. (t. xiv. p. 502.) But the words of the letter: "We have sent John and Epictetus back to you *in haste*, being desirous to restore to you at the season of our Lord's resurrection those whom we received at His nativity," seem inconsistent with such an explanation. The legates in the preceding year were two months in sailing from Rome to Ephesus (Baluz. p. 735, note a); and therefore St. Celestine could scarcely have expected his letter to reach Constantinople in eighteen days. Was not the letter post-dated, as in the instance noticed, supr. xxv. 22?

² The calculation in the text assumes

30 livres to the mark,—the proportion which existed in Flury's time. (The H. E. was published in 1691.) Originally the mark (8 oz.) was half a livre; but the currency was gradually depreciated, until, during Colbert's ministry the mark was worth 27 livres (Diet. de Trévoux; ed. 1771), and the livre of 1789 did not amount to one seventy-eighth of the livre of Charlemagne.

If we take the Roman libra according to Hase's calculation (Hussey, Anc. W. and M., p. 126) at 520½ grs. troy, 1136 librae are equivalent to 1026½ pounds troy, or (since 1 lb. troy of silver is coined into 66s.) about 3587½ sterling, or 84,675 francs. This however must be understood as giving the amount of St. Celestine's donations in current silver of the present day, not the *exchangeable value*, which was probably many times greater.

A. D. 432. about eight years¹. He was a Priest of the Roman Church, and it was to him that St. Augustine wrote his celebrated letter concerning grace².

^{CH. XVI.}
¹ Chron.
 Prosp. [p.
 658] et
 Marcell.
 [pt. 2. p.
 284.]
² Supr. 23.
 57.

St. Sixtus was ordained with unanimous consent; two Eastern Bishops, Hermogenes of Rhinocorura in Egypt, and Lampetius of Cassium, being present at the ceremony. They had been sent by the Bishops assembled at Ephesus in Council, and brought with them commendatory letters from St. Cyril³. St. Sixtus gave them letters in answer to those of St. Cyril and the other Bishops, although he had previously given a full statement of his opinions in some letters which he had already sent by the clergy of the Church of Constantinople, and one of St. Cyril's Deacons. The two letters which the Bishops Hermogenes and Lampetius conveyed are still extant. The first was written specially to St. Cyril, the second was a circular letter addressed to all the Bishops by whom they had been deputed. Its object was twofold; first, to inform them (as required by the old custom) of his ordination; and secondly, to effect a re-union of the Oriental Churches. He commends the zeal of St. Cyril, who, stripping himself of all revengeful feeling, and forgetting the injuries he had suffered, thought only of re-establishing the peace of the Churches. The Pope declares that he agrees with him in thinking that all should be received who are willing to return into the good way, but that they should provide for the supply of the churches belonging to such as were unwilling to be reconciled. With regard to John of Antioch, in particular, he declares that if he desires to be acknowledged as a Catholic Bishop, he must condemn all that the Church has condemned.

XVI.
 Division in
 the East.

In the East, things were indeed a painful aspect; every where dissension and discord prevailed. When John of Antioch, on his route homeward from the Council of Ephesus, arrived at Ancyra, he wrote to Antiochus, Præfect of the Prætorium, saying⁴ that neither he, nor any of his party, recognised Maximian of Constantinople, or those who had ordained him, or any who had been ordained by them to other Churches, to be Bishops at all, and they beg him to signify this to the Emperor and his consistory. At Tarsus⁵ John and his partizans assembled in Council, and again

³ Baluz. c.
 38. [p. 740.]

⁵ Baluz. c.
 66, [136.]
 141, 174.
 [201.]

deposed St. Cyril and the seven Bishops who had been at Constantinople to ordain Maximian; namely, Arcadius, the Pope's legate, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Flavian of Philippi, Firmus of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Theodotus of Ancyra, Acacius of Melitene, and Evoptius of Ptolemais. As soon as he reached Antioch he convened another Council¹, in which the Easterns again ratified the deposition of St. Cyril, and all their former acts. They also wrote to the Emperor², declaring to him that they abhorred the Articles of St. Cyril, and begging him not to suffer them to be taught in any Church.

They then proceeded to suspend from their communion, Rabbūla, Bishop of Edessa, whose conversion we related above³. He had assisted at the Council of Ephesus, where he at first took part with the Easterns⁴, but he afterwards perceived that the doctrine of St. Cyril was the only true doctrine⁵, and he accordingly anathematized Theodorus of Mopsuestia and those who read his writings. He had moreover condemned the writings which Andrew of Samosata and Theodoret had composed against St. Cyril. On the complaint of Andrew, the Council of Antioch ordered the Bishops of Osroene⁶ to abstain from communion with Rabbula, till he had been summoned and tried in a judiciary way. About the same time Theodoret, who still retained his prejudices, wrote five books on the Incarnation, in opposition to the doctrine of St. Cyril and the Council of Ephesus. Of these only a few fragments now exist⁷. He also wrote letters of condolence to the people of Constantinople⁸, a large section of whom remained firm in their adherence to Nestorius.

The Catholics, on their part, being supported by all the weight of the imperial authority, adopted vigorous measures against the schismatics. Firmus, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, came to Tyana, to ordain a Bishop over that place in the room of Euthérius⁹; but Count Longras sent some Isaurians to the aid of Euthérius, who, thus reinforced, succeeded in foiling his opponents, and took several of them prisoners; among them the man whom Firmus had ordained in his stead. He pleaded that his ordination had been effected by force, put on the military habit¹, and went to the theatre to attend the public shows. At Marcianopolis, the metro-

A. D. 432.
CH. XVI.

¹ Socrat. 7.
34. Liberat.
c. 6.

² Baluz.
c. 39.

³ Supr. 25.
27.
⁴ Baluz.
c. 13.

⁵ c. 43, 44.

[⁶ or province of
Orrhont,
see note
on 25, 27.
supr.]

⁷ Merc.
Garn. pt. 2.
p. 265.
Auct.
Theod.

⁸ Baluz.
Synod. c.
40, 47.

⁹ Baluz.
c. 45.

[¹ chlamy-
deum]

A. D. 432.
CH. XVII.
1 c. 46.

polis of Mæsia, Saturninus was ordained to succeed Dorotheus, one of the partizans of Nestorius¹; and Plintha, Master of the Militia, went to put him in possession of his see; the people raised an opposition, which was sturdily and, for some time, effectually persevered in; but he at length carried his point, and continued Bishop of Marcianopolis². An attempt was made to expel Helladius, Bishop of Tarsus, because he refused to admit the name of Maximian into the registers³. Many other Bishops were forced in the same way to quit their sees³.

² Conc.
Const. [ap.
C. Chalc.]
t. 4. p. 183.
230.

³ Baluz. c.
49. 48. 47.

XVII.
Aristolaus
sent to pro-
cure peace.
⁴ Epist.
Cyr. ad
Acac. Conc.
Eph. pt. 3.
c. 35. [p.
1114.] et
c. 23. [p.
1082.]

To arrest the progress of these disorders the Emperor Theodosius sent for Maximian⁴, and many other Bishops who had remained at Constantinople after his ordination, to advise with them on the means of procuring peace to the Church. "We must begin," they said, "by coming to an agreement about the Faith. Let John of Antioch anathematize the doctrine of Nestorius, and consent to his deposition; and let Cyril on his side forget what took place at Ephesus." The Emperor approved of this advice, and wrote a letter to John of Antioch, in which he says; "You shall repair to Nicomedia forthwith, bringing no Bishops with you, but only some few clerks to wait upon you. We have also enjoined the most holy Bishop Cyril to attend us there; but we would have neither of you come into our presence until you have seen one another, and are perfectly reconciled. In the mean time no further steps shall be taken touching the depositions and ordinations of Bishops; all things shall continue in their present state. The clergy may suffice for the service of the Church, until an entire reconciliation has been brought about." This letter mentions Pope St. Celestine as living, so that it was, clearly, written before the news of his death had reached Constantinople, that is, before the end of April, 432. The Emperor wrote at the same time to Acacius of Berrhæa⁵, as being the oldest Bishop of Syria, and as having the greatest

⁵ c. 26.

¹ The use of the *diptycha* or church-registers was alluded to above, xxii. 42, note h. The one here spoken of belonged to the second class, which contained the names of living benefactors or men in high station. So Nicphorus Gregoras, Hist. Rom. l. 5. (quoted by

Suicer, s. v.) states it as one of the conditions of peace between Palæologus and the Pope, "that in the sacred hymns the Pope should be mentioned in the *diptycha* along with the other four Patriarchs."

influence over John of Antioch. He also wrote to St. Simeon A. D. 432.
the Stylite¹, whose miraculous life gave great weight to his ^{CH. XVII.}
declared sentiments. Aristolaus, Tribune and Notary, was ^{1 c. 25.}
ordered to deliver these letters; and Plintha, Master of the
Militia, was commanded to assist him with soldiers upon
occasion.

As soon as John of Antioch was informed of this, fearing
that he might be carried by force to Constantinople, he
wrote to Alexander of Hierapolis, the most zealous of the
schismatics, saying², “If it remain open for me to go or stay
“as I choose, I should still want you here, that we might
“consult together as to what answer I should return; if I am
“to have violence offered me, let us at least be able to bid
“each other farewell. Though indeed my health is so bad,
“that in spite of all the compulsory means resorted to by Cyril,
“it is impossible for me to perform the journey; nay, some
“of my friends have written me word that a plot is formed
“to assassinate me on the road. I beg of you, then, that
“after the assembly³ which is usually held about this time
“at Cyrus, you will come without delay, and bring with you
“the holy Bishop Theodoret, and any others that you may
“meet with. Your plea for coming may be, that you wish
“to pay your respects to the Master of Soldiers⁴.”

[² Collecta][⁴ i. e.
Plintha.]

Alexander came to Antioch accordingly, attended by Ma-
carius of Laodicea, Andrew of Samosata, Theodoret, and ap-
parently some others. They found that the reports which
had been spread about the violence that was intended against
John of Antioch were utterly groundless; Aristolaus did not
even press him to go to Nicomedia, but allowed him to hold
a Council at Antioch. The Easterns there assembled drew
up six propositions, to which they required St. Cyril to assent.
We have none of them remaining except the first; but this
contained all that was essential: it was to this effect⁵; “We
“adhere to the Nicene Creed, and the exposition given of it
“by the blessed Athanasius in his letter to Epictetus. But
“the new dogmas, advanced in certain letters or articles, we
“reject, as calculated to create disturbance.” This refers to
the writings of St. Cyril, and especially to the twelve Arti-
cles. Acacius of Berrhaea enclosed the six propositions to
St. Cyril in a letter which he sent him exhorting him to

[⁵ Baluz.
[c. 53.]

A. D. 432. peace. Aristolaus undertook to convey it himself to Alex-
CH. XVIII.
andria, which he did; and he also deputed an officer, named

¹ c. 55. Maximus, to take back St. Cyril's answer to Acacius¹.

XVIII. The answer set forth that the Easterns, when they pro-
St. Cyril's posed that he should condemn all that he had written pre-
letter to viously to the Council of Ephesus, demanded what was plainly
Acacius of Berrhæa. impossible. "That the Nicene Creed is sufficient," he says²,
² c. 56. [p. 758.] "I admit, but what I have written is only in opposition to
" the new errors of Nestorius; if I should now retract this,
" it would follow that he has been in the right, and that we
" were therefore wrong in condemning and deposing him.
" You see, then, that far from desiring peace they throw us
" back upon the original cause of division. Why did they
" not rather join with us on their arrival at Ephesus in con-
" demning Nestorius? Suppose they did come a little too
" late, yet what hindered them from looking over the Acts,
" and approving what had been decided by the rest? If
" peradventure we erred on some point, was it therefore
" necessary that they should disdain even to speak to us?
" We had suffered the blasphemies of Nestorius three years
" long, and during all this time used our endeavours (as you
" also did) to bring him back to the truth. At length the
" Council, seeing that he persisted at Ephesus in the same
" course, and that he was past remedy obstinate and im-
" penitent, deprived him of the priesthood. But the Council
" at the same time confirmed the Nicene Creed; [for this
" was the very ground of their sentence against him, that he
" would not teach according to this creed, but sought to ob-
" literate its doctrines by familiarizing men's ears with state-
" ments foreign to the teaching of the Church.] For my
" part, whatever outrages I have suffered, I am ready for the
" love of God, and from respect to the Emperor who desires
" it, and for the good of the Church, to forget all and forgive
" all as to brethren. But it is also the will of God and of
" the Emperor to sanction the sentence passed upon Nes-
" torius, and to anathematize his blasphemies. Nothing be-
" yond this is required to restore peace among the Churches.

"As some inconsiderate men accuse me of holding the
" errors of Apollinarius, Arius, or Eunomius; I declare, that
" by the grace of our SAVIOUR, I have been always orthodox;

“ I anathematize Apollinarius, and all other heretics ; I confess that the body of JESUS CHRIST is animated by a reasonable soul, and this without commixture¹ : and that the Divine Word is in His own nature immutable, and impassible. But I affirm that one and the same CHRIST and LORD, the only begotten Son of God Himself suffered for us in the flesh, as saith St. Peter². As to the twelve Articles, they relate only to the dogmas of Nestorius, and when peace shall have been restored to the Churches, and we can write freely, and with brotherly confidence to each other, it will be easy to satisfy every body as to these articles ; for our doctrine and conduct is approved by all the Bishops throughout the Roman empire, and we ought to take care to maintain peace with them. I may add that the Tribune Aristolaus has so far soothed the minds of the clergy at Alexandria, and of all the Egyptian Bishops, who were sorely grieved at what the Easterns have done against me, that I find the way towards an accommodation very much smoothed.” Such was St. Cyril’s answer to Acacius of Berrhæa. The Pope St. Sixtus also wrote to him about the same time³, exhorting him probably to use his endeavours to effect a re-union.

A. D. 432.
CH. XVIII.

[¹ neque confusio-
nem vel
confermen-
tationem
vel fusio-
nem fac-
tam.]

² 1 Pet. 4. 1.

³ Synod.
c. 55.

St. Cyril’s letter was variously received by the Easterns. Acacius of Berrhæa and John of Antioch were satisfied with it. They found it in no way contradictory to the Catholic doctrine ; they thought that the two natures of CHRIST were acknowledged with sufficient distinctness ; and they believed it their duty to receive the rest with a favourable construction⁴. Acacius therefore wrote to Alexander of Hierapolis⁵, requesting him to come, if possible, to Antioch, and give his approbation to the answer which John and the other Bishops there assembled were to return to St. Cyril, or at least to signify his approval of it by letter. He wrote to the same effect to Theodoret, and forwarded St. Cyril’s letter to both of them. Theodoret approved the doctrine contained in it, and believed that St. Cyril had forsaken the error which, in Theodoret’s opinion, he had formerly maintained in the twelve Articles⁶ ; but he refused to subscribe the condemnation of Nestorius, saying that he could not condemn a man whom he had not judged, and who was in reality orthodox,

[¹ conde-
scensio]
⁵ c. 55.

⁶ c. 60, 66,
70, 71, 72.

A. D. 432. since he had only been condemned on the evidence of some
CH. XIX.
1 Synodic. pretended extracts from his writings¹.

c. 61. But Alexander of Hierapolis absolutely rejected St. Cyril's letter, pretending that he could still perceive the same errors in it as before²; and he required St. Cyril first of all to condemn his twelve Articles³; for no indulgent constructions, c. 57. he maintained, ought to be admitted in matters of faith⁴. c. 58, 69. "When I saw this change," he says⁵, "in Acacius and John, c. 64, 65. "I prayed that the earth might open its mouth to receive c. 58, 64. "me; and truly, had not the fear of God restrained me, I c. 64. "should have fled to the desert, and sought out its most c. 58. "distant retreats⁶. I would sooner pluck out my right eye, c. 69. "and cut off my right hand, than assent to this impiety⁷." He proposed, however⁸, that two or three of the Easterns should go to Egypt to ascertain more distinctly what St. Cyril's opinions were. Maximin of Anazarbus⁹, Helladius of Tarsus¹, and Eutherius of Tyana², were of the same opinion c. 67. as Alexander, and absolutely rejected the letter of St. Cyril. Andrew of Samosata so far agreed with Alexander, that he c. 68. believed Cyril was still in error³; but he also believed with c. 73, 74. Theodoret that, to secure the advantages of peace, there was c. 59. nothing to prevent their using a leniency of construction⁴, which would enable them to condemn in general those who admitted two Sons, or who said that JESUS CHRIST was a mere man.

XIX. John of Antioch was of opinion that they should not require any thing more of St. Cyril, now that he had distinctly condemned the errors of Apollinarius and the confusion of the natures. Thus predisposed to seek peace, he went to Berrhæa, to visit the aged Bishop Acacius, whom they all looked up to as their father, and who employed the whole of his influence in trying to bring about a union⁵. After mature deliberation, reflecting how much more easily affairs of such a nature can be discussed in conversation⁶, they agreed that Paul, Bishop of Emesa, should be requested to go to Egypt

[⁶ amat colloquium multas difficultates adinire, c. 77.]

^b This sort of feeling is often given vent to by Alexander and his friends (though in less highly-coloured language). Theodoret, for instance, says that affairs wore so gloomy an aspect that he had sent word to the Archi-

mandrite of his monastery to get a room ready for him (c. 66). So too Helladius (c. 68). Nestorius apparently reproached them with being prevented from taking this step by worldly motives (c. 120).

and confer with St. Cyril. Paul was an aged man of great ability, and one in whom they could repose confidence; it was he who subscribed for Acacius of Berhæa at the Council of Ephesus. As soon as he had undertaken to perform the journey, John of Antioch communicated their resolution to Alexander of Hierapolis, desiring him to give his consent to it, and remonstrating with him that the times were such as did not allow of managing matters with rigorous precision, or with absolute power; that there was no occasion for him now to forsake every thing, or offer himself to martyrdom: what they ought rather to do was, to labour to restore tranquillity to the troubled Church. Alexander shewed no relish for this proposition, and remained inflexible¹; Dorotheus of Marcianopolis, however, and all the other Bishops of Mæsia, approved of the deputation of Paul; requesting that Cyril should be obliged to acknowledge in Christ two natures without confusion, [and to anathematize the Capitula².]

A. D. 432.
CH. XIX.

¹ c. 77. 136.

[² c. 78.]

Paul of Emesa was obliged to wait some time after his arrival at Alexandria³, as he found St. Cyril confined by a violent attack of sickness⁴. St. Cyril afterwards had many long conversations with him on the subject of the proceedings against him at Ephesus; but willing to forget the past, and proceed to matters of greater importance, he asked him whether he brought any letter from John of Antioch. Paul delivered one to him, in which John said⁵, “I had always previously maintained a special affection for you, and that even without having seen you, but those articles were the cause of our estrangement. I could not at first believe them to be yours, so widely discrepant were they from the doctrine of the Church. These you have already, in a great measure, corrected; and you have raised in us great hopes for the future by your letter to Acacius, which gladdened the hearts of all who love the peace of the Church. [We shall look forward to the fulfilment of the promise you made that] as soon as peace is restored, we shall come to a better understanding. What most rejoices us, is that you received favourably the letter of our common father, the blessed Athanasius, which is of itself sufficient to terminate all our differences.” He then exhorts St. Cyril to join him in labouring for peace, that a stop might be put to the mutual

³ Cyr. ad Acac. ap. C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 35. [⁴ Synod. c. 203. p. 908.]

⁵ Synodic. c. 50.

A. D. 432. anathematizing and persecution of the Bishops, the division of
 CH. XIX. the people, and the insulting scoffs of the Jews and pagans^c.
 In conclusion, he commends to him Paul of Emesa, desiring
 that he would speak to him with no less confidence than he
 would to himself.

St. Cyril was not satisfied with this letter of John of Antioch¹; the reproaches it contained were more adapted, he thought, to exasperate than to appease him; so that although it was a letter of communion, he would not receive it, and said², “What? Will they, who ought to ask pardon for the past, “give us fresh offence? I rather expected some consolation.” Paul of Emesa assured him on his oath³, that they had not intended to give him any offence, but that John had thus written to him out of pure simplicity and zeal for the true doctrine. St. Cyril was willing to make use of a charitable dissimulation and to receive this excuse; but before he would suffer Paul to attend prayers in the church⁴, he obliged him to give his declaration in writing that he renounced the schism. It was drawn up in the form of a letter to St. Cyril, though it addresses him as present⁵. It states that in pursuance of the Emperor’s order, John of Antioch and Acacius of Berrhæa had sent him to St. Cyril; that he had found him disposed to peace, and had received from him a writing, in which the Catholic Faith was set down in all its purity; “This,” he says, “was the point of greatest importance. And because it “is necessary that what relates to Nestorius should also be “settled, I declare that we receive the ordination of the most “holy Bishop Maximian; that we look upon Nestorius, late “Bishop of Constantinople, as deposed; that we anathematize the impieties he has taught, and that we sincerely embrace your communion, according to the exposition which “we have given you of our views respecting the Incarnation “of the Word, which exposition you have received as embodying your own faith, and a copy of which is inserted in “this paper. By this act of communion we put an end to

¹ Cyr. ad Acac. p. 1115. A.

² Ep. ad Don. c. 38. p. 1152. E.

[³ ἐνωμότως]

[⁴ συναχθῆναι]

⁵ C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 28.

^c This is not quite accurate. “Anathematisms pour out,” he says, “in clouds: brother assails brother, Priest Priest, and nation nation. Some with Apollinarius call the whole Christian Church *Jews*, because they oppose the errors of that

“enemy of God;” as if the assertion that CHRIST was perfect man, implied that He was a mere man: “and others again call them *pagans*,” as if ‘the taking of the manhood into God’ implied the deification of one who had been man.

“the troubles which may have originated with either party, A. D. 433.
 “and restore the Churches to their former tranquillity.” — CH. XIX.
 The exposition of faith is not found inserted in this declaration, but it must be the same with that which was afterwards inserted in the letter of John of Antioch.

Having made this declaration, Paul was admitted to the Church-prayers¹, and took his place as Bishop in the great church of Alexandria, where he preached a sermon to the people², in the presence of St. Cyril, on Christmas-day, December the twenty-fifth (in the Egyptian calendar, the twenty-ninth of Choiak) of the same year, 432. He began by proclaiming “peace on earth,” with the Angels; and then, entering upon the mystery which we commemorate on that day, he said plainly, “Mary, Mother of God, brought forth **EMMANUEL**.” The people, when they heard it, cried out, “Behold this is the Faith: it is God’s gift, O orthodox Cyril! this is what we wished to hear. He that speaks not thus, let him be anathema.” Paul of Emesa proceeded; “Who-soever says not or thinks not thus, let him be anathema, and cut off from the Church:” then resuming the thread of his discourse, and proceeding to explain the mystery of the Incarnation, he says; “Forasmuch as the concurrence of the two perfect natures, I mean the Divinity and the humanity, has formed the one only Son, the one only **CHRIST**, the one only Lord.” At these words, the people again interrupted him with shouts of, “You are welcome³, [καλῶς ᾗλθες] “O orthodox Bishop, worthy of Cyril, gift of God!” Paul concluded his sermon in a few words, expressly anathematizing those who spoke of two Sons, or said that **EMMANUEL** was a mere man; and extolling the confession made by St. Peter, when he acknowledged one only Son of the living God⁴. He then broke off, to allow St. Cyril to deliver the address usual in such cases⁵.

Paul of Emesa, not having had time enough to explain himself fully on that day, preached a second time⁶ in the great church of Alexandria, eight days afterwards; that is, on the sixth of Tibi, or first of January, A.D. 433. In this sermon, which is longer than the former, he carefully unfolds the mystery of the Incarnation in opposition to the errors of Nestorius and Apollinarius. The people twice interrupted

¹ Ep. ad. Theognap.
 Cyr. opp. t. 5. pt. 2. p. 152.
 [altera pagg. serie]
² C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 31.

⁴ Matt. 16. 16.
 [⁵ Supr. 25. 2.]

⁶ Ibid. c. 32.

A. D. 433. him (as before) with applause and acclamation; and St. Cyril
CH. XX.
1 c. 33. added a few words on the same subject¹.

It was Paul's wish that in making the declaration in writing as he had done, he should be considered to represent in his own person both John of Antioch and all the Eastern Bishops²; and that nothing further therefore should be required of them. 2 Ep. ad Acac. Mel. C. Eph. p. 1115. B. In this he was overruled by St. Cyril, who maintained that the declaration could serve only for himself, and peremptorily insisted that John of Antioch should likewise give his declaration in writing. St. Cyril remained inflexible also on the subject of the four deposed Bishops, whose restoration Paul had at first stated to be indispensable³. (They were Helladius of Tarsus, Euthérius of Tyana, Himerius of Nicomedia, and Dorotheus of Marcianopolis.) St. Cyril declared that he could never give his assent to any such act, nor were they eventually included in the peace.

St. Cyril and Paul of Emesa drew up in concert the declaration that John of Antioch was to sign⁴. Two of St. Cyril's clergy were appointed to carry it, along with a letter of communion for him; but he was not to receive the latter until he had signed the declaration. The two Clerks accompanied the Tribune Aristolaus, who returned to Antioch murmuring at the tedious character of the negotiation. He promised St. Cyril on oath, that the purpose which the declaration was intended to serve, should not be frustrated; "And if Bishop "John," he added, "refuses to subscribe it, I will proceed "immediately to Constantinople, and tell the Emperor that "it is no fault of the Church of Alexandria if peace be not "made, but of the Bishop of Antioch only." The declaration contained an approval of Nestorius's deposition, and a condemnation of his tenets.

XX.
 St. Cyril
 negotiates
 at Constantinople.

[⁵ Præ-
 positio]

[⁶Eulogia]

In the mean time St. Cyril was employing his influence at Constantinople to procure orders from the Court urging Aristolaus to bring the business to a conclusion, and pressing John of Antioch to abandon the cause of Nestorius. St. Cyril wrote with this view to St. Pulcheria—to Paul, Præfect of the Chamber⁵—to Romanus, Chamberlain—to the lady Marcella and the lady Droseria—sending them at the same time blessings⁶, that is, presents. Another Præfect, called Chrysoretos, who was opposed to the in-

terests of the Church, received similar presents, besides being solicited to desist from his persecution by two other officers¹, to whom presents were sent^d. We learn all this from a letter written by Epiphanius, St. Cyril's Archdeacon and Syncellus, to Maximian of Constantinople², in which the latter is entreated to throw the weight of his authority into the same scale. "Beg of the Empress Pulcheria," says the letter, "to write sharply to John, warning him never more to mention that impious person," that is, Nestorius; "and let a pressing letter be written to Aristolaus too. Entreat the holy Abbot Dalmatius to send to the Emperor, binding him and the officers of the chamber by awful adjurations³ never again to make mention of Nestorius; desire also the holy Eutyches to contend for us." This is the same that was afterwards the heresiarch⁴. Epiphanius adds, "You will see by the memorial subjoined⁵ who the persons are to whom presents have been sent, and how much the holy Church of Alexandria has done for you. Our clergy are grieved to think that their Church is stripped on account of these troubles, and that over and above the sum which has been transmitted, it owes to the Count Ammonius fifteen hundred pounds' weight of gold^e. We have again written to him to advance money; but do you rather advance it, to such as are known to be covetous, at the expense of your Church, for otherwise the Church of Alexandria will be over-burdened. Entreat Pulcheria to displace Chrysoretos, and put Lausus in his room; for without some such check on his power we shall still be subject to much maltreatment." This letter shews us something of what was going on at Constantinople.

A. D. 433.
— CH. XX.

[¹ Scholasticus and Arthebas.]

² Synodic. c. 203. [p. 407.]

[³ *terribili conjuratione*]

[⁴ *infr. 27. 23.*]
[⁵ *subjectus brevis*]

There were some in the imperial city who declared themselves opposed to the reconciliation. These spread a report that St. Cyril had recanted, and condemned what he had

^d New Rome it seems, kept up the character of the old stock on which it was engrafted: it retained the Odrysian rule, which prevailed indeed throughout the whole of Thrace—to receive rather than to give; so that it was more discreditable when asked for a gift to refuse it, than to ask and meet with a repulse. At the seat of govern-

ment this system was so extensively practised that it was impossible to get any business attended to unless you were lavish of your presents." (*οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρᾶξιαι οὐδ' ἐν μὴ δίδοντα δῶρα.* Thucyd. ii. 97.)

^e *Auri libras mille quingentas*; i. e. about 1355 pounds Troy, or 63. 310*l.* in standard gold.

A. D. 433. written against Nestorius; for thus the Nestorians, who
 CH. XXI. sought to retrace their steps, wished his letter to Acacius of
 Berrhæa to be construed. This obliged St. Cyril to send a
 letter to the Priests Theognostus and Chamosinus, and the
 Deacon Leontius, who were his Apocrisarii at Constanti-
 nople¹, that is, who acted at Court as solicitors in matters
 relating to his Church². He gives them an account of all
 that had passed, from the letter with which Acacius of
 Berrhæa had opened the negotiation³, up to the period of
 his writing: he concludes in these words; "Let no one,
 " therefore, feel any anxiety; we are not yet so far advanced
 " in dotage as to anathematize what we have written. We
 " abide by our old opinions, for they are sound, and con-
 " formable to Scripture and to the faith of our fathers."

XXI. John of Antioch at length submitted. He wrote a letter
 John of Antioch reconciled. to St. Cyril, in which he says that for the good of the
 Church, and in obedience to the Emperor's orders, he has
 commissioned Paul of Emesa to conclude a peace, and to
 deliver in his name the exposition of faith which they had

agreed upon, in these terms⁴: "As to the Virgin Mary,
 " Mother of God, and the mode of the Incarnation, we are
 " obliged to say what we think of them,—not as if we would
 " add any thing whatsoever to the Nicene Creed, or pretend
 " to explain mysteries which are ineffable, but to stop the
 " mouths of those who wish to attack us. We declare, then,
 " that our LORD JESUS CHRIST is the only SON of God;
 " perfect God and perfect man, composed of a reasonable
 " soul and a body; in respect of His GODHEAD, 'begotten of
 " 'the Father before all worlds,' and the same, according to
 " the humanity, born in these latter days, for our salvation,
 " of the Virgin Mary; in respect of His GODHEAD, consub-
 " stantial with the Father, and the same consubstantial with
 " us, according to the humanity; for the two natures have
 " been united: and therefore we confess one CHRIST, one
 " SON, one LORD. In consistence with the notion of this
 " union without confusion⁵, we confess that the holy Virgin
 " is Mother of God, because God the WORD was Incarnate
 " and made man, and, from the very act of conception⁶, united
 " to Himself the temple which He took from her. As to the
 " expressions concerning our LORD in the Evangelists and

[³ ἀσυν-
 χύτου ἐνώ-
 σεως]

[⁴ ἐξ αὐτῆς
 τῆς συλ-
 λήψεως]

¹ C. Eph.
 pt. 3. c. 30.
 [p. 1094.
 B.]

“ Apostles, we know that divines apply some of them in A. D. 431
 “ common, as to one person, and others separately, as to two CH. XXI
 “ natures; teaching that such as are worthy of God¹ relate
 “ to the Divinity of CHRIST, and those of a meaner kind to
 “ His humanity.

[¹ Θεοπε-
 πείδ
 v. Basil.
 De Fide, l.
 I. p. 430, l.
 ed. 1638.]

“ Having received this confession of faith, we have agreed,
 “ in order to procure universal peace and remove all grounds
 “ of offence from the Church, to look upon Nestorius, late
 “ Bishop of Constantinople, as deposed; and we anathema-
 “ tize the evil and profane novelties of words introduced by
 “ him; for our Churches preserve the sound and right faith
 “ no less than your holiness does. We also approve the or-
 “ dination of the most holy Bishop Maximian to the Church
 “ of Constantinople, and we are in communion with all the
 “ Bishops in the world, who hold and preach the pure and
 “ Orthodox Faith.”

Peace having been thus made, St. Cyril declared the joyful
 news to his people, in a short sermon² preached on the twenty-² C. Eph.
 eighth of Pharmouthi in the first indiction, that is, April the pt. 3. c. 29.
 twenty-third, A.D. 433. He then ordered the letter of John
 of Antioch to be read in the church, along with his own
 answer, which he sent by Paul of Emesa³. This, in addition³ c. 34.
 to various expressions of joy and avowals of friendship, con-
 tained the declaration of John of Antioch, and some doctrinal
 explanations, which St. Cyril made in order to remove the
 scruples of the Easterns. “ I am accused,” he says⁴, “ of
 “ affirming that CHRIST’s sacred body was not taken from
 “ the Holy Virgin, but brought from heaven. How can they
 “ have brought themselves to imagine this, when almost the
 “ whole of our dispute turned on my maintaining that she is
 “ Mother of God? How could she be this, or whom could
 “ she have brought forth, if the body had come from heaven?
 “ But when we say that CHRIST came down from heaven,
 “ we follow St. Paul, who says⁵, ‘The first man was of the
 “ ‘earth, earthy; the second Man was from heaven:’ and⁵ 1 Cor.
 “ ‘our SAVIOUR Himself says⁶, ‘No man hath ascended up to 15. 47.
 “ ‘heaven, but He who came down from heaven, even the⁶ John 3. 13.
 “ ‘Son of Man.’ For although it be properly the Word
 “ who came down from heaven, yet by virtue of the unity of
 “ person we may attribute the same to the man.”

A. D. 433. As to the other reproach, that he admitted a commixture
CH. XXII. or confusion of the Word¹ with the flesh, he says², “So far
 [1 κρᾶσις ἢ σύγχυσις ἢ
 φυρμός] “am I from holding any such opinion, that I believe a man
 2 p. 1110. D. “must have lost his senses before he can suppose the Divine
 [3 τροπῆς
 ἀποσκίασ-
 μα. James
 1. 17.] “Word subject to even the least semblance of change³. He
 “ever abides what He is, incapable of alteration. We all
 “acknowledge, too, that He is impassible, although He
 “ascribes to Himself the sufferings incidental to the flesh,
 ‘1 Pet. 4. 1. “even as St. Peter so wisely said⁴, ‘CHRIST having suffered in
 “the flesh,’ not in His Divinity.” He further declares, that
 he in all things follows the doctrine of the Fathers, especially
 of St. Athanasius, and embraces the Creed of Nicæa, not
 allowing a syllable of it to be altered, knowing that it was
 [5 αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ
 Θεοῦ καὶ
 πατρὸς.] not the Fathers who spake it, but the very Spirit of God⁵. He
 6 p. 1111. C. “concludes thus⁶: “Having learnt that some have corrupted
 “the letter of our father Athanasius to Epictetus^f, to the
 “hurt of many souls, we deem it our duty to send you a
 [7 ἀντιγραφῶν] “copy of it taken from the manuscripts⁷ preserved in our
 “archives.”

8 Ep. ad Theodoret. The fact was⁸, that Paul of Emesa, when conversing with
 [p. 1128. St. Cyril on the Faith, asked him very seriously, if he agreed
 E.] with what St. Athanasius had written to Epictetus. “Have
 “you the letter,” answered St. Cyril, “in its genuine form?—
 “for many things in it have been altered by the enemies of
 “the truth:—if you have, then I entirely agree with it in
 “every respect.” “I have the letter,” said Paul, “and I
 [9 πληρο-φορηθῆναι] “should be glad to ascertain fully⁹, from the copies you
 “possess, whether it has been falsified or not.” The old
 copies were therefore put into his hand. After collating
 them with his own copy, he was satisfied that the latter
 was corrupt; and urged St. Cyril to get a transcript of the
 Alexandrine copies made and sent to Antioch, [which was
 accordingly done.]

XXII. As soon as John of Antioch received intelligence of this
 The consequence of the reconciliation. agreement, he communicated it to Theodoret¹, promising to
 send him more definite information on the arrival of Paul of

¹ Baluz. Synodic. c. 86.

^f A copy of this celebrated letter is preserved by Epiphanius (Hæres. 77), which agrees entirely with the editions of St. Athanasius's works. (See t. i. pt. 2. p. 900. ed. Bened.) An extract

from it was inserted in the first Act of the Council of Ephesus (supr. 25. 41. and Conc. Chalc. t. iv. p. 287); it is again quoted by St. Cyril in his Apologetic (Conc. t. iii. p. 836).

Emesa, who was now on his way back from Egypt. Theodoret, A. D. 433. however, looked on the peace with great suspicion, and refused to be a party to it, unless those who had been deposed for what he considered the good cause were restored to their Churches¹. John of Antioch next wrote to all the Bishops of ^{CH. XXII.} ^{1 c. 87.} the East, to inform them of the peace; "Cyril and we are
 "of the same opinion," he says²; "we both preserve the same ^{2 c. 2.}
 "faith. The letter which he sent to me proves that there is [p. 657.]
 "no difference between us, nor any reasonable grounds for
 "suspecting a difference; it is plainly and unambiguously
 "in harmony with our propositions throughout. He receives,
 "nay, commends our expressions, and expounds [his own
 "views in similar language, only interweaving] the tradition
 "of the Fathers, which was in danger of perishing, so to say,
 "from among men. He distinctly teaches the difference of
 "natures and identity of person in the Sox of God, in such
 "a way, that all who are well inclined cannot, I suppose, but
 "be satisfied, while unbelievers and those who seek to revive
 "the error of Apollinarius will be covered with confusion.
 "However, I send you the letter itself, by which he satisfied
 "us, as also the one I wrote to him; you will thus see that
 "it is not by resorting either to meanness or servility that
 "we have arrived at this happy agreement."

Aristolaus, after this successful issue of his negotiation, returned to Constantinople with a letter from John of Antioch to the Emperor³, informing him that peace was made, and ^{1 c. 91.} that St. Cyril and he were mutually satisfied; that he approved of the ordination of Maximian and the deposition of Nestorius, whose pernicious doctrine he anathematizes. "We
 "entreat you," he adds, "if you wish that the joy you are
 "giving to the world should be unalloyed by any painful
 "feeling, and that no city should be excluded from an interest in it, to issue orders enjoining the restoration of the
 "Bishops who have been driven in these unsettled times
 "from their Churches. You will thus erase every trace of
 "past animosity. Nor will such a course be without precedent; for in former times, when cases similar to the
 "present occurred, the original Bishops were restored to
 "their sees, and those who had been ordained during the
 "disturbances forbore the exercise of their functions so long

A. D. 433. "as the others lived." This seems to have been written with a view to satisfy Theodoret and some others, who refused to listen to any proposals of peace until the deposed Bishops were restored¹.

John of Antioch also wrote, in the name of himself and the Bishops who were with him, a letter of communion to Pope St. Sixtus, St. Cyril, and Maximian, Bishop of Constantinople². He professes to approve the sentence passed by the Council of Ephesus against Nestorius, sanctioning his deposition, and anathematizing his impious tenets; to acquiesce in the ordination of Maximian; and to be in communion with the Bishops of the whole world.

St. Cyril, too, wrote both to St. Sixtus³ and to Maximian⁴, informing them of the favourable aspect of affairs. His letters arrived at Rome first; the Pope being at the time in Council with the Bishops, who had come to celebrate the anniversary of his consecration⁵. The people were assembled in St. Peter's, when the happy news reached them. The Pope sent letters of congratulation to St. Cyril⁵ and to John of Antioch⁶; both letters bear the same date, the seventeenth of September, 433⁷. St. Sixtus was ordained on the twenty-sixth of April; either, therefore, the Bishops must have been convened at a later period, or the session must have been one of unusual length^h. The Pope says, in his letter to St. Cyril⁸, that he does not believe John of Antioch ever to have held the error of Nestorius, but only to have suspended his judgment for the time.

Some seeds of Nestorianism had been carried even as far as Spainⁱ. There were some there who would not allow it to

^g *Natalis dies*: C. Eph. p. 1176. E. It was usual for Bishops to celebrate the day of their accession by a solemn service, to which the neighbouring Bishops were invited. We have two sermons preached by St. Augustine on the anniversary of his own ordination, Sermon 383, 339. (al. 24, 25. ex quin-quag.) The solemnity was one of especial splendour at Rome. The four first of Leo the Great's homilies were delivered on occasions of this kind. He addresses his audience as *consecradores*, i. e. brother-Bishops: for none but these were ordinarily present; v. Dufresne, s. v., who rightly quotes, in

proof of this, Paulinus, Ep. 20 (al. 16) ad Delph., where it is expressly stated. Binius, when he denied that this passage relates to the anniversary of Anastasius's election (ap. Labbe, t. iv. p. 1037), had, perhaps, read only the extract given by Baronius, ad ann. 398.

^h The difficulty is in a great measure done away, if we adopt Magi's Chronology (§ 5, 6; in Baron. a. 432), according to which Celestine died July 18, and Sixtus was consecrated July 24.

ⁱ The state of the Church in Spain consequent upon the irruption of the barbarians was depicted, *supr.* 23. 5.

be said that God was born, and maintained that He who was born of the Virgin and suffered upon the cross was a mere man. Two of the faithful, Vitalis and Tonantius (or Constantius) by name, having brought against the heretics such arguments as they were masters of, wrote to Capreolus¹, Bishop of Carthage^k, for further instruction in the orthodox belief. Capreolus sent them a long letter in reply², in which [after congratulating them on their adherence to the old Catholic rule of faith, and expressing his confident trust that the Lord of all still has, 'in all places of His dominion,' those who labour faithfully in the Gospel harvest] he refers to the event which had just taken place in the East, the condemnation of the heresy in question by the Council of Ephesus. [This, involving as it did the authority of the Church universal, would of course be sufficient, he says, for all devout minds;] yet, as they wished it, he would explain the views held by evangelical antiquity respecting this mystery, and the necessity of believing the personal unity of Christ.

A. D. 433.
CH. XXIII.

¹ Edit.
Sirmond.
an. 1630.
[item ap.
Sirmon. opp.
t. i. p. 362.]
[² p. 361.]

This heresy was refuted about the same time in Gaul by Vincentius of Lerins in his 'Warning against Heresy,' the date of which is fixed by what he says at the close of the second part, that, "about three years have elapsed since the Council of Ephesus was held." Vincentius was brother to

XXIII.
Writings of
Vincentius
of Lerins.

Since that time (A.D. 433) the country had been a prey to the successive hordes which entered it and contested its possession,—the Vandals, the Alans, the Sueves, and the Visigoths. At the period we are now considering the two former of these tribes had crossed over to Africa, so that the rival parties were now the Arian Goths under King Theodoric (A.D. 419—452), and the Catholic Sueves under Theodemir (A.D. 411—440), v. *Cennius de Antiq. Eccl. Hisp.* t. i. p. 186. The result of this unsettled state of things was that "it was a hard thing for one of God's "Priests to visit another, and for a "Council to be held was rare indeed." (Leo M. Ep. ad Turib. Concilia, t. iii. p. 1110.) Hence the worst forms of heresy were easily introduced, and found time to strike root and propagate off-shoots. Whether this was the case with Nestorianism (as heresy when driven from the heart was wont to seize

on the extremities), or whether it was an independent development of a similar error, we cannot say. Certainly, the Spanish heretics were less ambiguous in their profaneness than Nestorius, for they plainly asserted that "He who "was born of Mary was a mere man "whom God made His dwelling, *until "the Crucifixion*, and then God des- "serted him." (Ep. Vit. et Ton.) This to a plain mind would be the necessary complement of Nestorius's way of speaking about the Incarnation.

^k There seems to have been a good deal of connexion between the Spanish and African Churches in early times. Thus in the well-known affair of Basilides, the Spanish Bishops wrote to St. Cyprian. (Cyp. Ep. 67, ed. Oxon.) A resemblance has been pointed out in their ecclesiastical discipline, by Cennius, de Ant. Eccl. II. Diss. i. c. 4. §§ 7, 10, 11.

A. D. 433.
CH. XXIII.

¹Not. Baluz.
p. 431.

² Common.
§ 1. [Secu-
laris mili-
tiae. Cf.

Hieron. ad
Nepot. t. iv.
pt. 2. p. 257.]

³ p. 317.

[⁴ uno co-
demque
consensu,
apertè, fre-
quenter,
perseveran-
ter.]

⁵ p. 319.
[⁶ propè
cunctis
Latini ser-
monis Epi-
scopis.]

St. Lupus of Troyes¹; and having passed part of his life in the secular warfare² (by which we are probably to understand the public service) he retired to the monastery of Lerins¹. The leisure which he there enjoyed was employed in writing for his private use two treatises, containing excellent rules for the defence of oneself against heresy. The real name of the writer is concealed under that of Peregrinus, or 'The Pilgrim.' His fundamental maxim is, to adhere first to the authority of the divine law, and in the next place to the tradition of the Catholic Church³. Scripture is not of itself sufficient, since [its depth is such that] it is variously expounded; every heretic pretending that it is the rule of his faith. To learn the meaning of it, therefore, we must go to the Catholic Church; and in the Church itself we must hold to that which has been believed at all times, in all places, and by all; for such only can be truly termed Catholic, that is, Universal. If, therefore, a part of the Church breaks off from communion with the rest, we must prefer the [sound] body to the divided member; if attempts are made to infect the Church with novel errors, we must cling to the doctrine of antiquity. We are to consult the works of approved doctors who have lived in different places and divers ages, yet all in the communion of the same Church, and should look upon that as certainly to be believed which has been taught by all clearly, unanimously, and without variation⁴.

He then adduces the cases of the Donatists⁵, who were separated from the rest of the Church, and of the Arians, who had impressed into their ranks, by force or craft, almost all the Bishops of the West⁶. The Donatists were to be shewn that they differed from the general body, the Arians that they differed from antiquity. He proceeds to urge, as of primary importance, the maxim, that it is never lawful to introduce new religious tenets; when God permits any men

¹ Vincentius himself says that he wrote in a secluded farm or hamlet (*remotioris villulæ*), which Noris (*Hist. Pelag. ii. c. 11. p. 251*) thinks could not apply to Lerins; he therefore supposes it to have been a monastery in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. Autelmi (quoted by Galland., *Proleg. 2. in t. x.*) assents to the premise of this argument but fixes on Capo-Fulvi,

near Friuli, as the place of his retirement. Tillemont (*t. xv. pp. 144. and 860*) acquiesces in what seems implied in Gennadius (*De vir. ill. c. 66*), that he lived at Lerins; so, too, the *Hist. Litt. de la France, t. ii. p. 306*. Perhaps, as Vincentius wished to conceal himself, he intentionally used an indefinite phrase. (Tillemont, p. 860.)

of eminence in the Church to teach novelties¹, it is to try our faith². He quotes Nestorius as an instance of this last³: "He had gained the esteem of the Bishops and the love of the people; he preached daily, and refuted Jews, Pagans, and heretics; though," says Vincentius, "his talents tended rather to excite admiration than to edify, and were brilliant rather than effective." He also refers to the instances of Photinus and Apollinarius⁴, and takes the opportunity to give a summary account and refutation of all three heresies^m, more particularly establishing against Nestorius the personal unity of CHRIST, without, however, in any degree intrrenching upon the distinctness of the two natures. "In God," he says⁵, "there is one substance but three persons; in CHRIST " two substances but one person." He remarks⁶ that some abused the word 'person,' taking it in its original Latin sense of a fictitious character like those on the stage; so that when they said that God was made man personally (*per Personam*), they meant *in appearance*, relapsing into Manichæismⁿ.

After this digression he refers to the cases of Origen⁷ and Tertullian⁸ to shew that we can never rely on the authority of any single doctor; and recurs to his rule of adhering steadfastly to the doctrines of antiquity⁹, and of excluding novelty, which is the characteristic of heresy; and this, because the Christian doctrine is not a human invention, but a trust¹ which God has deposited with His Church². "Not," he says³, "that it is forbidden or is not even profitable to " make advances⁴ in doctrine; but in doing this we must

A. D. 433.
CH. XXIII.
1 p. 329.
[² referring to 1 Cor. 2. 19, and 1 Dent. 13.]
3 p. 330.

4 p. 331.

5 p. 335.

6 p. 337.

7 p. 342.

8 p. 345.

9 p. 346.

[¹ depositum]
2 p. 347, 349.
3 p. 351, 352.
[⁴ profectus]

^m This is the ground of one of Antelmi's arguments in his ingenious Dissertation on the Athanasian Creed (Paris, 1693), where he assigns the authorship of it to Vincentius. "The heresies of Photinus, Apollinarius, and Nestorius are the only *specific* heresies aimed at in either:" (*quæ in uno solæ præstringuntur hereses, Ph. Ap. atque N., eadem in specie nec plures jugulantur in altero.* p. 68.) He has tabulated the coincidences of expression between the Creed and the Commonitory (p. 54, 58, 62); and observes that the Lerinsians shewed a more than ordinary leaning of affection to the Creeds. Faustus's Treatise on the Holy Spirit was the fruit of his

lectures on the Creed (Gennadius, c. 87). Hilary published a valuable exposition of the Creed (*ambiendam Symboli expositionem*; Honorat. ap. Leon. Opp. t. i. p. 740). Eucherius wrote some sermons on the Creed (*Bibl. Magn. t. v. pt. l. p. 552*). Treves, the native place of Vincentius and the see of his intimate friend Severus, was the place from which the Creed *Quicumque* was first promulgated; and hence it might come to be assigned to Athanasius, who had lived there in banishment (*Fleury, xi. 56*).

ⁿ On the *Docetism* of the Manichæans, see Waleh's *Hist. der Ketzereien*; Th. i. s. 760—2. Beausobre, *Hist. du Manich. t. ii. p. 519, sqq.*

A. D. 433. "only consolidate, expand, and illustrate it, without altering
CH. XXIV. "or mutilating it. [Nor has the Church, when assembled

¹ p. 354. "writing the tradition it has received¹, and by a new word

[² non novum fidei sensum novæ appellationis proprietate signando.] "to express the ancient faith²." He afterwards observes the different ways of dealing with different heresies, whether of ancient or modern date³. Such (roughly) are the contents of the first book. In the second⁴, the former rules

³ p. 361. sqq. were applied, and the way in which the authorities of the Fathers were to be made use of, was shewn by the example

⁴ p. 364. of the Council of Ephesus. This second tract, however, was stolen from Vincentius while it was in sheets⁵, and he contented himself with subjoining to the first a recapitulation of what he had said; concluding with the authorities of the two Popes, St. Sixtus and St. Cælestine, against Nestorius.

XXIV. Vincentius several times, in the course of this work, mentions the Pelagians as heretics who had been condemned; in spite of this, however, he is supposed to be the Vincentius who was author of the objections to which St. Prosper wrote a reply⁶. The supposition is based on the agreement of the name, and derives strength from his living so near Cassian and the other Priests of Marseilles, who about this time attacked the doctrine of St. Augustine concerning grace, as

⁶ The fact that Vincentius speaks of the Pelagians as heretics is of no great force in rebutting the charge of (what was afterwards called) Semi-Pelagianism. Cassian, we saw (supr. xxv. c. 13), did the same; and yet Noris (Hist. Pelag. l. ii. p. 246) makes him the founder of the Semi-Pelagian school. Indeed, Prosper (c. Collat.), when addressing Cassian, tells him that he had "broached a nondescript doctrine, as much at variance with the Pelagian as with that of Augustine" (tu informe nescio quid, tertium et utrique parti inconveniens, repertisti).

Noris (*u. s.* p. 245), Natalis Alex. (Hist. Sæc. v. c. 3. art. 7. § 7), Pagi (ad ann. 434. § 16. sqq.), and Cave (Hist. Litt. t. i. p. 337) are inclined to attribute Semi-Pelagianism to Vincentius of Lerins. Baronius (ad ann. 431. § 188,) Labbe (Diss. de Script. t. ii. p. 489), Papebrok. (Acta SS., Maii. t. v. p. 285. n. 6), and the Hist. Litt. de

la France (t. ii. p. 309) acquit him. "However this may be," says Noris (p. 252), "no censure is implied either on the learning or the piety of Vincentius. The school referred to were not at that time heretics, but learned and holy men, called by St. Augustine 'brothers and friends' (de dono persever., in fine), and by Prosper (Ep. ad August.) 'holy men, of distinguished merit, studious of every virtue.' The doctrine of Augustine was then a moot-point, and so it remained for a hundred years, until the Council of Orange [infr. xxxii. c. 12]; nay, Prosper, in his letter [supr. xxiv. 60], owns that it was generally thought 'contrary to the opinion of the Fathers and to ecclesiastical consent.' What wonder, then, if Vincentius, complying with the great rule of his Commonitory, hesitated to follow what seemed the opinion of an individual?"

extravagant and dangerous, on account of certain consequences which it seemed to them to involve. These supposed objections are included by Vincentius in sixteen false and invicious propositions¹, which amount to this; that God will not save all mankind; that He has predestinated the greater part to be damned; that these cannot possibly be saved, and that God is the author of their sins. St. Prosper answered each of them singly, shewing how very different the doctrine of the Church was. Among other things he says, that God's predestination does not cause the fall of any man²; and that He does not forsake those who will hereafter leave Him until He is forsaken by them; on the contrary, He often hinders them from straying, or when they have strayed, causes them to return³.

A. D. 433.
CH. XXIV.

[¹ Prosper. opp. p. 335. sqq. et in Append. l. x. opp. August. p. 207.]

² ad obj. 12.

³ ad obj. 14.

St. Prosper also replied to the fifteen articles, above alluded to as having been drawn up by the Gallic divines in opposition to the doctrine of St. Augustine⁴. They came to much the same sense as those of Vincentius; namely, that predestination imposes upon men a fatal necessity of sinning; that free will is nothing; that God does not wish all men to be saved; and that CHRIST did not die for all. St. Prosper having replied to these objections in detail, reviews them all in the conclusion, assigning to each its proper character and due limitations. In this work he again says⁵, that they who fall are not forsaken by God to the end that they may forsake Him; but they abandoned Him, and so were themselves abandoned; and by their own will are changed from good to bad. And afterwards⁶; "If God causes him to fall who is living piously, then He returns evil for good, and He unjustly punishes the act of which He is impulsively the cause. Can any thing be more absurd or senseless than such a thought?" And further on⁷; "Although the Almighty power of God might have granted to those who are fallen power to have stood, yet His grace did not leave them until they left it." Again⁸; "If any man says that there are some who, whilst living piously, have the power of obedience withdrawn from them in order that they may cease to obey, he has a degraded notion of the goodness and justice of God." He shews that in one sense it may be said that not all men are called to grace,

⁵ ad obj. 3. [p. 318.]

⁶ ad obj. 12.

⁷ Sent. 7.

⁸ Sent. 12.

A. D. 433. since there are still nations who have not heard the Gospel,
CH. XXIV. and in Christendom itself so many thousands of infants die

¹ ad obj. 4. unbaptized¹. “God, however, takes care of all men, and there
 “is none whom He does not warn, either by the preaching
 “of the Gospel, or the testimony of the law, or by nature
 “itself. Men’s infidelity is to be charged upon themselves,

² ad obj. 8. “their faith to be attributed to the gift of God².” “Although
[p. 323.]

“CHRIST died for all, yet His death profits those only to
 “whom it is particularly applied. [For no one is saved by
 “the cross of CHRIST who is not crucified in CHRIST; no
 “one is crucified in CHRIST who is not a member of CHRIST’s
 “body, and who has not, by water and the HOLY GHOST, put

³ ad obj. 9. “on CHRIST³.]” The Priests Camillus and Theodorus sent
 to Prosper, from Genoa, nine passages extracted from St. Au-
 gustine’s books on predestination and perseverance, respect-
 ing which they felt some scruples; he shewed them in his
 answers⁴ that these books contained nothing but what was
[⁴ Opp. p. 346, sqq.] perfectly Catholic.

St. Prosper’s great work, however, in defence of St. Au-
 gustine, is the book ‘Against the Collator,’ that is, against
 Cassian, the author of the Collations or Conferences. This
 was written about the year 432; for he says, “It is now
 “above twenty years since the Church began to fight
 “against the Pelagians, under the command of St. Augus-

⁵ c. 1. [p. 362, ult.] “tine⁵,” which may be supposed to refer to his earliest works,
⁶ Supr. 23.3. addressed to Marcellinus in 412⁶. In this treatise St. Prosper

examines twelve propositions of Cassian, taken from the
 thirteenth conference, in which the Abbot Chæremon⁷ is the
⁷ Supr. 20.3; 24. 56. speaker. The first proposition is Catholic; it asserts that
 God is the origin not only of every good work, but of every
 good thought; but in the other propositions Cassian favours
 the errors of the Pelagians, pretending that many arrive at
 grace without grace; that man is sometimes of himself in-
 clined to virtue; that both these opinions are authorized by
 Scripture; that free will contributes as much to our salvation
 as grace; that Adam did not lose the knowledge of good by
 his sin; that we are not to refer all the merits of the saints
 to God in such a way as that nothing but evil shall be attri-
 buted to nature; that every soul has the seeds of virtue in
 it naturally; and lastly, that God is the sole cause of salva-

tion to some, and to others only an assisting cause¹. St. A. D. 433. Prosper shews, that in all these particulars Cassian inclines CH. XXV. to the opinions of the Pelagians and contradicts himself. [¹ quorundam volentium cursum . . . incitare, . . . quosdam invitos compellere.] He concludes his work by expressing a wish, that St. Sixtus would expel from the Church those who were secretly Pelagians, as his predecessors had expelled those who avowed themselves to be such; at the same time he declares his willingness to bear charitably with them, so long as they are not separated from the Church. Cassian always continued in its communion, and though this censure of him is very just, yet his conferences, as well as his other books, have always been perused by the monks and other pious persons for the sake of the sound doctrine and elevated spirituality with which they are pervaded^p.

It was about this time, too, that Marius Mercator wrote his book of Annotations. Having received the books of St. Julian against St. Augustine, with St. Augustine's answers, he made remarks on several passages in Julian's writings, with a view to point out his errors. These he afterwards collected, at the desire of a Priest called Pientius². A short [2 pt. l. p. 30. ed. Garn.] advertisement to the reader is prefixed, containing a succinct account of the state of the question, and giving a history of the heresy, which was first broached, he says, by Theodorus of Mopsuestia and Rufinus the Syrian³. He speaks of St. Augustine as dead; hence we may infer that the work was not published until about the year 432, after the close of the Council of Ephesus, where he may have received the last treatises of St. Augustine from Bessula the Deacon. The plan of the work is, first to set down Julian's words on each article, then St. Augustine's answer, and lastly, Mercator's own observations in support of St. Augustine. ³ Supr. 23. l.

^p In this he resembled his tutor and patron St. Chrysostom, (supr. xxi. 51.) "Nothing can be more exalted than Chrysostom's views of devotion; yet, certainly, he was obscure, as to many important first principles. To discover these required, in the nature of things, a subtle and penetrating mind; and such was Augustine's. . . The striking dissimilitude between them may providentially correspond to an important difference of purpose. Chrysostom was a superstructure-man, while Austin was sinking the

"foundation; and therefore you see
"the former as zealous for holiness as
"the latter for efficacious grace." A. Knox, Lett. xvii. to Jebb. Cassian's books were long the vade-mecum of the monks in Africa, Spain, and France; Mabillon Ann. Bened., lib. iii. c. 36. Cassiodore ordered them to be diligently studied by his monks, Divin. Lect. c. 29. St. Benedict in his seventy-third rule (Codex Regul. pt. 2. p. 64. ed. 1661) recommends them to such as wished to go on to perfection.

A. D. 433. Mercator also wrote against some works of Theodorus of
CH. XXVI. Mopsuestia¹, whom he looked upon as the parent of both the
1 Ed. Garn. Nestorian and Pelagian heresies. He refuted the creed of
pt. 2. p. 249. Theodorus, which had been condemned at the instance of the
* Supr. 25. Priest Charisius by the Council of Ephesus²; he translated
56. some extracts from a work by Theodorus against St. Augustine and the doctrine of original sin, and from a work respecting the mystery of the Incarnation. To these extracts thus translated into Latin, Mercator appended notes, which were designed to confute them.

XXVI. The reconciliation between John of Antioch and St. Cyril
Schismatics in the East. found some in both parties who were dissatisfied with it. Many of those who had defended Nestorius at the Council of Ephesus, thought that John had acted dishonourably in abandoning the cause. Of the party who adopted this view, Theodoret and his Metropolitan Alexander of Hierapolis were the most influential and distinguished. On the point of doctrine Theodoret had no difficulty; for since the explanation which St. Cyril had made in his letters to Acacius of Berrhæa and John of Antioch, Theodoret acknowledged him to be orthodox, since he plainly confessed the two natures in CHRIST, guarded against the supposition of any confusion of the natures, and anathematized the heresy of Apollinarius. "He
3 Synodic. "has retracted," said Theodoret³, "and has overthrown his
c. 95. cf. c. "twelve Articles." On the other hand, he could not prevail
88. upon himself to desert the person of Nestorius, whom he believed to have been unjustly condemned, because his doctrine had never been rightly appreciated; this he states in a letter to Nestorius himself⁴. Alexander of Hierapolis drew no such distinction, but set himself against the agreement, both in detail and in the gross; he refused either to condemn Nestorius, whose doctrine he considered to be sound and scriptural, or to communicate with St. Cyril, whom he
5 c. 96. 100. still looked upon as heretical⁵. He even separated himself
104. from the communion of John of Antioch and all others who embraced the peace. "Be assured," he said to Andrew of Samosata⁶, "that I will have no part or lot with them; let
6 c. 93. "exile or death, let the precipice, fire, or the beasts be set
 "before me, in God's strength I will suffer all things rather
 "than communicate with them." And in a letter to Theo-

doret¹: "I will not consent to the propositions which Paul
 " has offered, and the Egyptian received, not if I am to die ^{A. D. 433.}
 " ten thousand deaths for it; the whole world besides may ^{CH. XXVI.}
 " consent, but I never!" The chief point on which he in- ^{1 c. 91.}
 sisted was, the title 'Mother of God,' which he refused to
 admit, unless that of 'Mother of CHRIST' were added, as
 required by Nestorius.

He had made an appointment with Theodoret and Andrew
 of Samosata, to meet at Zeugma, in order to deliberate on
 the affair². They both exhorted him [by letters sent pre- ^{2 c. 97—99.}
 viously to the intended meeting] to accept the peace³; but ^{3 c. 101, 103.}
 Alexander answered Theodoret⁴, that it would be useless to ^{4 c. 100.}
 come to an interview, if they felt no disgust at the proceed-
 ings of John of Antioch, who had betrayed the Faith, and
 condemned Nestorius, though he knew him to be orthodox.
 To Andrew he replied⁵, "It is unnecessary for any more ^{5 c. 102.}
 " letters to pass between us on this subject. My only
 " reason for retaining my Church in the face of so much
 " opposition from the secular power is, that I may not seem
 " to betray the flock of CHRIST." And in another letter⁶: ^{6 c. 104.}
 "I no longer communicate with Cyril, or with you either.
 " So far as you are concerned, you have done your part;
 " you have sought the lost sheep, and it does not care to be
 " found. Henceforth, then, abide at rest;—before the dread
 " tribunal we shall most certainly confront each other."
 When Andrew saw Alexander thus highly incensed, he
 wrote to the stewards of the Church of Hierapolis⁷, declar- ^{7 c. 106.}
 ing his resolve to continue in communion not only with
 John of Antioch, but with all the Catholic Bishops wherever
 found, as Sixtus, Cyril, Maximian, Rabbula of Edessa, Aca-
 cius of Melitene, and all the rest. John of Germanicia⁸ also
 embraced the peace⁸, and John of Antioch gave Theodoret a ^{8 c. 105, 109.}
 written (though a private) commission, to use every mean he
 should think proper to reclaim the obstinate⁹. ^{9 c. 122.}

Maximin of Anazarbus and his suffragans, the Bishops
 of the second Cilicia, remained firm in their adherence to
 Nestorius. They held a Council at Anazarbus¹, in which ^{1 c. 111—113.}
 Maximin presided, and there they confirmed the pretended
 deposition of St. Cyril at Ephesus, and declared all who

¹ In Euphratesia. It was the birth-place of Nestorius.

A. D. 433. had admitted him to their communion to be excommunicate,
 CH. XXVI. until such time as they should condemn his twelve Articles;
 "Such is our determination," say they, "even though it
 "should expose us to fire and sword and the teeth of wild
 "beasts." Helladius of Tarsus, Metropolitan of the first
¹ c. 114. Cilicia, gave his sanction to this Council¹.

Eutherius of Tyana, Metropolitan of the second Cappadocia,
 and Helladius of Tarsus, concerted a plan for engaging the
 Western Bishops in their behalf, and invited Alexander and
² c. 116. Theodoret to join them in their design². This was none other
³ c. 117. than to address a long letter to Pope St. Sixtus³, recapitulating
 the history of the Ephesian Council, of the alleged errors of
 St. Cyril, and of the reconciliation of John of Antioch. "We
 [⁴ p. 820.] "throw ourselves at your feet," they add⁴, "begging you to
 "reach out a helping hand towards us, and to enjoin that
 "the whole of this subject be thoroughly sifted, and the
 "appropriate remedy applied, by recalling the pastors who
 "have been unjustly banished, and so gathering together the
 "scattered flocks, whose salvation is in peril; for they are
 "unwilling to receive the washing of regeneration, or the
 "mystical Communion from the hands of heretics, and they
 "are not allowed to receive them at the hands of the ortho-
 "dox. We who are of different provinces, namely, of Eu-
 "phratesia, of the two Cilicias, the second Cappadocia, of
 "Bithynia, of Thessaly, and of Mæsia, should ourselves have
 "long since come to present our complaints to you with
 "floods of tears, had we not been withheld by fear of the
 "wolves who threaten our flocks. We are obliged, there-
 "fore, to send in our stead some of our clergy and monks, if
 "haply they may kindle your zeal, and dispose you to send
 "us speedy assistance." This letter was sent, but it is easy
 to imagine that it could have no great influence at Rome,
 where the doctrine of St. Cyril, the reconciliation of John
 of Antioch, and the Acts of the Council of Ephesus had
 been so solemnly approved. However, the letter is not
 without its use, as it shews that, even in the remote parts
 of the East, the Bishops were persuaded that they all had
 the right of addressing the Pope, whenever they had any
 grievances from their superiors, or any disorders in the
 Church, to complain of⁵.

⁵ Cf. infr.
 c. 39, et
 Synodic.
 c. 119.

In the mean time Maximian, Bishop of Constantinople, died suddenly on the twelfth of April, A.D. 434, in the Consulate of Asper and Ariobindus, having governed that Church in peace for two years and five months. The day of his death was Holy Thursday¹. The Nestorians, who were very numerous at Constantinople, assembled in several parts of the town, loudly demanding the recal of Nestorius, and threatening to endanger the city and burn the church down². The Emperor Theodosius, fearing there might be some commotion, got Proclus immediately elected and installed before Maximian was interred; and Proclus solemnized the funeral. He had been Reader from his earliest youth³, and had studied under the masters of rhetoric. On arriving at man's estate, he attached himself to the Bishop Atticus, and was one of his notaries⁴. Atticus, seeing the progress he made, ordained him Deacon; in the course of time he became Priest, and Sisinnius ordained him Bishop of Cyzicus, as we saw above⁵. When the people refused to receive him, he continued at Constantinople, officiating as Priest; but in spite of this, his ordination to Constantinople was looked upon as a translation. However, letters were produced from Pope St. Cælestine to St. Cyril, John of Antioch, and Rufus of Thessalonica, which removed the difficulty, and shewed that there was nothing to prevent a translation in cases of this kind⁶. These letters must have been dated two years before, on the eve of the election in which a Bishop of Constantinople was chosen to succeed Nestorius.

The Bishops who elected Proclus wrote a synodical letter⁷, which they sent into the East to be signed by all the Bishops on pain of their being deposed as schismatics⁸. As for Proclus, he imitated all the virtues of Atticus, whose disciple he had been; nay, he surpassed him in meekness and patience; his gentleness extended even to the heretics, for he believed this a readier way of reclaiming them, than harsh treatment. It was in his time that St. Melania the younger came to Constantinople, at the desire of her uncle Volusian, who, being Prefect of Rome, had been sent thither on an embassy⁹. This Volusian is the one who was friend to the Tribune Marcellinus, and to whom St. Augustine wrote on a former occasion¹. Up to this time he had con-

A. D. 434.
CH. XXVII.

XXVII.
Death of
Maximian
Proclus
made Bi-
shop.

¹ Socrat. 7.
40.

² Synodic.
c. 150.

³ Socr. c. 11.

[⁴ ὑπογρα-
φεὺς αὐτοῦ
τῶν λόγων
γεγόμενος]
⁵ Supr. 24.
14.

[⁶ v. Supr.
c. 10, not. r.]

⁷ Synodic.
c. 150.

[⁸ c. 149.]

⁹ Vita S. Mel.
ap. Sur.
31 Jan.
Phot. Col.
53. [p. 14.
not.]
¹ Supr. 22.
51; 24. 24

A. D. 434.
CH. XXVIII.

[¹ φωτισ-
θε[is]

² Cod.
Theod. de
bon. Cler.
lib. v. tit. 3.
l. 1. [t. i.
p. 436.]

XXVIII.
Prosecu-
tion of the
schisma-
tics.

³ Synodic.
c. 123.

tinued a pagan, but was now converted by the exhortations of his niece and the instructions of the Bishop Proclus; and falling sick, he was baptized¹, and died soon after. In this same year, 434, being the first of the Pontificate of Proclus, on the fifteenth of December, the Emperor Theodosius ordained², that the goods of all clergy and monks who died without heirs should belong to their respective churches or monasteries³.

John of Antioch was informed of the ordination of Proclus, by a letter from Taurus, Præfect of the Prætorium^{3 s}. He sent an answer expressive of the satisfaction he felt at the election of Proclus, with whose merits he was intimately acquainted. "Now that you have effected this good work," he adds, "let me entreat you to think of restoring tranquillity "to these parts too; for here are some few unruly spirits, "who think themselves injured by the peace which God, "by the ministry of the Emperor, has granted us, and who "abuse your clemency and ours." John of Antioch did not stop here; he sent a person named Verius to Constantinople, who solicited and obtained an order from the Emperor, making it imperative on all the Bishops of the East to communicate with John, or quit their churches⁴. This order was directed to the Quæstor Domitian, who sent information of it to Helladius of Tarsus⁵, advising him to comply, while he could do so with a good grace, and to unite with all the Bishops of the first and second Cilicia in making

¹ c. 124.

⁵ c. 125.

¹ This was the first step made towards the state of things in which the individual rights of monks were entirely merged in their corporate relations. By the civil law (Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 2. l. 13), adopted into the canon law (Caus. xix. q. 3. c. 7, sqq.), professed monks (*ingressi*) lost the power of willing away their property, though they might still succeed to the property of their relatives. Afterwards they were considered dead *quoad civilia*, and could neither be testators nor legatees. Indeed, according to the monastic rules, a monk could have no property (see Dufresne, s. v. *Peculiaritas* and *proprietas*); whatever he acquired was the monastery's, not his. "If any thing "be left to a slave," says Panormitan, "it instantly becomes the property of "his master; but a monk is more

"inseparably bound to his monastery "than the slave to his master. (Religiosus magis astrictus monasterio "quàm servus domino.)" Super Tertio, fol. 170. in c. *monachi*. A slave might have a *peculium*, which a monk could not.

With regard to the secular clergy, the canon law distinguished between patrimonial property, and the produce of their benefice. The Church succeeded to the latter, the civil heirs to the former. See Durand de Maillaine, Art. *Succession*.

⁵ The law mentioned in the last chapter is addressed to him, and Gothofred (in l.) thinks it more than probable that he procured its enactment. He corresponded with Isidore of Pelusium and with Theodoret.

peace with John, before the time came when it would be his duty to make the letters public. A. D. 431.
CH. XXVIII.

Another order came down from the Emperor, which prohibited the Eastern Bishops from going to Court or leaving their churches. John of Antioch sent a copy of it to Alexander of Hierapolis¹ that he might give notice of it to his suffragans. But Alexander, who had broken off communion with John, ordered his secretary to receive the letter, and addressed his answer to the Imperial officer² who had brought the letter from John. However, he promised to obey, that is, he undertook not to go to Court or stir from his church³. ¹ c. 126.
² magis-
trianus]
³ c. 127.

In the mean time, he and the six Bishops of his province wrote to the Bishops of Syria, of the first and second Cilicia, and of the second Cappadocia⁴, exciting them to animosity against John of Antioch; complaining that the Church was disturbed by unlawful ordinations, and that the priesthood had become venal and was prostituted to men of infamous lives. Alexander remarks in his subscription, that above a year had passed since he had ceased communion with John of Antioch; which brings us therefore to the year 434. Meletius of Mop-suestia, and three others of the second Cilicia⁵, declared that they remained fixed in their resolution of opposing John; the Bishops of the other provinces sent indecisive answers⁶. The unlawful ordinations of which the schismatics complained were two⁷: first and foremost that of Athanasius, Priest and Steward of Dulichium, who was ordained Bishop of the said Church in the room of Abib, and that of Marinian, ordained Bishop of Barbalissus in the room of Acilinus. Scandalous charges were brought against the characters of these two new Bishops, and, on more general grounds, it was objected, that they had been ordained when neither the Metropolitan nor the Bishops of the province were present. In fact, as the object was to get rid of the schismatics, it was not likely that any great anxiety would be felt to ask their consent. Alexander of Hierapolis and his suffragans endeavoured to bring over the Princesses, St. Pulcheria and her sisters, to their party. With this view⁸ they sent some clergy and monks to them with a letter, in which they complain of the persecution of John of Antioch, and of his ordaining within their province two Bishops of scandalous characters, besides ordaining a

A. D. 434. third to a new see in the church of the Martyr St. Sergius, CH. XXIX. which was in the diocese of Hierapolis. They entreat the Princesses to represent all these irregularities to the Emperor, and to induce him to exert his authority in reforming them: but it does not appear that this letter produced any result. Alexander complains elsewhere¹ about this church of St. Sergius having been taken away from him; he had laid out on it, he says, nearly three hundred pounds' weight of gold, and involved his own church in debt. He had rebuilt it with great magnificence.

¹ c. 165. Proclus, on his side, wished to expel Dorotheus, the Metropolitan of Mæsia, from his see of Marcianopolis, and wrote letters against him to the clergy and people of that Church; but they were devotedly attached to their Bishop, and supported him stoutly. Dorotheus, in a letter which he sent to Alexander of Hierapolis², informs him of this transaction, and urges him to come to Constantinople and address the Emperor in person. Hence perhaps originated the order which prohibited the Orientals from coming to Court.

XXIX. On the other hand, there were Catholics who blamed St. Justification of St. Cyril. Cyril, and asserted that he had conceded too much in the accommodation with the Eastern Bishops. They found fault with their exposition, and said, "Why did Cyril suffer, nay, sanction their mention of two natures? The Nestorians ³συναρπά- "say that he holds their opinion, and so they are kidnapping³ ζουρες] "all who are unacquainted with the true state of the case." These depreciating statements must have gained some prevalence at Constantinople, for St. Cyril notices them in a letter to the Priest Eulogius, his resident there, and instructs him how he should answer them⁴; he also gives in this letter a careful explanation of the Catholic doctrine on this point. He wrote moreover to Donatus, Bishop of Nicopolis in Epirus⁵, to anticipate any calumnious report which might get there of his having retracted his former writings against Nestorius; and he gives him an account of the different steps by which the accommodation had been brought about, including the negotiation of Paul of Emesa.

A fuller account was given in a letter to his old friend ⁶c. 35. Acacius, Bishop of Melitene in Armenia⁶. After detailing ⁷p. 1115.D. the matters of fact, he adds⁷: "The partizans of Nestorius,

“ now that they see themselves abandoned, have become A. D. 434.
 “ desperate; they are like men who are on the point of sink- CH. XXIX.
 “ ing, and catch at every thing within their reach. They
 “ maliciously vilify the characters of all who refuse to be of
 “ their way of thinking. They say that the Confession of
 “ the Easterns harmonizes well enough with the novelties
 “ of Nestorius, and even accuse me of holding opinions just
 “ the reverse of what I expressed in my writings, and of
 “ having received a new Creed—out of contempt, I presume,
 “ for the old! But what if Nestorius had himself con-
 “ demned his errors, and given in writing a Catholic con-
 “ fession of faith? would any one have said that he had
 “ made us a new Creed?” He then explains how widely the
 exposition of faith which he had received from the Easterns
 differs from the doctrine of Nestorius.

Acacius had asked of St. Cyril the mystical meaning of the
 scape-goat mentioned in Leviticus¹. St. Cyril wrote a long ^{1 Lev. 16. 8.}
 letter to him², in which he says³, that it is a type of JESUS ^{2 Cyr. Epist.}
 CHRIST, equally with the other goat which was offered at the ^{u. s. p. 121.}
 same time; the latter represented His human nature, in ^{C. Eph. pt.}
 which He suffered for us; the former symbolized the Di- ^{3. c. 36.}
 vinity, in respect of which He was free and exempt from ^{3 p. 127.}
 death. He gives the same interpretation of the two birds⁴ ^{4 Lev. 14. 4.}
 which the leper was to offer for his purification. He takes
 the opportunity of enlarging on the mystery of the Incarna-
 tion, and explains at length the unity of person in two
 natures.

St. Cyril also wrote a letter in vindication of himself to
 Successus, Bishop of Diocæsarea in Isauria⁵. Successus had ^{5 Cyr. Epist.}
 inquired of him whether it was proper to say there are two ^{p. 135.}
 natures in CHRIST. He first of all lays it down in opposition
 to Nestorius, that CHRIST is one and the same, before and
 after His Incarnation; he then adds, that this union pro-
 ceeds from the concurrence of the two natures; that after
 this union we never divide them, but say with the Fathers,
 ‘the one incarnate nature of God the Word,’ which he ex-
 plains presently after, by saying⁶, that there are two natures ^{6 p. 137. E.}
 united, but that CHRIST is one. By way of example he
 mentions our human nature, each particular man being
 personally one, though compounded of soul and body, so

A. D. 434. different in their natures. He then replies to another question,—how CHRIST's body became Divine after His resurrection,—“not,” he says, “by changing its nature, but by “being freed from human infirmities.” Successus having sent him some objections to this explanation, he replied in a second, still larger, letter¹, the object of which is to prove that when he says ‘one nature,’ he does not admit of any confusion or mixture², since the Divine nature is immutable, and the human nature remains entire in CHRIST; for it is not one nature simply³, but one incarnate nature. He remarks⁴ that there are three sorts of expression employed by Scripture in reference to our LORD; some apply to the Divine nature only⁵, others to the human only⁶, and others to both taken together. The object of these two letters, as well as of the preceding, was to justify St. Cyril on the subject of his reunion with the Easterns.

He wrote a very similar letter⁷ to Valerian, Bishop of Iconium, in which, after explaining the Catholic Faith concerning the Incarnation, he thus concludes⁸: “Some impertinent people, I am told, have given out that the error of Nestorius prevails among the Bishops of the East; it may be as well therefore to give you some information on that point.” He then relates how John of Antioch and the rest had distinctly explained themselves, and adds, “If, then, they are charged with holding other opinions, do not believe the charge: if any one shall pretend to affirm it, send them away as impostors; and if any letters are shewn in their names, set them down as forgeries.” He wrote likewise to Maximus, Deacon of Antioch, who had some scruples about communicating with Bishop John, because he had admitted some Nestorians to his communion whom Maximus believed not to be genuine converts. St. Cyril's advice to him is⁹, that he should be satisfied with their outward abjuration, and not seek to penetrate too deeply into men's consciences.

XXX. St. Isidore of Pelusium, [supr. c. 5.] St. Isidore of Pelusium had blamed St. Cyril, as if he had fomented the division. “I am terrified,” he said¹, “by the examples of Holy Writ, which constrain me to send you “what I conceive to be needful admonitions. If I am your “father, as you indeed yourself call me, I fear the condem-

¹ p. 141.

[² *φυρμιδὸν
καὶ σύγκρασιν*]

[³ *ἀπλῶς*]

⁴ p. 148. B.

[⁵ *θεοῦ περιεῖς*]

[⁶ *ἀνθρώπου περιεῖς*]

⁷ C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 40.

[⁸ 1176. A.]

⁹ Cyril. Epist. p. 192.

“nation of Eli; if I am your son, (which is nearer the truth, A. D. 431.
 “since you represent¹ St. Mark,) I fear the punishment in- CH. XXX.
 “flicted upon Jonathan, because he did not prevent his [¹ σχηματί-
 “father from inquiring of the woman with a familiar spirit. ζουτος]
 “If you wish, then, that we should not both of us be con-
 “demned, let the dispute be put an end to; do not seek to
 “revenge a private injury at the expense of the Church’s
 “safety; and do not under the pretence of piety introduce
 “what may be a never-ending schism.” When, however, he
 “was told what St. Cyril had written to satisfy the Easterns,
 “he was afraid that he had conceded too much, and wrote to
 “him thus²: “You should seek to remain always constant, * i. Ep. 324.
 “neither allowing yourself to be frightened into a betrayal
 “of heavenly things, nor seeming to contradict yourself. If
 “you compare what you have lately written with your former
 “writings, you will see that you are liable to the imputation
 “of flattery, inconstancy, or vain-glory³; instead of emulating [³ κενῆς
 “the valour of those famous champions, who, rather than δόξης]
 “listen for a moment to heterodox opinions, were content
 “to pass the whole of their days in the wretchedness of
 “exile.”

It is evident from the first of these letters that St. Isidore was now very aged, since one who presided over so great a see styled him ‘father.’ In both of them we may observe that free-spoken plainness which is every where visible in his correspondence. A large number of the letters are dogmatical, being intended either to elucidate hard texts of Scripture, or to establish some religious doctrine; others are on points of discipline, for the instruction of ecclesiastics (including even Bishops), but especially for that of the monks; and lastly, there are some on subjects of morality, for the information of laymen of every condition in life.

To an inquiry respecting the effect of Infant Baptism, he answers⁴, that it is a low notion of it which supposes that it serves only to purify their souls from the stain contracted by Adam’s sin⁵. He ascribes to it, in addition, many supernatural graces conveyed by regeneration, sanctification, and adoption; man becomes one body with CHRIST, and is united to his flesh⁶ by partaking of the holy mysteries. Baptism was at that time never administered without the Eucharist, even

¹ lib. iii.
 ep. 195.
² τὸν διὰ
 τὴν παρά-
 βασιν τοῦ
 Ἀ. διαδο-
 θέντα τῇ
 φύσει ῥύ-
 πον]
³ εἰς τὴν
 σάρκα αὐ-
 τοῦ τελεῖ.]

A. D. 434. to children; both of them (as he elsewhere says¹) being considered necessary to salvation.

CH. XXXI.

¹ ii. Ep. 52.

XXXI.

Further prosecution of the schismatics.

The Emperor's first ordinance against the Eastern schismatics not proving so effectual as had been expected, a second was now issued against four Bishops in particular—Helladius of Tarsus, Maximin of Anazarbus, Alexander of Hierapolis, and Theodoret,—giving them the alternative of communicating with John of Antioch, or leaving their churches. This order was addressed by Count Titus, Lieutenant² of the East, to Dionysius, Master of the Soldiery³, who notified it to each of the four Bishops⁴. Helladius also received intelligence from his correspondents at Constantinople⁵, that Proclus was in great esteem there, and that he was to send his synodical letter, along with letters from the Emperor, to John of Antioch, in order that all who refused to receive them might be driven from their churches. Helladius communicated these tidings to Meletius of Mopsuestia, asking him what was to be done. Meletius replied⁶, that he could not recognise either Proclus or John of Antioch as Bishop, and that although the whole world beside should chime in with the fickle folly of the present age, he was resolved to keep his conscience clear. Elsewhere he says⁷, “Since the reconciliation of John with “Cyril, I have had but one letter from him, it was brought “by a magistrian; but I threw them in the bearer's face with “such evident disgust that he did not dare to ask for an “answer.” This would prepare us for finding that Meletius was in the number of those who persisted in the schism to the last.

[² Vicarium]

³ Synod.

c. 142.

⁴ c. 143.

⁵ c. 144.

⁶ c. 145.

⁷ c. 155.

Count Titus wrote to Theodoret, and at the same time to the monks, especially to the three most famous among them, St. James the younger, of Nisibis, St. Simeon the Stylite, and St. Baradat⁸. The letter to Theodoret stated, that unless he consented to the terms of pacification, he should be expelled and another ordained in his place. At these menaces he only laughed, but he was deeply affected by the pressing solicitations with which the holy monks urged him to accede to the peace. At first he was irritated, and disposed, in his pique, to quit the city and province, and retire to some

⁸ c. 146.

¹ On this St. James, v. *infr.* xxix. 6 58; xiii. 2; xv. 44); St. Simeon, *infr.* (for St. James the elder, Fleury, xi. 3, xxix. 7, *sqq.*; St. Baradat, *infr.* xxix. 6.

desert where he might resume the monastic life; but the holy monks promised that, if he would go where they might all confer together with John of Antioch, they would accompany him; and they suggested that the meeting might be at Gindarus, a place half-way between Cyrus and Antioch; for Theodoret was unwilling to go to Antioch, from fear of communicating too openly with John. He communicated all this to Alexander of Hierapolis, who replied¹, "I hear that
 "the heresy which asserts God to be passible²," so he speaks
 of the Catholic doctrine—"prevails both at Antioch and Constantinople, and is openly preached there." "I am sorely
 "grieved," he proceeds, "at the earnestness³ of the holy
 "monks against us; nevertheless, should all who have died
 "from the beginning of the world rise up again, I would say,
 "if they agree with us, let them pray for us⁴, but if they
 "condemn us, God forgive them.' Their authority is not
 "greater than that of the Apostles, or the Angels in heaven,
 "whom CHRIST, by the mouth of St. Paul⁵, anathematizes, if
 "they presume to preach any other gospel than CHRIST'S
 "Gospel. If you see any of them, and they introduce the
 "subject, assure them from me, that if John were to give
 "me the whole kingdom of heaven, I would not communicate with him, unless the acts which have caused this
 "universal shipwreck of faith had been corrected. God be
 "praised, they have on their side synods and sees, kings
 "and judges, but we have the LORD God, and our unspotted
 "faith in Him."

A. D. 431.
CH. XXXI.

[¹ c. 147.]

[² Deopassianam
haeresim]

[³ Curiositatem]

[⁴ So Baluz. Fleury has:
je les prie de se tenir en repos et de prier pour nous.]

[⁵ Gal. i. 8.]

Theodoret replied⁶, "I beg of you to think not on the
 "orthodoxy only, but also on the peace of the Churches,
 "for they have been far too rudely disturbed, and we become a by-word among the people." And elsewhere⁷, "So
 "far as I can see, further inflexibility on our part will produce no good effect; the Churches will be harassed, and
 "our flocks exposed to the wolves. There is room for fear
 "lest God may punish us for being so excessively rigid⁸, and
 "for pressing forward our own cause without considering
 "what is expedient for the people. Balance the gain and
 "the loss, and choose the least evil." Alexander answered⁹:
 "It were superfluous to travel over the old ground again;
 "pray read my former letters, and trouble me no more."

⁶ c. 148.

[⁸ pro hac nimia acribitate]

⁹ c. 152.

A. D. 434.
CH. XXXII.

"I declare before God that, comparing the advantages on each side, I prefer the desire of God above all things, and the kingdom of heaven to the honour and glory of this world; and comparing the loss on each side, I choose to suffer banishment, death, and the mockery of man here, rather than everlasting torment. Do not be surprised if we disagree in what we write. You believe Cyril to be Catholic, I think him a heretic. When, in our days, the blessed Bishops Meletius, Eusebius, Barses, and the rest¹, were driven into exile, God took care of their Churches, and did not require an account of them at their hands. Do whatever you know to be best for the Church of God entrusted to you." "In the deluge," he says in a letter to Meletius of Mopsuestia², "God was satisfied with even a single man, and at Babylon with the three in the furnace."

¹ Fleury,
16. 26, 33;
17. 1.

² c. 156.

XXXII.
Recon-
ciliation of
Theodoret
and of the
Cilicians.

³ c. 160. 162.

⁴ c. 163. 157.

⁵ c. 158.

⁶ c. 160. 161.
166. 168.
171.

⁷ c. 173-175.

⁸ c. 176. 177.
179. [190.]

In the interview which Theodoret had with John of Antioch, it was stipulated that the question about Nestorius's deposition should not be mooted; so that as nothing remained beyond the point of faith, (on which they were already agreed,) communion was immediately restored³. Maximin of Anazarbus and the other Bishops of the second Cilicia accepted these conditions, and wrote collectively to John of Antioch, to be re-admitted to his communion⁴; the only exception was Meletius of Mopsuestia, who continued in schism, saying⁵, "What does it matter, whether I have many or few to bear me company?" Theodoret also induced Helladius of Tarsus and the other Bishops of the first Cilicia to accept the terms of peace, and their example was soon followed by the Isaurians⁶. Meletius thus stood in isolated opiniativeness, with all Cilicia ranged against him⁷. He was now therefore deposed by John of Antioch, who ordained Chomasius, or Thomas, to succeed him in his see, and obtained an order from the Emperor to banish Meletius to Melitene in Armenia⁸.

Theodoret now made his last attempt at winning over Alexander of Hierapolis. He wrote to him in the most submissive terms, telling him that he throws himself at his feet, and embraces his knees⁹. He wrote to Mocimus, Steward of his Church¹. He wrote even to Nestorius², (if indeed the

¹ c. 162.]
² c. 170.

letter be genuine) entreating him to urge Alexander to accept the peace. Alexander replied to Theodoret¹; "I believe that you have left nothing undone for the salvation of my poor soul; nay, you have done more than the good shepherd in the Gospel, who sought his lost sheep but once. Now therefore you may remain quiet, and seek no more to weary yourself and annoy us. It is of no great moment to me how the Cilicians and Isaurians act; nay, should all the men who have lived in the world from the creation rise from the dead, and call the abomination of Egypt piety, I should not think that they were to be credited in preference to that knowledge which God hath given me." And afterwards², "I am not out of my senses, I am not yet [? p. 867.] doting; pray you, spare my old age; I am ready to die a thousand deaths rather than embrace communion on such terms." After this, Alexander would no more speak or write to any of his friends on the subject of the peace, nor so much as see or think of them³.

A. D. 434.
CH. XXXIII.
¹ c. 167.

² c. 172, 178.

Theodoret then addressed himself to John of Antioch⁴, sup-⁴ c. 172. plicating him to have patience, and not to suffer the old man to be importuned any more. "You know well the excellence of the man," he says, "all that he wants is to be quiet; time will soothe and soften him, or even if he should persist you have nothing to apprehend from him; he neither can nor will raise any disturbance. But if he should be ejected, the worst results will follow. A schism will take place in the Church at Constantinople, and in many other cities, where some in their simplicity believe him to be the champion of the purest Faith; and you will draw much obloquy upon yourself."

Alexander still continuing inflexible, Count Dionysius and his Lieutenant Titus wrote to him as friends⁵, advising him to obey the Emperor's order by submitting to the Council of Ephesus, and communicating with John of Antioch; that otherwise they must be obliged, in execution of the order, to eject him from his Church, and send him into banishment. Alexander replied⁶ that he was prepared for the persecution⁶ c. 182. which was in store for him; all that he requested was that he might be sent away without noise. Titus wrote to Lybian, Governor of Euphratesia⁷, to eject Alexander if he persisted,⁷ c. 183.

XXXIII.
Alexander
driven from
Hierapolis.
⁵ c. 180, 181.

A. D. 435.
CH. XXXIV.

and to install the person whom the Council of the Bishops should ordain; and he empowered him to employ for this purpose the soldiers who were quartered in the city. "If you need a stronger force," he adds, "or if our presence should be required there, you need only inform us." Lybian received this order, along with the Emperor's letter annexed to it, on the fifteenth of April, A.D. 435¹.

¹ c. 184.

[² episcopatum tenere minime delectatus]

³ c. 185.

Alexander forthwith obeyed; he retired, professing but little regret at the loss of the Bishopric²; but the whole city of Hierapolis was in a strange consternation³. The people wept and cried aloud in the streets; they said they had lost their father and pastor, who had instructed them from their childhood. They extolled his doctrine and the sanctity of his life. They inveighed against the authors of his banishment and even against the Emperor himself; they closed the churches, and seemed ripe for sedition. At last they threatened to lay violent hands on themselves, if their Bishop were not restored to them. The Governor Lybian put a stop to the sedition, and caused the churches to be opened, and Divine Service to be performed as usual; but he sent to the Count of the East and to John of Antioch an account of what had occurred, and told them of the petition which the people of Hierapolis had proposed and carried by acclamation in the church⁴. John of Antioch sent them a letter⁵ explaining how he had used every possible means to reclaim Alexander, "but his self-will and obstinacy," he adds, "have rendered him inexorable. Still, let him only correct his fault, and even now we shall be ready to receive him, and send him back to you with joy; but if he is bent on his own ruin, we have done our duty to God and man."

⁴ c. 186.

⁵ c. 187.

XXXIV.

End of
Nestorius.

⁶ C. Eph. pt. 3. c. 45. Cod. Th. l. xvi. tit. 5. sive de hæret. leg. ult.

Up to this time Nestorius had remained in his monastery near Antioch. At last a decree came down from the Emperor Theodosius against him⁶, in which it was enacted that his followers should be called Simonians, as being imitators of Simon Magus⁷, and that his books should be suppressed

⁷ The reason of this appellation is not obvious. The words of the edict (cujus scelus sunt in deserendo Deo imitati) may simply refer to the fact of Simon's being the proto-heresiarch (*πάσης ἀρχῆν αἰρέσεως*, Euseb., ii.

13), but more probably they had some special application. Justin (ap. Euseb.) says that "after our Lord's ascension, the devils put forward some men who called themselves gods;" and in Acts viii. 10, we read that Simon

and publicly burnt; his followers were to be prohibited from holding any assemblies on pain of having all their estates confiscated. The law was published both in Greek and Latin, that none might be ignorant of it. It was dated 'the third of the nones of August in the fifteenth year of Theodosius,' i. e. the third of August, 435. In the following year (436) a rescript was directed to Isidore, Prefect of the Prætorian and Consul¹, enjoining him to convey Nestorius in exile to Petra, and declaring all his property to be forfeited to the Church of Constantinople.

Nestorius was now therefore driven from his monastery², ² Evagr. i. 7. where he had lived peaceably four entire years from the time he had been deposed. The rescript for his banishment speaks of Petra, which is in Arabia; yet it is certain that he was sent to the desert of Oasis, on the borders of Egypt³. Perhaps an alteration was made in the order before it was put in execution, or he may have been transferred from the one place to the other. The city of Oasis, or Ibis, (both these names are given to it) was pillaged some time after by the Blemmyans, a neighbouring and barbarous tribe, who

was called "The great power of God." Now it seems to be one of Satan's devices, when the True appears, immediately to issue a False which bears a degraded likeness to it, that men may confound the two and attribute to them in common the qualities of the False. And so, doubtless, the Simonians regarded our Lord in the same way that they did Simon,—as a mere man in whom a divine energy resided. If this be true, the reason of the Nestorians' being branded with the title of Simonians is plain.

Theodosius refers for a precedent to the edict of Constantine, in which he ordered the Arians to be called Porphyrians. The edict is found in Socrat. i. c. 9.

³ The Greek *Oasis* and Arabic *Wah* both came from the Coptic *Wahc*, 'a habitation' (v. Baehr in Herod. iii. 26). In Herodotus as in this passage of Evagrius, the word designates a city (*ἐς Ὅασιν πόλιν*). It soon came to be used generically of any fertile spot in the desert, but was still applied *par excellence* to three; the Greater and Less Oases, which run parallel to the Nile, stretching from the latitude of Thebes northward almost to that of the

Faioum; and the Siwah, or Ammonian city of Herodotus. It was to the first and most southerly of these—the Greater Oasis, or El-Wah—that Nestorius was banished.

The earliest instance of their being used as places of banishment is in the second persecution of the orthodox by the Arians (Fleury, xiii. 33): "From this time the Oasis is no longer resorted to as an isle of the blessed" (*μακάρων νῆσος*. Herod. u. s.), but as "a region dreary and desolate, swept by noxious winds and often plundered by the neighbouring Beduins." Ersch-u.-Gruber, *Oase*. Michaelis (in Abulf. d. Deser. Ægypt. p. 31.) refers to Greg. Naz. (Orat. 23. p. 119. ed. 1609), who calls it *ἡ ἀπάνθρωπος ἐρημία*, Zonaras (Ann. xiii. c. 22.) who speaks of it as *ὑπ' ἀνέμων καταπνευμένην φθοροποιῶν*; and Athanas. i. p. 316, as *ἐρήμους καὶ ἀήθεις καὶ φοβερούς τόπους*. In the Digests (lib. xlviii. tit. 22. l. 7. § 5), a *relegatio* to the Oasis is spoken of, and in the Codex (lib. ix. tit. 47. l. 26. § 2) it is enacted that none but Egyptian magistrates should send criminals to the Oasis, and then for only six months, or twelve at the utmost—a longer residence was probably found to be fatal.

A. D. 436.
CH. XXXIV.

¹ C. Eph.
pt. 3. c. 15.

A. D. 436.
CH. XXXIV.

carried away many captives and among the rest Nestorius. It was not long, however, before they were set at liberty, and, each taking his own route, Nestorius came to Panopolis, whence he despatched a letter to the Governor of Thebais, fearing he might be accused of an attempt to escape. The Governor ordered that he should be removed from Panopolis to Elephantina, a frontier town; then, again, he commanded him to return to Panopolis, and thence had him conveyed to another place in the same district; and an order was issued which would have banished him to a fourth place; but at length, worn out by age and infirmities, he died^y. His tongue, it is said¹, was eaten up with worms.

[¹ Evagr.
u. s. Cf.
Theod.

lect. p. 580.
σηπέδονι τὸ
σῶμα διεφ-
θάρη]
² Synodic.
c. 190.

The schismatics reckon up fifteen Bishops² as having lost their sees because they would not be reconciled to St. Cyril and John of Antioch; namely, Alexander of Hierapolis, Metropolitan of Euphratesia, who was sent into Egypt, to the mines of Famothis; in the same province Abib of Dolicium, ejected; and Acilinus of Barbalissa, also ejected, but afterwards restored on his communicating with John of Antioch, though without approving the deposition of Nestorius; Eutharius of Tyana, Metropolitan of the second Cappadocia, banished to Scythopolis, but being expelled thence, he died at Tyre; Zenobius of Zephyrium in the first Cilicia, who quitted his Church of his own accord, and was afterwards banished to Tiberias, though he was soon obliged to leave it; Meletius of Mopsuestia in the second Cilicia, banished to Melitene in Armenia, where he died. They allege that Acacius, the Catholic Bishop of Melitene, treated him very harshly.

^y Eutychius (t. ii. p. 12) says that Nestorius "lived seven years in exile" in Echmin [Chemmis or Panopolis, "see D'Anville M. sur l' Egypte, p. 191], and then died and was buried "in a village called Saclan, where the heat was very great, especially in the valley which contained his grave, so that no man could pass that way in "summer-time." Bar-Hebræus, Chron. Syr. pt. 3 (ap. Asseman. t. ii. p. 316), relates that "the physician Gabriel was told by a Nestorian who had travelled "in Egypt that the Jacobites insulted Nestorius, throwing stones at his grave, and saying, 'the rain falls not "upon him.'"

An account given by Zacharias, Bishop of Melitene (about A.D. 540), says that Nestorius was invited to the Council of Chalcedon, and, in fact, died on his way to it. (Evagr., ii. 2. Asseman., t. ii. p. 55.) He probably derived his statements from Xenajas or Philoxenus (Bishop of Mabuga, A.D. 481), who asserts the same, and says that he had it from the messenger who was sent to summon Nestorius. (Asseman, t. ii. p. 40.) Philoxenus was a Monophysite, and so would be inclined to receive any report prejudicial to the Council of Chalcedon. Evagrius remarks that Nestorius is several times anathematized by the Council.

Anastasius of Tenedos, and Pansian of Hypata, voluntarily re-
signed their Churches. Theosebius of Chios, or rather of Ccos
in Bithynia, died in his Church without being ejected, though
he had neither consented to the deposition of Nestorius, nor
communicated with St. Cyril; yet he seems to have been de-
posed. So much for Asia. In Europe, Dorotheus of Mar-
cianopolis, Metropolitan of Mæsia, was ejected and banished
to Cæsarea in Cappadocia; Valemanius and Eudocius, of the
same province, retired of their own accord. Basil of Larissa,
Metropolitan of Thessaly, endured much hardship, they say,
but would never consent to condemn Nestorius. Maximin,
or Maximus, of Demetrias in the same province, quitted his
Church immediately after the deposition of Nestorius. Julian
of Sardica, the Metropolitan of Illyrium, likewise refused to
condemn him. In all there were but six who were ejected.

The edict against Nestorius was conveyed to the East by
the Tribune Aristolaus¹, who was to see that it was received
by all the Bishops. We have the synodal letter which was
sent by the prelates of the first Cilicia, that is, by Helladius of
Tarsus and four others². It is addressed to the Emperor, and
imports, that, Aristolaus having come to them by his order,
they have willingly obeyed. "We embrace," say they, "the
communion of the holy Council of Ephesus; we hold Nes-
torius, late Bishop of Constantinople, to be deposed, and
we anathematize him on account of the impieties he has
taught both by word of mouth and in writing; and on all
these points we agree with the holy Bishops Sixtus of
Rome, Proclus of Constantinople, Cyril of Alexandria,
John of Antioch, and the rest; and we join them in
anathematizing Nestorius and all who maintain the like
impieties." It is observable that they give the second
place to the Bishop of Constantinople.

St. Cyril was informed that some Bishops in the East pre-
tended that they were under no obligation to do more than
what was expressly contained in the Emperor's letter, and so
condemned Nestorius only in words. He therefore wrote
to Aristolaus³, saying that if it was their object to produce a
bonâ fide conformity, it would be necessary that the Bishops
besides anathematizing Nestorius and his doctrine, should
also declare that 'there is but one only JESUS CHRIST, SON

A. D. 436.
CH. XXXV.

XXXV.
S. cond
journey of
Aristolaus.
¹ Synodic.
c. 194.

² c. 192.

³ c. 191-209.

- A. D. 436. ' of God, the same begotten of God before all time and
 CH. XXXV. ' conceived by a woman in these last times according to the
 ' flesh ; in such sort that He is one single person,' as he
 further explains in his letter. He sent the same formula to
 1 c. 195. John of Antioch¹, as necessary to provide against all chicane.
 " I have learnt," he says, " that there are some Bishops in
 " your parts of the world who, while they anathematize
 " Nestorius and his tenets, constantly set themselves to
 " support them on other grounds. They affirm that he was
 " only condemned because he refused to admit that one
 " expression, ' Mother of God.' " He complains in especial
 2 c. 210. of Theodoret. " I did believe," he says to John of Antioch²,
 " that having written to me, and received letters from me,
 " he had sincerely embraced the peace ; meanwhile, I am
 " told by Priest Daniel that he has neither anathematized
 " the blasphemies of Nestorius, nor subscribed to his sen-
 " tence." John of Antioch wrote to Proclus, informing him
 of the results of the second mission of Aristolaus, who prob-
 ably conveyed his letter. " All the Bishops of the East,"
 3 c. 197. he writes³, " and indeed those of all the rest of the world,
 " have given in their verdict, and passed sentence upon the
 " error of Nestorius, and have consented to his deposition.
 " We are all unanimous in thinking that nothing should be
 " either added to, or taken away from, the Nicene Creed.
 " We understand it in the same way as the holy Bishops our
 " predecessors ; in the West, Damasus, Innocent, and Am-
 [4 Hellade] " brose ; in Greece⁴ and Illyricum, Methodius ; in Africa,
 " Cyprian ; at Alexandria, Alexander, Athanasius, and The-
 " ophilus ; at Constantinople, Nectarius, John, and Atticus ;
 " in Pontus, Basil and Gregory ; in Asia, Amphilochius and
 " Optimus ; in the East, Eustathius, Meletius, and Flavian." Then
 after inserting the Nicene Creed, he adds : " We send
 " you this to satisfy those who yet require to be satisfied ; as
 " for us, we said and did all that was necessary four years
 " ago, on the return of the blessed Paul ;" i. e. Paul of
 Emesa ; whence, by the way, it appears that this letter was
 written in 437 ; " but I know not whence it comes that these
 " vexations seem still to return upon us and all our Churches.
 [5 Paralia ; Lupus says this was an old name of Cyprus.] " All the Bishops of the sea-coast⁵ have consented and sub-
 " scribed ; they of the second Phœnicia, and both the Cilicias

“ a year ago ; the Arabians by Antiochus their Metropolitan ; A. D. 436.
 “ Mesopotamia, Osroene, Euphratesia, and the second Syria, CH. XXXVI.
 “ have approved all we have done ; you have long since re-
 “ ceived the answer of the Isaurians¹, and all in the first [¹ Supr. 21.
 “ Syria subscribed with us. The Tribune Aristolaus will 42. 1.]
 “ inform you in what manner our clergy received this, and
 “ how they applauded your care. Henceforth, then, let all
 “ this tumult cease, that we may take breath after the evils
 “ we have suffered on account of the accursed Nestorius,
 “ and be at length able to make head against the pagans
 “ of Phœnicia, Palestine, and Arabia ; the Jews, particularly
 “ those of Laodicea ; and the insubordinate Nestorians of
 “ Cilicia.”

Cilicia, in fact, was the country where the heresy of Nes- XXXVI.
 torius had thrown out its deepest roots. We have before Writings of
 seen that Meletius of Mopsuestia was the only Bishop, in Theodorus
 either Cilicia, who had chosen to be deposed and banished of Mop-
 rather than consent to the union. His predecessor, Theo- suestia.
 dorus of Mopsuestia, was looked upon as the tutor of Nes-
 torius ; and Theodorus himself had been a disciple of Diodorus,
 Bishop of Tarsus and Metropolitan of the first Cilicia. Hence
 the Nestorians seeing their leader rejected by all the rest of
 the world, and his works condemned, first by the Council of
 Ephesus and more recently by the Emperor's edict, resolved
 on dispersing the writings of these two Bishops, Theodorus
 and Diodorus², who died in the communion of the Church
 and had left a great name behind them all over the East.
 They were both of them natives of Antioch, where Diodorus
 had maintained the Catholic Faith during the two Arian
 persecutions under Constantius and Valens³, and Theodorus
 had been an intimate friend of St. Chrysostom's⁴. Diodorus
 had written commentaries on almost every part of Scripture,
 in which he adhered to the literal meaning ; also a book on
 the Trinity, another against the Apollinarians, one ' against
 Destiny and the Astrologers,' and some other works⁵ ; many
 of his letters, too, had been preserved, but his writings are
 now all lost, as are those of Theodorus. The latter had
 composed commentaries on most of the books of Scripture ;
 fifteen books on the Incarnation, five-and-twenty against
 Eunomius, four against Apollinarius, and several others⁶.

² Liberat.
c. 10.

³ Fleury, 12.
46; 16, 26.

⁴ Supr. 19, 7.
[Phot. Cod.
96.]

⁵ Phot. [c.
85, 102, and]
223. Suid.

s. v. *Diod.*
Soer. 6. 3.
Sozom. 8. 2.

Hieronymus,
de Vir. Il-
lust. c. 119.

Phot. c. 4.
38. 81. 177.
Gennad. c.
13. [Ep.

Cyr. ap.
Euseb. iii.
3.]

A. D. 436. of which nothing remains, except some passages quoted by
 CH. XXXVI. authors who either attacked or defended him².

The writings of these two Bishops, and of others who had written to maintain the two natures in JESUS CHRIST in opposition to Eunomius and Apollinarius, were much sought after and pointedly eulogized by the Nestorians, who pretended to shew that Nestorius had advanced nothing new, but had merely followed the doctrine of the ancients. In order that they might disperse the books with greater effect, they translated them into the Syriac, Armenian, and Persian languages^a. Theodotus of Ancyra¹, Acacius of Melitene, and Rabbula of Edessa, who were very zealous Catholic Bishops, raised their voices against the books of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and Rabbula publicly anathematized him in the Church².

¹ Synodic.
c. 199.

² c. 43.

³ c. 205, 206.

St. Cyril was soon informed of this new stratagem³. The Catholics at Antioch sent him a letter, and the Abbot Maximus repaired to him at Alexandria, and told him, that however the Easterns might pretend to condemn Nestorius, they in reality still followed his opinions, sheltering themselves under the name of Theodorus. On the other side, some of the Eastern Bishops wrote to St. Cyril that the censures passed on the writings of Theodorus were groundless, since he had only taught the doctrines of Athanasius, Basil, and Gregory; and that the people cried out in the churches, 'May the faith of Theodorus increase, we believe as he did.' As these Easterns were constantly vaunting of their adherence to the Nicene Creed, which they wrested to their own meaning by false interpretations, St. Cyril composed an exposition of the Creed in question, in which he chiefly enlarged on the mystery of the Incarnation⁴. It is addressed to Maximus and other Abbots of the East, who had requested him to undertake it; copies were also sent to Acacius of Melitene, and to the Priest Lampo at Constantinople⁵, who

⁴ C. Eph.
pt. 3. c. 43.

⁵ Synodic.
c. 205, 206.

² According to Ebed-Jesu († A.D. 1318) Diodorus composed sixty treatises, which were sought up and burnt by the Arians. He gives the titles of eight which were extant in Syriac in his time. He also enumerates the works of Theodorus which comprised forty-one volumes (ap. Asseman. t. iii. p. 28—35). His commentaries on the Minor Prophets were published in Ang. Mai's

Nov. Coll., t. i. pt. 2. p. 41, and t. vi. pt. 1. p. 1. See also Fabric. Bibl. Gr., vol. x. p. 352 (ed. 1807).

^a Ibas translated them into Syriac (Proeli Ep. ad Joan. Ant. ap. Labbe, t. v. p. 512. C), Maris into Persian, and Eulalius, the friend of Theodoret, into Armenian. Garner, ad Liberat., p. 52. Cf. Asseman., t. iii. p. 30. note 1.

was to present it to the Princesses and to the Emperor. He also sent a letter to the Emperor¹ to put him on his guard against the writings of Diodorus and Theodorus. In addition to this he composed a short treatise upon the Incarnation, divided into three chapters²; in the first, he shewed that the holy Virgin is Mother of God; in the second, that Christ is one, and not two; in the third, that the Word, remaining impassible, suffered for us in His flesh³.

Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, wrote on his part to St. Cyril that Nestorianism was deeply rooted in the East; that in his writings Theodorus had taught a very different doctrine from what he had preached to the people, and that in the prefaces to some of his books he conjured the reader, under pain of anathema, not to make them public. He said that the holy Virgin is not truly Mother of God, that man was not united to the Word in respect of His substance or subsistence, but by his good will⁴: that Christ is to be adored [not as Lord, but] only in relation to God, as an image; that the flesh of Christ profiteth nothing⁵; that St. Peter⁷ did not acknowledge Christ to be God, but that the Church was founded on faith in a *man*. This was Theodorus's doctrine as stated by Rabbula, who was now blind⁸ and far advanced in age, and died soon after.

He and Acacius of Melitene⁹ wrote also to the Bishops of Armenia not to receive the books of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, because he was a heretic and the originator of the doctrines put forth by Nestorius. The Bishops of Cilicia complained of this proceeding of Rabbula and Acacius, and charged them with being influenced solely by envy and prejudice. The Bishops of Armenia, on the other hand, met together and sent two Priests, Leontius and Aberius, to Proclus of Constantinople, according to custom^b, with their accusations¹ and one of the volumes of Theodorus of Mopsuestia; wishing to know which of the doctrines Proclus approved, that of Theodorus or that of Rabbula and Acacius. The accusation of the Armenians was to this effect²; "There was a pestilential man, or rather a wild beast under the diabolical form of a

A. D. 436.
CH. XXXVII.
c. 198.

c. 208.

[³ propria carne]
[⁴ ap. Conc. Const.
Labbe, t. v. p. 469.]

[⁵ bona voluntate quidam]
[⁶ alluding to John 6. 33.]
⁷ Matt. 16. 18.

⁸ Theod. Lect. lib. 2. p. 580.

XXXVII.
The Armenians send deputies to Proclus.

⁹ Liberat. c. 10.

[¹ libelli]

² Conc. t. v. p. 363.

^b The language of Liberatus is ambiguous, but he seems to mean the custom of inferior synods determining nothing *de fide*, without communicating with their Patriarch: v. Garner. in l.

A. D. 436. "man, falsely named Theodorus," which in Greek means the gift of God, "who had the title and habit of a Bishop, lurking in a corner of the world, in a place of no note, Mopsuestia, a contemptible town of the second Cilicia: he derived his extraction mainly from Paul of Samosata, though he availed himself of the words of Photinus and other heresiarchs, in his book on the Incarnation. So subtle was he, and so bold withal, that he designed to slay all men by his tongue, which was like the sting of a serpent and had beneath it the venom of asps." They then quoted several passages from Theodorus, accused him of being the parent of the Nestorian heresy, and concluded by entreating Proclus, that as the Council of Ephesus had condemned Nestorius by name, so he would condemn in an equally specific way both Theodorus and all who followed his doctrine in Syria and Cilicia. The title of this document states that it was presented by the Priests and Deacons whom the Bishops, Priests, Monks, and others in Great Armenia, Persia, and other nations, had sent to Proclus, Bishop of Constantinople.

Proclus, having received these papers and given them a careful examination, wrote a long letter¹, which was called 'the volume to the Armenians'.² In some of the Latin editions it is dated in the fifteenth Consulate of Theodosius and fourth of Valentinian, or A.D. 435³. It is directed to the Bishops, Priests, and Archimandrites of all Armenia. Proclus gives in it a clear exposition of the faith respecting the Incarnation, asserting the unity of person co-ordinately with the distinction of natures. He says that "one of the Trinity" was incarnate⁴; an expression which was afterwards much noted. He does not mention Theodorus of Mopsuestia by name; he was content that the man should escape, so long as the error was dragged to light. His advice to Theodorus his Deacon, and Maximus, (the two whom he employed to take his volume to John of Antioch) was, that they should comply in every thing with John's wishes, and not disturb the peace of the Churches. He appended to his volume some articles that had been put forth, which he considered heretical⁵; no author's name was affixed, but he requested John to aid him in upholding the Faith by signing his volume and rejecting the articles⁶. The deputies attached

¹ Conc. t. iii. p. 1217.

² volumen ad Armenios. Facund. p. 60. B.]

³ p. 1232. E.

⁴ p. 1226. D.

[ὁμολογούντες τὸν Θεὸν ἓνα τῆς τριᾶδος σεσαρκῶσθαι]

⁵ Liberat. c. 10.

⁶ Facund. S. c. 2.

to the articles the names of Theodorus of Mopsuestia and some others whom they wished to have anathematized¹. John of Antioch, and the Eastern Bishops who had assembled with him, read the volume of Proclus, approved it, and subscribed it; but on coming to the articles with the authors' names appended they refused to condemn them, and, taking it for granted that the deputies had acted in conformity with their instructions, they wrote a synodical letter complaining that Proclus wished to condemn Theodorus who had died in the peace of the Church.

Proclus disapproved what his deputies had done, and enjoined Maximus to obey John in all things. John, on his part, wrote to St. Cyril² that the troubles had again broken out; that there was ground for alarm lest some who had left the errors of Nestorius should relapse into them; that people had gone to Constantinople with the design of soliciting the Emperor to decree that the writings of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and even his person, should be anathematized; that the name of Theodorus was universally revered in the East, and his writings highly esteemed; so much so, that the Easterns would sooner be burnt alive than condemn them. St. Cyril addressed a letter to Proclus. "After a long struggle," he says, "we have at last brought the Churches every where to reject the falsehoods of Nestorius; yet there are some in the East who are sadly chagrined at this; for distempered minds are not easily cured. In the mean time, all is at present peaceable; why then should we rekindle the flame which was extinguished? I know that there are many things in Theodorus's writings to find fault with; but I fear that men would make this a handle for resuming their defence of Nestorius. I ought to mention that at the Council of Ephesus a worthless exposition of faith, imputed to Theodorus, was presented; the Council condemned it, but without mentioning him or anathematizing him by name; and this was done discreetly³, for there was a danger that some might be led by their respect for him to leave the Church. Let us use the same discretion; the errors of Nestorius have been condemned, and this condemnation virtually includes in it that of all errors of a kindred character."

A. D. 435.
CH. XXXVII.
¹ c. 1.

² Cyril.
Epist. ap.
Conc. l. v.
p. 486.

[³ dispensative]

A. D. 436.
CH. XXXVIII.

Before long, however, a Deacon named Basil came to Alexandria, bringing with him the volume of Proclus, the memorial sent by the Armenians, and some other documents, which he placed before St. Cyril. St. Cyril, finding that his forbearance was abused and made subservient to the propagation of Theodorus's errors, felt it necessary to write against him and treat him openly as a heretic¹. As soon as the Deacon Basil had returned to Constantinople, he drew up a memorial which he presented to Proclus along with what he had presented to St. Cyril; and seeing that Proclus had already sent his volume to the Armenians, he wrote a tract in which he said that the books of Theodorus deserved to be rejected as much as those of Arius and Eunomius. Some Armenian monks^c came to Constantinople on this occasion, bringing a list of propositions which they said they had extracted from the books of Theodorus and of other Fathers who wrote about the same time against Apollinarius. They talked to various persons about them, and created great excitement in Constantinople, their aim being to procure from the Emperor an order that the propositions should be anathematized². They afterwards made a tour of all the cities and monasteries in the East, saying that the propositions ought to be condemned together with the authors of them, since their sense was plainly Nestorian. Being protected by some persons in power, they intimidated the clergy and people by their threats, and disturbed the peace of the monks.

¹ Facund. 3.
c. 3. Conc.
t. v. p. 487.
B.

² Facund. 3.
p. 136. A.

XXXVIII.
Council of
Antioch in
behalf of
Theodorus.

³ Coll. Baluz. p. 944.
Facund. s.
c. 4.

At this crisis the Council of all the provinces of the East, being assembled at Antioch with John, wrote three synodal letters; to the Emperor, to Proclus, and to St. Cyril. In the letter to St. Cyril³, they express their approbation of the volume of Proclus to the Armenians; "But," they add, "there was no need of it, since, thanks be to God, we are all agreed in opinion. Sometimes even things which appear necessary serve only to create fresh difficulties, if they are done at an unseasonable time. Another volume, too, has

^c According to Liberatus (c. 10) they were Apollinarians. Baronius (a. 435. § 9) supposes, without any ground, that he received his information from a Nestorian; but Garnier (in l.) thinks the allegation not unlikely, and ascribes

the perversion of Eutyches to these monks. They are afterwards said to have been patronised "by persons in power;" and Chrysaphius the godson of Eutyches was at this time all-powerful at Court.

“ been presented to us, containing extracts from the works A. D. 436.
 “ of Theodorus, late Bishop of Mopsuestia, and it is requested CH. XXXVIII.
 “ that we should anathematize them. Now we admit that
 “ there are doubtful expressions in these extracts, which are
 “ capable of being understood in a different sense from what
 “ was intended, but the great majority of them are plain and
 “ clear. As to those which are thought obscure, we find
 “ some not very different from them in the old Fathers, so
 “ that we can hardly condemn the one without seeming to
 “ impeach the other; and what a door shall we open to con-
 “ fusion, if we allow the opinions of the Fathers, who are now
 “ no more, to be opposed and censured! It is one thing to
 “ disapprove some of their opinions, and a very different
 “ thing to anathematize them, even though the anathema
 “ should not extend to their persons. Then what an advan-
 “ tage is it giving the partizans of Nestorius, if we enable
 “ them to represent Bishops of so high a character as
 “ sharing in the condemnation of their chief! None of us,
 “ surely, can be ignorant that Theodorus was compelled to
 “ speak as he did, by the struggles which he had constantly
 “ to maintain against heresy, as the common defender of all
 “ the East.”

The letter to Proclus¹ sets out with approving and eulogizing
 his volume to the Armenians. It then proceeds to complain
 of those who disturb the Church, who leave their own country
 and go to Constantinople to calumniate their Bishops. “ They
 “ are not satisfied,” it adds, “ with falsely accusing us who
 “ are alive, but they must also attack the blessed Theodorus,
 “ now deceased; they must malign him who was eminent as
 “ a teacher for the space of forty-five years, the successful
 “ opponent of all heresies, of whom, during his life-time, the
 “ orthodox never spoke but with respect, and who was ap-
 “ proved by Bishops, Emperors, and nations.” And lower
 down; “ We have found in the ancient doctors of the Church
 “ a thousand things like those which have been maliciously
 “ extracted from Theodorus’s writings, and presented to you
 “ [apart from the context].” They mention St. Ignatius the
 Martyr, St. Eustachius of Antioch, St. Athanasius, St. Basil,
 the two Gregories, (of Nazianzus and Nyssa,) Flavian, Dio-
 dorus, St. John Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, Amphiloehus, and

¹ Baluz. p.
946.

A. D. 436. Atticus. They conclude thus: "It is not for us to pass sentence on those who have finished their course with honour; " this belongs only to the Judge of quick and dead." The

¹ Fac. 2. c. 2. letter to the Emperor is much to the same purpose¹; it commends Theodorus, "who was honoured by all the Bishops, " and moreover," say they, "by the Emperor Theodosius " your grandfather, who, wishing to see the man, went to " his church, and was delighted both with his preaching and " his conversation. He was the disciple of Flavian, Bishop " of Antioch, and the companion of John of Constantinople, " whose memory you have revived to the great honour of " your reign." This had been brought about by Nestorius

² Supr. 24. in the beginning of his Pontificate².
55.

St. Cyril, in his reply to John and the Council of Antioch, first commends the volume of Proclus, and then says³: "As to the opinion of Diodorus, Theodorus, and some " others, who have assailed the glory of CHRIST with all their " force, let no one, I pray you, ascribe them to the holy " Fathers Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, Theophilus, and the " rest, lest an occasion of stumbling be put in the ignorant " brother's way. We would have every one attend to his " own affairs, without renewing those troubles in the Churches " which have lately, by the grace of CHRIST and the vigilance " of all the Bishops⁴, been set at rest. They who renounce " the errors of Nestorius should be received without any re- " proaches on the score of the past; otherwise some who " might wish to become converts will be deterred. Admonish " your clergy to utter nothing in the churches which is not " agreeable to the Faith, and to avoid speaking on these " topics unless they are obliged to it. Should any clerks or " monks be accused of retaining the errors of Nestorius, " though nominally in communion with the Church, let " them be judged in the Churches; it is both anomalous " and inexpedient to have ecclesiastical causes referred to " the secular tribunals⁵."

³ Supr. 18.
29. note o.
19.5. note l.]

⁶ Facund. 8.
c. 2. and c.
5. p. 345.

Proclus replied to John and the Council of Antioch⁶, that he had nowhere proposed to anathematize Theodorus or any other of the dead; and that he had given no such orders to his Deacon Theodorus. The Emperor also sent an answer to John and his Council⁷. He exhorts them to maintain

[⁷ c. 3. p.
329.]

[⁴ τῶν
ἀπανταχού
μυσταγωγ-
γῶν]

peace and unity, disregarding such as attempted to disturb it; and desires that they, with the whole Church, would make it a rule never to assail the memory of those who have died in the communion of the Church^d.

Pope Sixtus, in the mean time, was engaged in maintaining his jurisdiction over Illyricum, as we gather from three of his letters, two written to Councils held in Illyricum, and one to Proclus. The first¹ is dated on 'the eighth of the ides of July, in the fifteenth Consulate of Theodosius and fourth of Valentinian,' or July the eighth, A.D. 435. It is addressed to the Council which was to meet at Thessalonica, and exhorts the Bishops to adhere to the laws of the Church rather than to those of Princes. This was aimed, no doubt, at the law of Theodosius, which bears date July the fourteenth, 421, and which had been repealed at the solicitation of Pope Boniface². He gives Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, the same authority which his predecessors had enjoyed under the former Popes^c, and which amounted to this, that every Metropolitan should hold ordinations in his own province, but always with the consent of the Bishop of Thessalonica, who was to be communicated with previously to

A. D. 435.
CH. XXXIX.

XXXIX.
Jurisdiction of the Pope in Illyricum.
¹ Conc. Rom. III. ap. Labbe, t. iv. p. 1711. n. 15.

² Supr. 24. 31.

^d We shall see in the sequel that he was anathematized by the fifth general Council (infr. xxxiii. 17); following the precedent of Theophilus (Soer. vii. 45) and the warrant of St. Augustine, Ep. 185. (al. 50) t. i. p. 614. and Ep. 114. (al. 152) p. 456.

^e The Bishop of Thessalonica possessed a high rank from a very early period. Tertullian, when speaking of the apostolical sees (de Præscript. c. 20. 26), gives as instances "in Achaia, "Corinth; in Macedonia, Philippi and "Thessalonica; in Asia, Ephesus; and "in Italy, Rome." At the Council of Nice, Hosius of Cordova was commissioned to take the Acts to the western parts, Athanasius to Egypt and Libya, and Alexander of Thessalonica to Thrace, Illyria, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, and Hellas. (Phot. Bibl. cod. 256.) Its fame as an ecclesiastical metropolis is shewn by what Actius says in Conc. Sardic. can. 16. (Labbe, t. ii. p. 640.) When East Illyricum was politically severed from the Western empire (in 479, v. supr. xviii. 22, note x), the Bishops of that province still wished themselves to be considered as belong-

ing to the Western Church; their reluctance to join the Eastern probably arising from the fact (noticed by Gieseler, vol. i. p. 264) that they, in common with all the West, had remained firm in their adherence to the Council of Nicea, while the nations to the east of Macedonia were deeply tainted with Arianism. (Sozom. vii. f. writing of the year 380. Cf. Conc. Aquil. A.D. 381. Labbe, t. ii. p. 1000. B.) Shortly after this, the founding of the new Patriarchate of Constantinople made the position of the Bishop of Thessalonica very critical, and he was fain to shelter himself (in some degree at the expense of his ancient dignity) under the protection of the Roman Pontiffs, who, pursuing their usual policy (Baluz. ap. de Marca, de Concord. lib. v. c. 19. § 2), made him their Vicar. However, this privilege was of a local, not a personal, nature (Baluz. c. 22. § 2. sqq. et ibid. Boehmer, obs. 17. p. 762. t. ii. ed. 1788), though confirmed by each of the Popes in succession, supr. xviii. 22; xxiv. 31. infr. c. 56. Traces of the contest still occur in A.D. 531; v. infr. xxxii. 24.

A. D. 437. every ordination; that no man should be raised to the
 CH. XXXIX. episcopate until he had been examined and approved by
 him; that the more important causes should be referred to
 him; that he should select from among the Bishops some
 who should act with him as assessors, or even try cases
 themselves, if he gave them a commission. The Bishop of
 Corinth was specially admonished not to lay claim to in-
 dependence. For information on other points the Pope
 referred them to his envoys who attended the Council.

¹ n. 17. The second letter¹, also addressed to a Council of Illyricum,
 was conveyed by the Priest Artemius; it is dated on 'the fif-
 'teenth of the calends of January, in the Consulate of Aëtius
 'and Sigisvultus,' i. e. the eighteenth of December, 437. The
 substance of it is, that all the proceedings of each particular
 Bishop in Illyricum are to be reported to the Bishop of
 Thessalonica; that he shall assemble the Council whenever he
 shall think the emergency requires it; and that the apostolic
 see, on receiving his report of what the Council has decided,
 shall confirm their acts. "Do not think," he adds, "that
 "you are bound by those decisions of the Eastern Council^f
 "which were made in opposition to our advice, but only by
 "that part of them which relates to the Faith, and which
 "had our consent." He alludes to the third canon of the
 Council of Constantinople (381), which gives the second
² Supr. 18.7. rank to the Bishop of Constantinople². He declares Ana-
 stasius to be Vicar of the Apostolic See, as Rufus his pre-
 decessor had been, and exhorts the Bishops to unity and
³ n. 16. concord. The third letter³ bears the same date, and is ad-
 dressed to Proclus; it exhorts him to maintain the Bishop
 of Thessalonica in his rights, and not to receive any of the
 Bishops of that province without formal letters⁴ from their

[^f sine epi-
 stolis atque
 formatâ, v.
 supr. 20.
 31.]

^f It was long before the Western Bi-
 shops would acknowledge this Council
 to be Ecumenic, (supr. xviii. 18, note i.)
 See Innocent's letter in Sozomen, viii.
 26, where he says that no canons but
 those of Nicæa were binding on the
 Church Catholic. We shall see that
 Leo resisted the canon of Constanti-
 nople, after it had been confirmed by
 the Council of Chalcedon, on the same
 ground: infr. xxviii. 33, and de Marca,

de Constant. Patriarch. (de Concord.
 t. iv. p. 163.) In the time of Gregory
 the Great (who said that he revered
 the *four* Councils as he did the four
 Gospels, lib. ii. Ep. 24), three of the
 canons of Constantinople, including
 that which gave precedency to the
 Bishop of Constantinople, had been
 long received: De Marca, (Baluz.) lib.
 v. c. 25. § 14.

Superior; this, the Pope says, was the rule he himself observed. The letter teems with expressions of his esteem for Proclus and of the confidence which he can repose in him. The Pope remarks to him, that he had recently confirmed his sentence concerning Idduas. It is conjectured¹ that this Idduas was the Bishop of Smyrna who assisted at the Council of Ephesus, and that, having been condemned by Proclus, he had appealed to the Pope. The Asiatic Bishops were very reluctant to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constantinople.

At the opening of the following year, Proclus brought back to Constantinople the reliques of St. John Chrysostom, whose memory had been already restored nine years before, (428.) Proclus was pronouncing his eloge² as usual on his Festival-day, which was the twenty-sixth of September, when the people interrupted him with acclamations, demanding that the Bishop John should be restored to them. Proclus, too, thought that it might be the means of bringing back to the Church many who had left it on account of St. Chrysostom's expulsion, and who still held separate assemblies³. He mentioned it therefore to the Emperor, and persuaded him to order the body of the holy Bishop to be brought from Comana in Pontus, where it had been interred⁴. This was done; the people went out to meet it; the whole of the Bosphorus was covered with boats and illuminated with lamps⁵, as it had been on his recall from his first banishment⁶. The Emperor touched the shrine with his eyes and forehead, and implored pardon for his father and mother, who had offended the Saint, not knowing what they did. The reliques were carried publicly through the streets of Constantinople, with great respect, and deposited in the church of the Apostles; and those were once more re-united to the Church who had separated on account of St. Chrysostom. This translation was performed thirty-five years after his first deposition, on the twenty-seventh of January⁷, in the sixteenth Consulate of Theodosius, or the year 438; and on this day St. Chrysostom is honoured by the Latin Church. On the fifteenth of February in this same year, the Theodosian Code was published; it is a collection of the constitutions of the Christian Emperors, compiled by order of

A. D. 438.
CH. XL.

¹ v. not.
Holtstein.
[Labbe, t.
iv. p. 1732.]

XL.
Translation
of the
reliques of
St. Chry-
sostom.
² ap. Baron.
ann. 438.
§ 3.
[i. Galland.
t. ix. p. 678.]

³ Socr. 7. 45.

⁴ Supr. 22.
13.

⁵ Theodo-
ret. 5. 36.
⁶ Supr. 21.
22.

⁷ Socr. u. s.
Marcell.
Chron. [p.
255.]
Theod.
lect. in
fine. [p.
585.] The
two last say
Jan. 28.]

A. D. 438. Theodosius the Younger, the last book containing only those laws which relate to religion^g.
CH. XLI.

XLI.
Other trans-
lations.

¹ Fleury,
10. 22.

² Sozom.
9. 2.

It was in the pontificate of Proclus, also, that they discovered at Constantinople the reliques of the forty Martyrs, who had suffered under Licinius at Sebastia in Armenia¹. They were revealed to St. Pulcheria by the Martyr St. Thyrsus², who appeared three times to her, and ordered her to translate these reliques, which were concealed under ground, and deposit them near his; the forty Martyrs themselves, too, appeared, clad in white mantles. Their reliques were actually found under the ambon^h, or pulpit, of the church of St. Thyrsus; a table of marble was placed above the coffin, and there was a small opening, which corresponded to the place where the reliques stood in two silver urns surrounded by a mass of perfumes. The use of the opening was to admit linen cloths to touch the reliques. The Empress Pulcheria had the reliques of the forty Martyrs inclosed in a very rich shrine, and placed near that of St. Thyrsus, and the translation was celebrated with great solemnity, like a public festival. Such is the account of the historian Sozomen, who was present.

The Emperor Theodosius, wishing to return thanks to God for the many blessings he had received, performed some vows which he had made; and sent his wife the Empress Eudocia to Jerusalem, in fulfilment of a vow she had herself

³ Soer. 7. 47. made, if she should live to see her daughter married³. Now

⁴ Ibid. c. 44. her daughter Eudocia married the Emperor Valentinian⁴, who came for this purpose to Constantinople, on the twenty-first of October A.D. 437, when Aëtius and Sigisvultus were Consuls⁵. Eudocia set out on her journey in the year following, (438,) and made large presents to the churches at Jerusalem and in all the cities of the East, both as she went and

⁵ Prosp.
Ch. [p. 659.]
Marcell.
Chr. u. s.
Chron.
Pasch. [p.
315.]

^g Besides edicts and rescripts, it contains letters, orations, Acts of Consistories, instructions given to provincial magistrates, any thing, in fact, in which a legal decision was involved.

^h Sozomen explains the word as "the Readers' Desk," (*βῆμα τῶν ἀναγνώστων*.) Soer. vi. 5. mentions it as an unusual thing that St. Chrysostom delivered his homilies from the Ambon; the customary place being the steps

leading to the Altar (or chancel); v. Vales, in h. l. In Russian, "the Ambon" "ordinarily means the projecting part "in front of the Solea" (v. Suicer. s. v. *σωλέας*), "on which the Deacon stands "to bid the Ecteneiæ" or litanies; though sometimes it "is used for the "episcopal dais or platform in the "middle of the nave." Mouravieff's H. of Russ. Ch., p. 360.

as she returned¹. In Palestine she erected some monasteries and Lavras², and rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem. She returned in the year 439³, bringing back to Constantinople some reliques of St. Stephen, which were placed in the church of St. Laurence, with some reliques of that Saint and of St. Agnes⁴.

On the last day of January in this year, (439,) Theodosius published a law⁵ against the Jews and Samaritans, which incapacitates them for holding any public office, even that of jailor; and forbids their building any new synagogue⁶, or perverting any Christian. It also prohibits the pagans from offering any sacrifice, on pain of death⁷; and revives all the penalties against the Manicheans⁸ and other heretics of those times.

There were still some pagans at the head of the Roman armies^k. Iltorinus, who commanded the auxiliary Huns in Gaul⁸, relying on the promises of the aruspices and the oracular responses of evil spirits, was vanquished by the Goths, who trusted in God, and whose King up to the day of battle had given himself to prayer, lying wrapped in a hair cloth⁹. This defeat took place in the same year, 439. In Africa, Cyrus, who was a pagan, was Master of the Soldiery,—a dignity which he owed to the Empress Eudocia, with whom he had ingratiated himself by his skill in versifying; he afterwards rose to be Consul for the year 441, Præfect of the Prætorium, Præfect of Constantinople, and a patrician¹¹; but while Eudocia was at Jerusalem, he was assailed by the artifices of his enemies and fell into disgrace. He made use

¹ On the laws against the pagans, v. sup. xviii. 9, 38; xix. 32, &c. Gieseler, vol. i. § 76. The soldiers of the cross had now for some time been so successful that the *pagani*, or those who refused allegiance to Christ (Christi sacramentum), existed only in remote and obscure villages (Prudent. c. Symm. i. v. 610. sqq., and Oros. Pref. Hist.); so that the word had reverted to its old application (*paysan*, *peasant*), see Gibbon, c. 21. note 173. In the law passed A.D. 423 (sup. xv. 30), Theodosius says, that he renews the enactments against the pagans although he does not suppose that any at that time survived. This last, however, must be understood of the Eastern empire, for

in the West paganism still retained considerable power.

^k For "the highest ranks of society were most strongly attached to Paganism;" Gieseler, t. i. p. 182. Cf. Mosheim, Cent. iv. pt. i. c. 1. § 16.

¹ "When Constantine ascended the throne little more was left than a vague tradition that the patricians had once been the first of the Romans. He revived the title, though only as a personal, not an hereditary, distinction" (Gibbon, c. 17), thus resembling the *Orders* of modern Europe. The Patricians were superior to all the great officers of state except the Consuls.

A. D. 439. CH. XLII.

¹ Evagr. i. 20, 21, 22.

² *φροντιστήρια καὶ τὰς καλοῦ- μένας Λαύ- ρας*]

³ Theodosius xvii. c.

Festo Coss. ⁴ Marcell.

lin. u. s. Theod.

Lect. in fine.

⁵ Novell. Theod. tit. iii.]

⁶ Sup. 21. 30.]

⁷ Sup. 18. 9. o.]

XLII. Carthage

taken by the Van-

dals.

⁸ Prosp. Chr. [p. 662.]

⁹ Salvian. de gubern. p. 161, 162.

[cilicio.]

¹¹ Suid. Cyrus.

A. D. 437. of the opportunity to turn Christian, and eventually became
CH. XLII. a Bishop¹. It was during his command in Africa that Car-
1 Niceph. thage was taken by the Vandals². The Romans had made
14. 46. peace with them in the fifteenth Consulate of Theodosius
2 Evagr. 1. and fourth of Valentinian, that is, in the year 435, by
19. assigning them a part of Africa for their occupation³. Two
3 Prosp. years after this, (437,) their King Genseric, wishing to
Chr. [p. establish Arianism and extirpate the Catholic religion in
659.] the districts over which he ruled, persecuted several Bishops,
 of whom the most illustrious were Possidius, Novatus, and
 Severinus. He deprived them of their churches, and even
 expelled them from their cities, because they resisted his
 threats with invincible constancy. He attempted to seduce
 four Spaniards whom he held in high esteem, and who had
 won his affection by their fidelity and accomplishments;
 their names were Arcadius, Probus, Paschasius, and Euty-
 chius⁴. He ordered them to embrace Arianism; they un-
 flinchingly refused; and Genseric, irritated to madness, pro-
 scribed them, banished them, and at last, after inflicting
 the most cruel tortures, put them to different kinds of
 death; and so they gained the crown of martyrdom. Euty-
 chius and Paschasius had a young brother named Paulillus,
 whose beauty and wit had made him a great favourite with
 the King; but finding that all his threats availed nothing to
 make him renounce the Catholic Faith, he had him severely
 beaten with sticks, and condemned him to the lowest kind of
 slavery; being unwilling, it is thought, to put him to death,
 lest he should seem to have been vanquished by the constancy
 of a child.

Many were the treatises written to support the Catholics
 under this persecution. A letter from Antoninus Honoratus⁵,
 Bishop of Constantina, to Arcadius one of these four Martyrs,
 written to comfort and encourage him in his exile, is still
 extant⁶. It exhorts him not to set any value on his riches,
 and not to allow himself to be tempted by the friendship of
 the King or softened by his affection for his wife. Victor,
 Bishop of Cartennæ in Mauritania, composed a large work
 against the Arians, which he presented to Genseric himself⁷.
 We also find a short abstract of the Faith in opposition to
 the Arians, written about this time by an author whose name

⁵ Gennad.
de Script.
c. 95.

⁶ ap. Baron.
an. 437.
[§ 3.] et
Ruinart.
Hist.
per-ec. p.
433.

⁷ Gennad.
c. 79.

is not known; it is an exposition of the passages relating to the Trinity, in opposition to Varimadus an Arian Deacon, and the author lived at Naples¹. Cerealis, Bishop of Castellum in Mauritania, Voconius, Bishop of Castellamm in the same province, and another African Bishop called Asclepius, also wrote against the Arians².

When Genseric saw that the Romans had their attention directed elsewhere, and especially that their ablest general, Aëtius, was occupied with the affairs of Gaul, he took Carthage by surprise, in the midst of peace and while every one felt secure of his friendliness to Rome³. He made his entry on the fourteenth of the calends of November, in the seventeenth Consulate of Theodosius, or October the nineteenth A.D. 439. He gave up all their wealth to pillage, and tortured the citizens who attempted to conceal any of their treasures^m. He stripped the churches of their ornaments, and after having turned out the Priests and seized on the sacred vessels, he lodged his men in them. He exercised great cruelty on the whole people, but he declared himself, in especial, the enemy of the nobility and clergy; and in pursuance of his scheme for spreading Arianism throughout all Africa, he ejected the Bishops from their churches and caused many to suffer martyrdom.

A contemporary writer, Salvian, a Priest of Marseilles, refers to this taking of Carthage as a striking instance of Divine vengeance⁴. This great city had plunged into every kind of vice; it seemed as if the inhabitants had been seized with frenzy; every where you saw drunkards crowned with flowers and perfumed; every street was filled with snares against chastity and dens of infamy; adulteries and the most horrible impurities were matters of ordinary occurrence, and were openly practised without attempt at concealment. Men were seen in the streets painted and habited like women. The orphan and the widow were oppressed; the poor, reduced to despair, prayed in the bitterness of their soul that God would give the city over to the barbarians. Blasphemy and impiety reigned in it; many, though exter-

A. D. 439.
CH. XLIII.

¹ ap. Vig.
Thaps. p.
337.

² Gennad.
c. 96, 80, 75.

³ Victor.
Vitens. l. 4.
Prosp. Chr.
[p. 663.]
[Id. Hist.
Vand. era
467.

XLIII.
Writings of
Salvian.

⁴ Salv. de
Gubern. lib.
7, p. 170.
ed. Baluz.
1669.

^m Herodian (vii. 6) says that Carthage stood next to Rome for wealth, population, and size, in all which its

claims to the second place were unrivalled except by Alexandria. Cf. Gibbon, c. 33.

A. D. 439. nally Christians, were pagans at heart, adored the goddess
CH. XLIII. Cœlestis¹, bound themselves to her by vows, and, at the
¹ Ibid. l. 8. conclusion of the pagan sacrifices, went to church and ap-
p. 187. proached the holy Altar. In these impieties the greatest

[² pallia-
tum et pal-
lidum et...
usque ad
cutem ton-
sum.] l. 8.
p. 190. and most powerful were foremost. But all the people had
the most rooted aversion and contempt for the monks, how-
ever holy they might be. In all the cities of Africa, though
most of all at Carthage, whenever they saw a man of pale
complexion, with his hair shorn close, habited in the monk's
cloak², they discharged at him a volley of insult and curses.
If a monk from Egypt or Jerusalem came to Carthage for
some work of piety, the moment he appeared in public he
was assailed with loud laughs, or hissed at, or loaded with
reviling. The Vandals put a stop to these disorders, and
made all the prostitutes marry; for unchastity, so common
among the Romans, was with them, as with the Goths, an
object of horror³.

³ l. 7. p. 177.
180. 156. The work in which Salvian speaks thus is addressed to the
Bishop Salonius his disciple, the son of St. Eucherius. Its
aim is to justify the ways of Providence, and to shew how
little reason people had to be offended, as many were⁴, at the
misery which the Christians suffered during the fall of the
Roman Empire, when contrasted with the prosperity of the
heretical or pagan barbarians⁵. This obliges him to enlarge
on the vices of the Romans⁶, and to shew that there were still
many remnants of idolatry among them⁶; that the greater
part were Christians only in name, and worse than the bar-
barians⁷, whose vices he thus describes. "The Saxons," he
says, "are savage, the Franks and Goths treacherous, the
"Gepidæ inhuman, the Huns and Alans unchaste." But

⁴ l. 3. p. 42;
l. 4. p. 82.

⁵ p. 84.

⁶ l. 3. p. 58.

⁷ l. 4. p. 85;
l. 5. p. 104.
116.

ⁿ Elsewhere called Urania, as in Herodian, v. 6, who says that the Phœnicians called her Astroarche, evidently a corruption of Astarte or Ash-taroath (akin to ἀστὴρ, *star*, German *stern*, Persian *starah*; v. Gesen. Thes. Heb. s. v.), the favourite and tutelary deity of the Carthaginians. Sanchoniathon (ap. Euseb. Præp. Ev. i. 10) says she was the same as Ἀφροδίτη; and St. Ambrose (Ep. c. Relat. Symm. t. ii. p. 840) identifies the Cœlestis of Africa and Mitra of Persia with Venus. In her attributes she rather resembled

Cybele (Eckhel de Doctr. Numm. t. vii. p. 184) as also in the degrading character of her worship (Aug. de Civ. Dei, ii. 3). See Münter, Relig. der Carthager, s. 75—82, and Gesenius in Gruber's Encycl., th. xxi. p. 97.

^o Especially those to which a political importance was attached. "Are not fowls still fed in the Gentile fashion, are not auguries taken from flying birds, is not the whole code of the frivolous ceremonies of paganism still retained,—and all for the sake of the Consuls?" Salvian, l. vi. p. 122.

he commends the Franks for their hospitality, the Goths, Vandals, and Saxons for their chastity¹ p. He particularly declaims against the impurity of the Romans², and their passion for the theatre, even while surrounded by the horrors of war and public calamities³ q. He inveighs against the injustice of the rich and powerful, and their oppression of the poor⁴, which made these prefer the dominion of the barbarians to that of the Romans⁵. Salvian wrote another treatise, in four books, addressed to the Catholic Church, in which, under the assumed name of Timotheus, he attacks the avarice of the Christians. In the third book⁶ he complains that parents left nothing to such of their children as consecrated themselves to God, and thus deprived them of the merit of voluntary poverty. Besides these he wrote other works which are no longer extant; his reputation was so great that Gennadius, who lived about the same time, calls him 'the Master of Bishops⁷.'

A Council was held this year (439) at Riès in Provence, on the following occasion. On the demise of the Bishop of Embrun, the see remained vacant for twenty months, owing to the violence of some laymen, who prevented the canonical election which the clergy desired. At length, two Bishops who took it into their heads to go thither, having neither authority from the Metropolitan nor letters from the provincial Bishops, consecrated a young man called Armenarius, who had been brought up in the fear of God, but fell beneath this temptation. He afterwards held an ordination, at which he admitted certain excommunicate persons to be Clerks. As this was altogether irregular, the neighbouring Bishops assembled at Riès on the twenty-ninth of November, 439^a. St. Hilary of Arles presided at this Council, and was assisted by eleven other Bishops, some of whom belonged to that part of the province of Vienne which bordered on the province of Arles, others to the second province of Narbonne, and others to that of the maritime Alps, of which

A. D. 439.

CH. XLIV.

¹ l. 7. p. 157.² 1. 4.³ p. 87.⁴ p. 169.⁵ 1. 6. p. 123;⁶ 1. 7. p. 150.⁷ 1. 4. p. 70.

sup.

⁵ 1. 5. p. 104.

109.

⁶ p. 270, seq.⁷ in Catal.

c. 69. [Epi-

scoporum

Magister.]

XLIV.

Council of

Riès.

^a 3 Kal.

Decemb.

Theodosio

XVII. Cons.

^p All three belonged to the great Teutonic stem, to whose singular chastity Tacitus bore witness. (De Germ. c. 18, 19.) The Huns and Alans belonged to an entirely different family of nations — the (Calmuc) Tartar.

"the whole Roman people had gorged
"itself with Sardonie herbs. The
"ghastliness of death is on it, and it
"laughs; and so in every part of the
"world our laughter is pioneer to
"weeping." (p. 150.) Cf. August. de
Civ. Dei, lib. i. c. 33.

A. D. 439. Embrun was the capital, though it was not yet the ecclesiastical metropolis¹. Among the names of these Bishops we recognise those of Auspicius of Vaison, Valerian of Cémèle, and Maximus of Riès. Besides the twelve Bishops, there was a Priest named Vincentius, who subscribed as proxy for Constantine, Bishop of Gap.

The Council declared the ordination of Armentarius to be void, and ordered a canonical election to be proceeded with². To punish the two Bishops who were the prime movers in this illicit transaction, they prohibited them, according to the Council of Turin³, from assisting at any ordination or any ordinary Council as long as they lived⁴. They shewed some indulgence to Armentarius, and permitted any of the Bishops, whose charity might lead him to do so, to assign him a church in his diocese, where he might have the title of Chorepiscopus, or might only be admitted to stranger communion⁵, which is to be understood in case the church were not given him as a title. In deciding thus they say that they "follow the decree "of the Nicene Council respecting certain schismatics;" which refers to what the eighth canon of Nicea says about the Novatians⁶. But the Council of Riès limits this indulgence, in the case of Armentarius, by several restrictions. "He "shall not be received," they say⁷, "in the province of the "maritime Alps, where he had intruded; he shall not have "a church allowed him in a city, but only in the country; "he shall never offer the Oblation in cities, even in the

¹ *Peregrinū, ut aiunt, communione.* This is the first instance of the phrase that is known. It is next mentioned in the Council of Agde (ann. 506) can. 5, and especially can. 2 (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1383), which provides that if any of the clergy neglect their duties they shall be reduced to stranger-communication: but that on repentance they may have their names again inserted in the matricula or clergy-roll. It is again mentioned in the Council of Lerida (ann. 539). In all three it relates to the clergy.

It was clearly not the same as lay-communication, since this involved a total and perpetual degradation from clerical orders (Bingh. 17. 2. § 3). Much less was it communion in one kind, as Bellarmine (de Euchar., lib. iv. c. 24. t. iii. p. 188) took lay-communication to

mean,—his opinion is discarded by Bona, Rerum Liturg., lib. ii. 19. 3.

Communion in the ancient Church was used not only of participating in the Eucharist, or Communion of the Altar, but also of receiving the Church's charity. (Bingh. 17. 3. § 7.) Hence *communio peregrina* meant the hospitable entertainment afforded to such as travelled without *litteræ formatæ*, and who could, therefore, not be admitted to the Eucharist; and, when applied to the clergy, it meant that they lost their right to a full proportion of the Church's revenues and received only a charitable subsistence, being at the same time excluded from administering, and, in some cases, from partaking of the Sacrament. So it is explained by Baronius, Ann. 400. § 67. Ann. 407. § 40. and Bona, Rer. Lit. ii. 19. § 6.

CH. XLIV.
¹ v. not.
po-th. Sirm.
[ap. Labbe,
t. iii. p.
1491.]

² can. 2.
[Conc. t. iii.
p. 1255.]

³ Taurin.
can. 3. t. ii.
Conc. p.
1156. D.
⁴ C. Regens.
can. 1.

⁵ can. 3.

⁶ Fleury,
11. 22.

⁷ can. 3.

“absence of the Bishops; in his own church he shall not
 “ordain the lowest order of clergy; he shall exercise no
 “episcopal function, save only that he shall confirm the
 “neophytes, offer before the Priests, consecrate virgins, and
 “bless the people in the church¹. He shall have the govern-
 “ment of but one Church, and shall not be allowed to accept
 “a second until he has renounced his claim to the former²;³
 in other words, he was to have the title rather than the power
 of Chorepiscopus⁴, and while he was more than Priest, was
 to be less than Bishop. As to the clergy whom he had or-
 dained, those who had been previously excommunicated were
 to be deposed; those whose character was unspotted might,
 at the option of the Bishop of Embrun, either be retained in
 his Church, or sent to Armentarius⁵.

The Council takes occasion to add some general rules.
 “Every Priest may give the benediction in families, in the
 “country, and in private houses, but not in the church⁶;⁷
 in the East they gave the benediction even in public. “When
 “a Bishop dies, no one except the neighbouring Bishop shall
 “come to the vacant church during the time of the funeral⁸.
 “He shall perform the office of visitor there, and shall employ
 “the interval, i. e. until the seventh day after the Bishop’s
 “death⁹, in taking an inventory of the goods of the church;
 “he shall then return home, and wait like the other Bishops

A. D. 439.
 CH. XLIV.

¹ can. 4, 5.

² can. 3.

³ can. 4.

⁴ can. 5.
 v. not. Sirm.

⁵ can. 6.
 [exequia-
 rum tem-
 pore]

⁶ can. 7.

* For the Chorepiscopi in general were allowed to ordain the inferior clergy (supr. xviii. 25. note h), not limited to one church, and authorized to offer in the city church in the absence of the Bishop. (Can. 13. Conc. Neoces. Fleury, x. 17.) No mention of the name occurs in the *Latin* Church before the one in this Council; Thorndike, Orig. Eccl. c. 20 (p. 361. ed. 1674.) In 803 they were declared by Charlemagne, acting under the sanction of Leo III. and the Councils of Ratisbon and Aix-la-Chapelle, to be only Presbyters, (Fleury, xlv. 25.) Nicolas I. determined that they had Episcopal power (li. 8). They existed so late as A.D. 936 (lv. 17).

The case of Armentarius suggests the question: “How can the ministry “conferred by an uncanonical ordina-
 “tion come to be considered valid?” Thornd. u. s. p. 362, whose answer may

be summed up thus:—In ordination there are two things: the authority of the Church, and the rite of consecration; but the former is of so much greater moment than the latter, that if a duly consecrated Bishop deprives himself of the Church’s authority, e. g. by schism, his functions become null, he can no longer communicate the grace of the Holy Spirit: ἐπέλιπε γὰρ ἡ μετάδοσις τῆς διακοπῆναι τὴν ἀκολουθίαν. (Basil. ad Amphil. c. 1.) If, then, by the withdrawal of the Church’s authority a legitimate consecration becomes invalid; we cannot wonder that an uncanonical consecration (the rite having been administered but without the Church’s authority) should, by the superaddition of that authority become valid to such purposes as the Church ordains, (ad id ad quod valere eam vult accedens autoritas Ecclesiæ.)

A. D. 440. "for the mandate of the Metropolitan, without which no one
 CH. XLV. "shall come to the vacant church, lest it should seem as if
 [1 *vim pati* "he had courted the violence of the people¹. Two Councils
voluisse vi- "shall be held every year², according to the old rule³, in
deatur] "time of peace;" the last clause being added on account of
² can. 8. "the wars and public calamities, which frequently hindered the
³ C. Nicæn. meeting of Councils.
 can. 5.

XLV. Julian of Æculanum, the famous Pelagian, eagerly desirous
 Death of of recovering his see, endeavoured to procure his re-admission
 St. Sixtus. to the communion of the Church; he pretended that he was
 St. Leo a convert, and set afloat divers artifices to persuade St. Sixtus
 Pope. that he really was so; but the Pope, following the good advice
 of his Archdeacon, was prudently on his guard against him,
 which caused great joy to all the Catholics⁴. Pope St. Sixtus
 died shortly after, on the twenty-eighth of March, A.D. 440⁵,
 having occupied the see nearly eight years⁶. He held his or-
 dinations at Rome in December, and ordained twenty-eight
 Priests, twelve Deacons, and fifty-two Bishops to different
 places⁷.

He restored the Basilica of St. Mary⁸, formerly that of
 Liberius, and presented to it a silver Altar of three hundred
 pounds' weight, (by which I understand the holy table,) and
 gave several other silver vessels to it, amounting to 1,165
 pounds' weight, besides a vessel of gold of fifty pounds' weight,
 and twenty-four copper candelabra⁹ weighing fifteen pounds
 each. He gave in lands and houses a yearly revenue of 729
 sols of gold. He gave to the baptistery of St. Mary all the
 necessary vessels in silver, among others a stag, from which
 the water issued, weighing thirty pounds. He decorated the
 confessional of St. Peter with an ornament of silver, weigh-
 ing four hundred pounds. He adorned the confessional of
 St. Laurence with pillars of porphyry and silver: he also
 gave to it an Altar of fifty pounds' weight, a balustrade¹ of
 three hundred pounds' weight, and above it the apsis, or
 semi-dome terminating the chancel-roof², with a statue of
 St. Laurence, of two hundred pounds' weight. He built the
 whole Basilica which is named after this Saint, and presented
 it with a large number of silver vessels, and a vessel of gold
 richly set with pearl and weighing ten pounds. All the silver
 given by Pope St. Sixtus to these two churches, of which the

⁴ Prosp.
 Chr. [p.
 663.]
⁵ 5 Kal.
 April. Val-
 entiniano
 V. et Ana-
 tolio Coss.
⁶ Supr. c. 15.
⁷ Lib.
 Pontific.
 [p. 25. ed.
 Paris., et
 ap. Corp.
 Byz. H. t.
 xix. p. 14.]
 [⁸ S. Maria
 Maggiore.]
⁹ Canthara
 cerostrota
 orichalcea]

[¹ cancelli]

[² Fleury;
tour de la
voute]

weight is assigned, amounts to 2,611 Roman pounds¹, or above three thousand marks.

The Emperor Valentinian, at his request, offered a figure wrought in gold, having twelve gates, with the twelve Apostles and our Saviour, the whole adorned with precious stones; it was placed over the confessional of St. Peter. To the Basilica of the Lateran² the Emperor gave a silver pediment³ to supply the place of that which the Barbarians had carried off; this weighed 511⁴ pounds. He decorated the confessional of St. Paul with two hundred pounds' weight of very fine gold⁵. Pope St. Sixtus also beautified the baptistery of the Lateran with porphyry columns surmounted by a marble architrave, on which he had some verses engraved, descriptive of the efficacy of Baptism, and asserting the doctrine of original sin in opposition to the Pelagians⁶. He was buried in a crypt in the Via Tiburtina, near the body of St. Laurence.

St. Leo, Archdeacon of the Roman Church⁷, was elected his successor. He was absent at the time on a mission into Gaul, where he was employed in mediating between Aëtius and Albinus, generals of the Roman army. A public deputation was sent to him, and during the interval of forty days which elapsed before his arrival the Roman Church continued without a pastor, with extraordinary patience and unanimity⁸. St. Leo was of Tuscan origin, though apparently born at Rome, which he always calls his country. His father's name was Quintianus⁹. It is believed that it was he who was sent into Africa in 418, being at that time an Acolyte¹⁰, to carry a letter to the Bishop Aurelius from St. Sixtus, who was then Priest and afterwards Pope, and to whom he was always very much attached. As Deacon he was of eminent service to Pope St. Celestine, and it was he who induced Cassian to write against Nestorius.

¹ In entering upon the history of St. Leo's Pontificate we may remark, once for all, how singularly his character was adapted to the emergencies of the time in which he lived. That civilization, which, if it has not always preceded, at least always accompanies, Christianity (Grant's Bampton Lect. Append. 5), seemed giving way under the floods of barbarism which poured in upon it. The empire was nerveless, the Church itself distracted by heresies. Humanly

speaking, nothing could have sustained Christianity but what the legislative mind of St. Leo was, in so high a degree, instrumental in effecting,—the organization of the Church as an institution. "If Christianity had been as in early times an individual belief, sentiment, or conviction, it would have sunk under the ruins of the empire. It was the Christian Church which saved Christianity." Guizot, Hist. of Civiliz., Lect. 2.

A. D. 440.
CH. XLV.

[¹ About 775*lb.* sterl.
v. Supr. c. 15. z.]

[² Constantiniana]

[³ Fastigium]

[⁴ In Labbe (t. iii. p. 1257), 1610*lbs.*]

[⁵ *ex argento*, Labbe.]

[⁶ *ex argento*, Labbe.]

[⁷ ap. Baron. ann. 440.]

[⁸ 6.]

[⁹ Supr. c. 1. note a.]

[¹⁰ Lib. Pontif. (Labbe, p. 1290.)]

[¹¹ Supr. 23. 50.]

A. D. 440. In this year, (440) died John, Bishop of Antioch, having
 CH. XLVI. occupied the see eighteen years¹. He was succeeded by
 XLVI. Domnus, his sister's son. Domnus had led a monastic life
 John of Antioch dies; under the guidance of St. Euthymius, and was ordained
 and is suc- Deacon by Juvenal Bishop of Jerusalem, in the year 428, at
 ceeded by the dedication of the Lavra². When the Council of Ephesus
 Domnus. was dismissed, he was afflicted by the intelligence that his
¹ Chronol. uncle sided with Nestorius, and he entreated St. Euthymius
 Niceph. [p. 315.] to let him go to Antioch with a view to reclaim him³. St.
² Supr. Euthymius said to him, "Go not thither, my son; it is not
 24. 28. expedient for thee. The wicked have seduced him for a
 S. Euthym. "short time, but God knows his uprightness, and will not
 vita ap. "suffer him to be lost. As for thee, my son, if thou wilt
 Analecta "abide in the place to which thou art called, and wilt refuse
 Gr. p. 31, "admittance to those reasonings which would lead thee to
 32. "forsake the desert, thou mayest advance to perfection and
³ p. 41. "receive the honour which cometh from God⁴. If thine ears
 [¹ προκύψαι "are closed to my warning, thou shalt succeed to the see of
 ἔχεις καὶ "thine uncle, but shalt be deprived of it by ungodly men,
 δοξασθῆναι "who shall first seduce thee from thy better will." So spake
 κατὰ Θεὸν.] St. Euthymius. Domnus heeded him not, but set off to An-
 tioch without his blessing, and there every thing fell out as
 had been foretold by the Saint.

In the preceding year, Firmus, the Bishop of Cæsarea in
 Cappadocia, having died, the Cæsareans came to Constanti-
⁵ Socr. c. ult. nople, requesting Proclus to appoint them a Bishop⁵. As he
 was casting in his mind whom he should choose for them, all
 the Senators came one Saturday⁶ to the church to see him.
 [⁶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ "Among them was Thalassius, who had been Præfect of the
 Σαββάτων.] Prætorium in Illyria; and it was said that he was going to
 hold the same post in the East. Proclus laid his hand upon
 him, and declared him Bishop of Cæsarea^u.

Here Socrates concludes his Ecclesiastical History, which
 is divided into seven books, comprising, he says, the space of
 140 years, from the beginning of Constantine's reign to the
 seventeenth Consulate of Theodosius the younger, that is,
 from the year 306 to the year 439, which, however, make

^u Socrates speaks of it as "a mar-
 vellous procedure, such as no pre-
 vious Bishop had ventured upon."
 The *marcellous* circumstance was that

a high civil officer should be ordained
 without the Emperor's permission: v.
 Vales. in l.

but 133¹ years. Sozomen brought his history down as far as the same year, 439², having begun with the third Consul-^{CH. XLVII.}ate of Crispinus and Constantine the younger, i. e. the ^[1 or rather 134]year 324; but the latter part of it is lost. Both these his-^{3 Sozom. 7. 19.}torians ought to be received with some caution on matters relating to Novatianism, to which they evince an evident leaning.

Another point on which it is well to be forewarned is the account they both give of the different customs of the Churches³. They say that the fast of Lent was kept in the six weeks before Easter in Illyria, in Greece, at Alexandria, and throughout Egypt, Libya, and Palestine. At Constantinople, and in all the surrounding provinces as far as Phœnicia, they began Lent seven weeks before Easter⁴. But there were some who fasted only three of these six or seven weeks, and in each week only five days, the three weeks not being successive, but at intervals⁵. Some, as at Rome, fasted three weeks continuously, Saturday and Sunday excepted; though this is probably a mistake of Socrates, since at Rome they fasted the year round on Saturday⁶. The time of this fasting was called by all alike τεσσαρακοστή or Quadragesima⁷. Then again, there was a diversity in their modes of fasting; some abstained from all sorts of

XLVII.

Customs of the Churches. ^{3 Sozom. 7. 22.}⁴ Cf. supr. 20. 6.]⁵ τρεῖς μό-
να σπευθ-
μέρους ἐκ
διαλημμά-
των νη-
στέοντες]⁶ whence the French carême.]

* Supr. xxiii. 32. St. Augustine mentions this as an instance in which "the raiment of the King's Daughter, the Church, is variously embroidered:" Ep. 36 (al. 86) t. ii. p. 81. and Ep. 54 (al. 118) p. 124. where he gives the answer of Ambrose, "Here (at Milan) I do not fast on the Sabbath, at Rome I do fast on the Sabbath." The practice of the Roman Church is also mentioned in Ep. 82 (al. 19) p. 194. Hieronym. Ep. 52 (al. 28) t. iv. pt. 2. p. 579. Cassian, de Instit. iii. 10, and Leo, Ep. 11 (al. 81) t. i. p. 436. The only exception was in the period between Easter and Pentecost, when no fasts were held (Ambros. ap. Corp. Jur. Can. Dist. 76. c. 8. Cassian, xxi. 11. 19. Leo, Sermon. 4. de Jejun. Pent.), until the appointment of the Rogation-days in 468.

The difficulty, however, is that Socrates himself was aware of this, since he expressly says (l. 5. c. 22); "at Rome they fast every Saturday," which need

not mean more than 'every Saturday 'not in Lent.' On the whole it is probable that Socrates was misinformed as to the Lent-fast at Rome. Valesius, who defends him, grounds his main argument on the concluding passage of St. Leo's fourth Lent Sermon; but this clause is absent from five of the best MSS. (Quesnel. t. ii. p. 560). Cassiodore quotes the passage from Socrates without contradiction:—but he only professes to give an interesting selection from different writers without judging of their authority. We should naturally conclude from what Cassian says on this subject, Collat. xxi. 24, 27 (supr. xx. 6), that the custom of the Roman Church was to fast six days in each of six weeks. Bp. Hooper (on Lent, p. 84 and 139, quoted by Bingham. 21. 1. 3) suggests that the statement of Socrates applied to the Novatians at Rome.

* See Jer. Taylor's Duct. Dub., bk. 3. ch. 4. Rule 13.

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CH. XLVII.

animals, others ate fish, to which a third added fowl²; others abstained from fruits and eggs; some ate only dry bread, others would not allow themselves even that; some fasted only until the none, and then used any kind of food indifferently.

The times and forms of holding Ecclesiastical assemblies varied. The Holy Mysteries were every where celebrated on Saturday as well as Sunday¹, except at Rome and Alexandria. In some parts of Egypt they offered the Mysteries on Saturday, but in the evening of the day²; thus receiving the Communion after they had eaten, contrary to the universal practice³. At Alexandria, they assembled on Wednesdays and Fridays⁴, to read and expound the Scriptures and to offer up their prayers, but without celebrating the Mysteries^a. There they appointed Readers and Chaunters from among the Catechumens, whereas elsewhere none were ordained who were not in the number of the faithful. At Cæsarea in Cappadocia and in the isle of Cyprus, on Saturday and Sunday evenings after lamps were lighted⁵, (that is, at the office of vespers,) the Priests and Bishops always expounded the Scriptures^b. At Alexandria the Priests never preached, but the Bishop only⁶,—a custom which had been introduced in the time of Arius,—and the Bishop did not stand up during the reading of the Gospel, as was the custom every where else. There, too, none but

[¹ Supr.
20. 45.
Bingh. 13.
9. 3.]
[² Supr.
20. 8.]
[³ Supr.
20. 26; 21.
20.]

[⁴ τῇ τε-
τράδι καὶ τῇ
λεγομένῃ
Παρα-
σκευῇ.]

[⁵ μετὰ
λυχνιαψ(ας)]

[⁶ Cf. supr.
20. 11. f;
26. 11. s.]

² "Alleging," says Socrates, "that 'according to the Mosaic account fowls 'were formed from water.' This looks like a trace of Marcionism: (Marcion is said, 'maris copias sanctiorem cibum 'deputasse;' Tertull. c. Marc. c. 14.) The fathers have frequent warnings against the formalism which substituted a commutation of flesh for other food in the place of abstinence or, at least, self-mortifying temperance: v. Prosper. de Vit. Contempl. ii. c. 23 (p. 246. ed. 1609.) August. Sermon. 210. de diversis (t. v. p. 931).

^a In other places it was usual to receive the Eucharist on the Stations. Tertullian remonstrates with some who absented themselves from it on those days from fear of breaking their fast. (De Orat. c. 14.) Epiphanius (Exp. Fidei, ap. p. 312, pt. 2. Thomasii Inst. Theol.) says that the celebration of Synaxes on Sunday, *Wednesday*, and *Friday* (προσαββάτω), preceded on the

two last days by fasting until three o'clock, was an Apostolic ordinance. St. Basil (Ep. 93. al. 289) mentions it as the custom of his Church to communicate on Sunday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. The Stations are mentioned as fasts in Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 744. Tertull. de Jejun. c. 13 (stationum *semijeiunia*) Origen. Hom. 10. in Levit. (t. ii. p. 246. Delarue.) Petrus Alex. c. 15 (ap. Routh. Rel. Sacr. iii. 343), and in later writers frequently. See also Fleury, v. 45, and Bingh. xxi. 3.

^b The Apostolic Constitutions speak of the Service of Saturday and Sunday as the same (v. 20. viii. 33), and part of it was "the preaching of the Word of Life." (ii. c. 59.) Cæsarea, it will be remembered, was the residence of St. Basil; and we accordingly find that some of his homilies were delivered at Evening Prayer, (in Hexameron, Hom. 2. 7. 9.)

the Archdeacon read the Gospel, while in some other parts the Deacons read it, in many churches the Priests, and, on the great festivals, the Bishop, as at Constantinople on Easter-Day. At Rome, neither the Bishop, nor any other person, taught in the churches. This is stated by Sozomen, but it is by no means likely; it is much more credible that Sozomen, who resided at Constantinople, had been misinformed of what was the practice at Rome¹. At Antioch the Altar was turned towards the west, and not towards the east as in other churches^d. At Rome there were only seven Deacons², elsewhere the number was unrestricted. In Scythia, although there were many cities, there was but one Bishop; in other countries they consecrated Bishops even for villages, as in Arabia and Cyprus. In short, there was as infinite a diversity of usages and ceremonies as of places, each Church religiously adhering to its ancient customs^e.

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CH. XLVIII.

¹ Quesn. in S. Leon. diss. l. an. 410. [t. ii. p. 257.]
[² Bingham. 2. 20. § 19.]

Genseric, having taken Carthage, partitioned the provinces of Africa in the following way. He reserved Byzacena, Abaritana, Getulia, and part of Numidia to himself, and distributed Zengitana and the proconsular province among his army³. The Emperor Valentinian still defended the other provinces, but they were all frightfully desolated. Genseric ordered his Vandals to strip the Bishops of all they had and expel them from their sees; or if they offered any resistance, to make them slaves for life; and this order was fulfilled to the letter on several Bishops and many laymen of high birth and distinguished rank. Quodvultdeus, Bishop of Carthage, and a great number of the clergy, were

XLVIII.
Persecution in Africa.

³ Victor. Viten. l. 4.

^c Valesius again uses Cassiodore to defend Sozomen, but see above, note x. Justin M. in his Apology, (written at Rome,) says it was the custom of the Bishop (*ὁ προϊστάμενος*) to preach to the people. (Bingh. xiv. l. 3.) Tertullian addressing Zephyrinus (A. D. 203—221) says, “Thou preachest as a good pastor;” and St. Cyprian mentions the public discourses of the Roman Bishops: (Alt. der Christl. Cult. s. 167.) If Sozomen is correct, we may suppose, with Bingham, that a custom had grown up, in the interval, of reading homilies—as those of Ephrem Syrus (Hier. de Script. c. 115), or those in the old Lectionaria and the Roman Breviary—instead of sermons, and

that Leo restored “the ancient way of preaching which was afterwards discontinued for five hundred years together, till Pius V., like another Leo, revived the practice, as we are told by Surius (ap. Blondel. Apol. pro Hieron. p. 58).”

^d See Const. Apost. ii. 57. Yet in the Church of Paulinus at Tyre the *πρόπυλον* fronted the East. (Euseb. H. E. x. l.)

^e “It hath ever been seen, according to our Anselm’s rule, that the multitude of different ceremonies in all Churches doth justly commend their unity of Faith.” Bp. Hall; Epist. 2. Decad. V. (vol. vi. p. 242.)

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thus expelled, being stripped of every thing and placed on board some crazy vessels, in which, however, they succeeded in reaching Naples. Gaudiosus, Bishop of Abitina, who was one of the number, founded a monastery, in which both he and Quodvultdeus died; their reliques are still preserved at Naples, in the same monastery, which is now a convent of nuns. The Church honours St. Quodvultdeus on the twenty-sixth of October, and St. Gaudiosus on the twenty-eighth¹. They reckon up eleven others, either Bishops or Clerks, of whom the most famous are Priscus and Castrensis, who, after having suffered various tortures in Africa, were put on board an old bark (whether on this occasion or some other is uncertain); they came to land in Campania, where they were placed over different churches. They are commemorated on the first of September².

¹ Martyr. R.
et ib. Baron.

² Mart. R. et
ib. Baron.
Ruinar. de
Persee. pt.
ii. c. 9. [p.
529, sqq.]
[³ Supr.
20. 24.
Baron. ann.
397. § 54.]
⁴ Victor. l. 5.

Geneseric having expelled the Bishop of Carthage and his clergy, gave to those of his own persuasion, that is, to the Arians, the church called Restituta³, where the Bishops always resided, and took away from the Catholics all the churches within the walls, with all their wealth⁴. Outside the walls, too, he seized on any that tempted his fancy, especially the two great and magnificent churches of St. Cyprian, one built on the spot where his blood was spilt, and the other over the place of his interment, which was called Mappalia. He commanded the Catholics to bury their dead in silence, without the usual solemnity of hymns⁵, and sent the remaining part of the clergy into exile.

The Bishops and other persons of distinction, who had remained in the provinces which were distributed among the Vandals, presented themselves before Geneseric, as he was walking by the sea-side, near Maxula in the preconsular province, and begged of him, that having lost their churches and wealth, they might at least be permitted, for the comfort and support of God's people, to dwell in the provinces of which the Vandals were already masters. He sent a messenger to say to them, "I am resolved to leave

¹ Ps. cxvi. 7. xxiii. 4. and xxxii. 7. are mentioned by St. Chrysostom as sung at funerals. (Hom. 4. in Hebr. t. iv. p. 454.) The Apostolical Constitutions, after providing that the faithful dead should be

carried out to burial with singing of Psalms, quote Ps. cxvi. 7, 15; Prov. x. 7; and Wisd. iii. 1; probably as being parts of the requiem; (lib. vi. c. 30.)

“none of your name or kin¹; how then dare you make such
 “a request?” If he had not been restrained by the en-
 treaties of those about him, he would have ordered them
 instantly to be thrown into the sea. The poor Catholics
 retired struck to the heart with grief, and having now no
 churches, they began to celebrate the Holy Mysteries where
 and how they could.

The Count Sebastian, son-in-law to Count Boniface, and
 like him ungraciously treated by the Romans, had at last
 taken refuge in Africa². Genseric felt the need he had of
 such an adviser, and yet was afraid of him. Desiring, there-
 fore, to put him to death, he thought he might find some
 pretext in his religion³, and said to him one day, in the pre-
 sence of his Bishops and domestics, “Sebastian, I know that
 “you have sworn faithful attachment to me, and the toils
 “you undergo prove the sincerity of your oath; but that
 “our friendship may remain ever inviolate, I wish you to
 “profess my religion.” Sebastian with great presence of
 mind adopted the following mode of reply. He desired that
 a loaf of white bread might be brought him, and taking it in
 his hands he said, “To make this bread worthy of the King’s
 “table, they first separated the bran from the meal; it was
 “then kneaded, and passed through water and fire; so, in
 “the Catholic Church, I have been ground and sifted, I have
 “been moistened by the water of Baptism, and made perfect⁴
 “by the fire of the Holy Ghost. Let this bread be broken,
 “let it be steeped in water, kneaded a second time, and put
 “again into the oven, and if it is improved by it, I will do
 “what you desire.” The parable was intended to shew the
 inefficacy of second Baptism. Genseric saw clearly what it
 meant, and was at a loss for an answer. He therefore sought
 some other excuse for putting the brave man to death; and
 in some Martyrologies he is found honoured as a Martyr⁵.

Two letters of St. Leo, which are without date, are sup-
 posed to have been written when Africa was thus ravaged⁶;
 one to the Bishops of Mauritania Cæsariensis, the other to
 Rusticus of Narbonne. St. Leo having been frequently in-
 formed by those who came from Mauritania, that irregular
 ordinations had taken place there, commissioned the Bishop
 Potentius, who was going from Rome to that province, to

A. D. 440.
 CH. XLIX.
 [1 de no-
 mine et ge-
 nere vestro]

* Marcell.
 Chron. an.
 435. Prosp.
 an. 440.

² Victor. l. 6.

[1 cocti.
 Cf. August.
 Serm. ad
 infant. t. v.
 p. 1104. et
 p. 973.]

⁵ Bolland.
 27. Mart.

XLIX.
 Letters of
 St. Leo to
 the Bishops
 of Mauri-
 tania.

⁶ Quesn.
 not. [t. ii.
 p. 777.]

- A. D. 440. inquire into the matter, and gave him a letter to the Bishops
CH. XLIX. of the province, which is lost. Potentius sent the Pope a full
 account of the state of these Churches, which was such as
¹ Ep. 1. (al. made it necessary for him to write the letter now extant¹.
 87.) [t. i. p. In this St. Leo sets out with remarking that the troublous
 400.] character of the times has given rise to those disorders, of
 which he proceeds to give the details. Several Bishops had
 been elected by the manœuvring of cabals, or by means of
 popular tumult. They had elected bigamists², laymen, and
 converted heretics, though order requires that those who are
 to be Bishops should first have been tried in the inferior
 orders, that men may have assurance not of their capacity
 merely, but of their humility³. He decides that the bigamists
 should be deposed, and excluded not only from the episco-
 pate, but even from the priesthood and diaconate; and in the
 term bigamists he includes those who had married widows.
 "How much more," he adds, "ought he to be deposed (for
 "such we are told there are) who has two wives at the same
 "time, or who has married again after his wife has left him."
 As to those who had been ordained being simply laymen, the
 Pope allows them to continue in their Bishopries, but would
 not have this dispensation to be used as a precedent, or to
 affect the decrees of the holy see, whether enacted by his pre-
 decessors or by himself⁴: whence, by the way, it appears that
 this was not the first decretal of St. Leo,—the rest may have
 been lost. He allows Donatus of Salicina, who had been
 converted along with his congregation from the heresy of
 the Novatians, and Maximus a converted Donatist, to retain
 their sees, though this last had been ordained whilst a lay-
 man; but he allows it only on condition that they each of
 them send him their confession of faith in writing⁵. As to
 Aggarus and Tiberianus, who, besides being mere laymen,
 had been ordained amidst the violence of a riot, he leaves
 their case to be decided by the local Bishops, at the same
 time reserving to himself the power of adjudicating upon the
 report they should send him⁶. There were some nuns who
 had been violated by the barbarians; St. Leo determines
 that they are innocent, but yet advises them to look upon it
 as a call to greater humility, and not to think themselves
 equal to other virgins⁷.
- ² as used in canon law
 =deutero-
 gamists;
*secunda-
 rum uxo-
 rum viri*]
- ³ c. 4.
- ⁴ c. 5.
- ⁵ c. 6.
- ⁶ c. 7.
- ⁷ c. 8. [cf. August., De Civ. Dei 1. 28.]

Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne, was the son of a Bishop A. D. 440. named Bonosus; his mother, the sister of another Bishop — ^{CH. L.} — named Arator¹, a very virtuous widow, took great pains with ^{L.} his education; and after he had studied in Gaul, which ^{Letter to St. Rusticus of Narbonne.} abounded with excellent schools, she sent him to complete ^{1 Inscript. ap. Quesn. p. 784.} his studies in eloquence at Rome, no expense being spared ^{2 Hier. Ep. 95. (al. 4.) p. 771.} in the pursuit of this object². On returning home to her, he embraced the monastic life, and about the same time he received instructions respecting his future conduct, in a famous letter from St. Jerome, who refers him to St. Proculus, Bishop of Marseilles, for personal instruction³. Rusticus, after remaining some time in the monastery, was ordained Priest of the church of Marseilles (which seems to have been his birth-place), and was finally made Bishop of Narbonne, in the year 427⁴.

³ p. 777.

⁴ v. not. Qu. p. 785.

When St. Leo was raised to the Pontificate, Rusticus sent his Archdeacon Hermes to consult him on divers points of discipline. In his letter he expressed a great desire to resign his see, in order to live a quiet and retired life. St. Leo dissuades him from such a step⁵, and shews him that patience is just as much required to support us against the ordinary temptations of life, as it is in times of persecution for the Faith; that they who have the government of the Church committed to them ought courageously to maintain their post, and to rely not on their own strength but on the assistance of Him who has promised never to forsake them. To the questions which St. Rusticus had proposed St. Leo returns these answers: "The Priest or the Deacon who "falsely assumes the title of Bishop is not to have his claim "allowed, since those can never be accounted Bishops who "have neither been elected by the clergy, demanded⁶ by the [⁶ expetiti] "people, nor consecrated by the comprovincial Bishops with "the consent of the Metropolitan. The ordinations made by "these pseudo-Bishops are null, unless they have been made "with the consent of those who governed the Churches to "which these Clerks belonged⁷." It is difficult to see the ⁷ Inquis. l. meaning of this limitation, unless we suppose⁸ that these ^{v. not. Quesn. [p. 787.]} false Bishops really possessed the episcopal character, but that they had received it through an unlawful ordination, as in the case of Armentarius of Embrun, who was deposed by

- A. D. 440. the Council of Riès¹. "If a Priest or Deacon desires to be
CH. L. "enjoined penance, he must perform it in private, as it is
¹ Supr. c. 44. "contrary to the usage of the Church to impose on them
² Inquis. 2. "public penance²."
 "The law of continence is as obligatory on the ministers
³ Supr. 19. 22. h.] "of the Altar, as on Priests and Bishops³. While laymen or
 "readers, they might lawfully have married and had children,
 "and therefore, on being preferred to a higher degree, they
 "are not to leave their wives, but to live with them as if they
⁴ Inquis. 3. "had none⁴." Among the ministers of the Altar on whom
 continence was obligatory, St. Leo includes even the Sub-
 deacons, as appears from his letter to Anastasius of Thessa-
 lonica⁵. "A distinction is to be made between a concubine
⁵ Epist. 12. (al. 84.) c. 4. "and a lawful wife; so that he who leaves his concubine to
 "marry, does well; and she who marries him who had a
 "concubine, does not ill, because he was not a married
⁶ Inquis. 4. 5, 6. "man⁶." St. Leo speaks here only of those concubines who
 were slaves, and not of those who were in fact lawful wives,
⁷ Supr. 20. 48. Conc. Tolet. I. c. 17. though the law did not assign them the title⁷.
 "They who receive penance when sick, and on being re-
 "stored to health fail to go through with it, are not in
 "consequence to be given up; we ought to reiterate our
 "admonitions, and not to despair of the salvation of any
⁸ Inquis. 7. [Nemo desperandus, dum in hoc corpore constitutus est.] "one, so long as he remains in life⁸. The same patient
 "forbearance is to be shewn toward those who, in the ex-
 "tremity of pain, desire to be admitted to penance, but when
 "the Priest is come refuse to accept it, if their pain some-
 "what assuages; if after this they again desire penance, we
⁹ Inquis. 9. "are not to refuse it⁹. They who receive penance in their
 "last moments, and die before they have received the Com-
 "munion," that is, before they have been reconciled, "ought
¹ Inquis. 8. [quibus viventibus non communicavimus, mortuis communicare non possumus.] "to be left to the judgment of God, who might have deferred
 "their death. But we do not pray for them, since they died
 "out of the communion of the Church¹." In other Churches
 they prayed for them notwithstanding². "Penitents ought
 "to abstain even from many lawful things³. They ought, if
² not. "possible, not to go to law, but if they do, they should have
³ Quesn. [p. 794.] "recourse to the ecclesiastical rather than to the secular
 "judge⁴. They ought rather to suffer loss than to engage
⁴ [3 Cf. supr. 18. 34.] "in traffic, which is at all times dangerous⁵; they are not
⁵ Inq. 10. Inq. 11.

"permitted to resume a military life¹, nor to marry, unless
 "the penitent be young, and in danger of lapsing into in-
 "continence, and then it is granted him only as an in-
 "dulgence²."

"The monk who marries or serves in the army after he
 "has taken the vow, ought to be enjoined public penance³.
 "Young women who marry after they have taken upon
 "them the habit of virgins are not exempt from guilt,
 "although they may not have been consecrated⁴." There
 "were two kinds of virgins⁵, those who were only bound by a
 "vow, (which was either solemn, on entering a monastery, or
 "simple, on assuming the habit and remaining with their re-
 "lations,) and those who had received consecration, which was
 "not allowed them until they were forty years old (according
 "to a regulation made by St. Leo himself), and then only at
 "the hands of the Bishop on some solemn festival.

"Children that have been abandoned by parents who were
 "Christians, in such sort that no proof of their Baptism can
 "be found, ought to be baptized, without fear of repeating
 "the Sacrament⁶. They who have been taken captive in war
 "so young that, although they remember that their parents
 "carried them to church, they cannot tell whether they were
 "baptized or not, are to be asked whether they received
 "what was given to their parents," that is, the Eucharist;

* Supr. c. 30. and xxiii. 28. In the
 Constit. Apost. viii. 13 (p. 354. Coteler.)
 it is ordered that children (*τὰ παῖδια*)
 should receive the Communion next to
 the virgins and widows. St. Augustine
 considered the practice to be of Apostolic
 origin, (v. infr.) Dionysius (Pseudo-
 Areop., Hier. c. ult.) speaks of giving
 the sacred symbols (*συμβόλων*) to a
 child too young to speak, (v. Zorn. Hist.
 Euch. Inf. p. 76.) St. Cyprian (de
 Lapsis, p. 125. ed. Oxon.) brings in
 some infants as complaining of their
 parents: "we did not leave the bread
 "and the cup (*cibo et poculo*) of the
 "Lord, and hasten to idol pollutions;
 "it was by others' perfidy that we
 "perished." From another passage
 in this treatise (p. 132) Bossuet infers
 that they received it only in one kind,
 because the wine only is mentioned
 (*Traité de la Comm., pt. ii. § 9*), but
 the other passage seems express. Du-
 fresne (s. v. Eucharistia) refers to va-

rious places in St. Augustine as proving
 that infants received in both kinds: see
 especially, Ep. 217 (al. 107), "Infants
 "will be judged according to what they
 "have done in the body, when they
 "either believed or not, were baptized
 "or not, ate the flesh of Christ or
 "not, and drank His blood or not."
 This is repeated by Anselm (of Canter-
 bury) in Comment. ad 2 Cor. v. p. 195.
 Cf. the author of the Hypognostika, in
 St. Augustine's Works (t. x. p. 39. App.),
 and see Gennad. (cent. 5) de Eccl.
 Dogm. c. 52. J. Moschus (cent. 7),
 in Prat. spir. c. 29. Cone. Tolet. XI.
 (Ann. 675.) Charlemagne, de Imag.
 c. 27. Jesse of Amiens (ap. Galland. t.
 xiii. p. 401). Baluz (in Regino, l. 1.
 c. 69) quotes an old MS. Pontifical
 saying, "Let the infant be forthwith
 "confirmed and communicated by the
 "Bishop, who shall say, 'The body and
 "blood of Christ.'" (Bingh. l. 5. 4.
 7.) Infant Communion continued in

A. D. 441.
 CH. L.
¹ Inq. 12.
 [secularis
 militia]
² Inq. 13.
 [non regu-
 larium consti-
 tutimus sed
 quid sit
 tolerabilis
 astinamus.
³ Inq. 14.
⁴ Inq. 15.
 [cf. supr.
 [9. 22. g.]
⁵ v. Quen-
 st. 3.

* Inq. 16.

A. D. 441. "but if they cannot remember that they did, there ought
CIL. L. "to be no scruple felt at baptizing them¹." Some people
1 Inq. 17. had come from Africa and Mauritania into Gaul, who could
 very well remember that they had been baptized, but could
 not tell into what sect. St. Leo decides that "they are
 "not to be baptized, since they have received the form of
 "[² quoniam, "Baptism, whatever the mode may have been^{2h}; they are
 quolibet
 modo, for- "to be united to the Catholic Church only by the laying on
 man bap- "of hands and invocation of the HOLY GHOST³," that is, by
 tismatis ac- "Confirmation. Others had been baptized in infancy, but
 ceperunt.];
3 Inq. 18.

France until the twelfth century. (Bona, Rer. Lit. ii. 19. § 2.) It was forbidden by Conc. Burdegal. c. 5 (ann. 1255), and Conc. Bajocense, c. 16 (ann. 1300.)

St. Augustine applied John vi. 53 to the case of children; contr. 2. Ep. Pelag. i. c. 22. Sermon 8. de verb. Apost. In Ep. 186 (al. 106), he says, "No Catholic Christian can deny or doubt that children who have not received the grace of regeneration of CHRIST, being without the meat of His flesh and the drink of His blood, have not life in them." In the De Peccat. Mer., i. c. 24, refuting the Pelagians, he draws an argument from "the ancient and, he thinks, Apostolic tradition, that without Baptism and the Lord's Supper no one can arrive at eternal life." Similarly Mercat. c. Julian. (pt. i. p. 53), Euseb. (pseudo-Emissen.), Hom. 5. de Pasch., Innocent., Ep. ad Milev. (Labbe, t. ii. p. 1288, D. Cf. Wall on Inf. Bapt. pt. ii. ch. 9 § 15). Gelas. Ep. per Picen. (t. iv. p. 1177, 8.) The same application occurs down to a late period, as in Riculf. (in Capitul. c. 8. Zorn. Hist. Euch. Inf. i. § 3.) and in Anselm. (u. s.) The Council of Trent decided (Sess. 21. c. 4) that the Fathers who practised Infant Communion did not believe it necessary to salvation. P. Sarpi (Hist. C. Trid. l. vi. p. 438) says that many wondered the Council should have gone out of its way to determine this question, when there were nine passages in St. Augustine which asserted the Eucharist to be necessary to infants. Bellarm., De Sac. Euch. i. c. 7 (t. iii. Controv. p. 102), and Bossuet (Tr. de la Comm. pt. 1. § 3) deny that Augustine intended this; since he was speaking (Bona, u. s. ii. c. 19. p. 500) "not of Sacramental Communion but of that incorporation with CHRIST, which is its effect and which is communicated in

"Baptism apart from the actual reception of the Eucharist." Noris (Vind. Aug. p. 113), to the same effect, quotes Aug. tract. 26 and 27. in Joh., and De Pecc. Mer. iii. 4. But the most important passage is in Fulgentius (Ep. 12. § 26), who affirms his master's opinion to have been that "children are made partakers of CHRIST's body and blood, when they are made His members in Baptism." This passage was commonly attributed to St. Augustine himself: see Gieseler, vol. ii. § 77. note 6.

The Western Church has with one consent relinquished this usage, but it is still found in the Greek, Russo-Greek, Armenian, Jacobite, and Abyssinian Churches. (The authorities are given in Zorn. xix. § 3, and Suicer, s. v. *σύναξις*, V. l. b.) Smith (De Gr. Hod. Statu) says that the Greeks ground the custom on John vi. 53, and, if any one argues with them about it, appeal to the first ages of the Church, in which they say that this dogma was almost universally deemed an article of Faith. See also his De Inf. Comm. prefixed to his Miscellanea. Bp. Bedell advocated the restoration of the practice (Bingh. 15. 4. 7), and in 1728 an Essay was published by J. Pierce (a Presbyterian) "in favour of the ancient practice of giving the Eucharist to children."

^h "To make complete the outward substance of a Sacrament there is required an outward form, which form Sacramental elements receive from Sacramental words." Hooker, bk. v. c. 58. § 3. Hence heresy in the minister would not destroy the efficacy of Baptism, unless it were such as implied unsoundness in the highest articles of the Christian faith; for this, by changing the form would mutilate the substance of Baptism, c. 62. § 6; and again, c. 66. § 6.

having been made captives by the pagans, had lived like them; and had come, while they were yet young, into the Roman dominions¹. St. Rusticus asked what was to be done if they desired to receive the Communion. "If they have only eaten of meats offered to idols²," says St. Leo, "they may be purified by fasting and the laying on of hands; but if they have adored idols, or been polluted by homicide or fornication, they ought to be enjoined public penance." We here see a laying on of hands different from that of confirmation and public penance. These last articles lead us to place the date of this decretal at the time of the Vandal invasion.

About the same time, the Bishops of Gaul held a Council in the church of Justinian, in the territory of Orange, on the sixth of the ides of November, in the Consulate of Cyrus, or November the eighth, A.D. 441³. St. Hilary of Arles presided; and there appear the subscriptions of sixteen other Bishops, of whom the most noted are Constantine of Gap, Auspicius of Vaison, Maximus of Riës, and St. Eucherius of Lyons, who declares that he will wait for the consent of his comprovincials. St. Eucherius had been a monk in the isle of Lerins, and was the friend of St. Honoratus and of Cassian, who addressed one of his Collations to them⁴. He had been married, and his two sons Veranus and Salonius were both Bishops⁵. He wrote several pious works⁶, some of which are still extant. In this Council of Orange thirty disciplinary canons were past. The first decrees that "heretics, who being in danger of death desire to become converts, may, in the absence of the Bishop, receive from the Priest the unction of chrism and the benediction," which some understand of Confirmation⁷. The second, and most remarkable, canon is couched in these terms: "None of the ministers who have received the office of baptizing ought to go any where without the chrism, since it has been resolved amongst us, that the chrism should be used once for all in Baptism⁸. If any one, from the urgency of circumstances, did not receive the chrism at Baptism, the Bishop shall be informed of it at Confirmation. For there is but one benediction only of the chrism; not that the iteration of the unction is prejudicial⁹, but to the end that it may

A. D. 441.
CH. LI.

[¹ ad Romanianum]

² Inq. 19.
[escis immolativis]

LI.
First Council of Orange.

³ Conc. l. iii. p. 1446.

⁴ Pref. Coll. xi.

⁵ Genn. de Illustr. c. 64.

⁶ Marcell. Chr. ann. 456.

⁷ Sirmond. not. posth.

[⁸ semel in baptisate chrismari]

[⁹ non in prejudicium quietis]

A. D. 441. "not be thought necessary," or as other copies have it, "to
 CH. LI. "the end that it may be thought necessary," omitting the negative. It is hard to say what is the sense of these words, and still more difficult to believe that Confirmation was sometimes given without the unction, as the canon seems to say when the negative is inserted. This cannot be proved from any other authority; the practice of the whole Church is against it, and the common doctrine of theologians is, that the unction is essential to Confirmation¹.

The Council of Orange says further; "The Gospel shall
¹ c. 18. "for the future be read to the catechumens¹; they ought
² c. 19. "never to be admitted into the baptistery²; they are to be
 "separated as much as possible from the benediction of the
³ c. 20. "faithful, even in the family prayers, and they ought to present
 "themselves for a separate benediction³. The catechumens
 "who are possessed, or the energumens⁴, ought to be bap-
⁴ c. 15. "tized in case of necessity, or when it shall be judged con-
 "venient⁴. Those energumens, who are baptized, and who
 "do what lies in their power to be dispossessed, ought to
 "receive the Communion, that they may be strengthened or
⁵ c. 14. "even delivered by the efficacy of the Sacrament⁵. They
 "who have once been publicly agitated by the demon ought
 "not to be admitted to holy orders; or if they have been
⁶ c. 16. "admitted they shall in no case officiate⁶. We should give
 "[⁷ amentibus] "to idiots⁷ every thing which piety requires of us⁸. He who
⁸ c. 13. "loses his speech suddenly may receive Baptism or Penance
 "if he indicates by signs that he wishes it, or if others testify
⁹ c. 12. "that he did wish it⁹. They who die during their course of
 "penance, ought to receive the Communion without the
 "imposition of hands appointed for absolution; and this is

¹ This has reference to a later notion, —that Confirmation is a distinct sacrament, rather than the *complement* of Baptism, which was the ancient view of it. (Hooker, V. 66. § 6. Bingham, 12. l. 4. Dr. Pusey on Baptism, p. 153. 3rd. ed.) On the chrism of Baptism, see Dr. Pusey, pp. 139—148. Respecting Confirmation as practised by the English Church, Bp. Hall's *Χειροθεσία*, (vol. x. p. 441. ed. Oxf.)

² This word is applied, *first*, to those in whom demoniac agency manifests itself visibly in the body; and *secondly*,

to those who are subject to such influence spiritually. It is probably in the latter sense that they are so frequently joined with Penitents, e. g. in the Church prayers, v. Chrysost. Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. Dionysius (Pseudo-Areop.) included under it all who were led by the carnal affections (*οἷον τοὺς πόρνους, τοὺς φιλοθεάμονας, κ. τ. λ.*, Maximus, ap. Suicer. t. ii. p. 1116). Cf. Eph. ii. 2. "The spirit that now worketh (*ἐνεργῶντος*) in the children of disobedience."

“ sufficient for the consolation of the dying man, according ^{A. D. 441.}
 “ to the decrees of the Fathers, who called this Communion ^{CH. I.I.}
 “ *Vaticum*^k. If they survive, they shall remain in the rank
 “ of penitents, to receive, after they have accomplished their
 “ penance, the imposition of hands and the legitimate Com-
 “ munion^l.” This canon must be explained by the thirteenth ^{1 c. 3.}
 of the Council of Nicea², which allows persons at the point of ^{2 Fleury,}
 death to receive even the Communion of the Eucharist, on ^{11. 21.}
 condition that they finish their penance if they recover their ^{v. Sirm.}
 health¹. “ Clerks ought not to be refused penance if they re- ^{not.}
 “ quest it³,” this may be understood of secret penance, as in ^{3 c. 4.}
 the letter of St. Leo to Rusticus⁴. ^{4 Supr.c.50.}

“ A Bishop who communicates with one who has been ex-
 “ communicated by another Bishop is culpable, and the
 “ justice of the excommunication shall be inquired into at
 “ the Council next ensuing⁵. If a Bishop wishes to build ^{5 c. 11.}
 “ a church in the diocese of another he must obtain his
 “ permission, leave the consecration of it to him, let him
 “ ordain the clergy he wishes to have there, and commit the
 “ entire government of this new church entirely to him. If
 “ a secular, having built a church, procures it to be dedicated
 “ by a stranger Bishop, this Bishop and all others who shall
 “ have assisted at the dedication, shall be excluded from the
 “ congregation⁶.” We evidently see here the rudiments of ^{6 c. 10.}
 the right of patronage⁷, since the Bishop who founded the ^{[7 Bingham 4.}
 church was allowed to present to the Diocesan such Clerks ^{3. 19.]}
 as he desired for his church. “ If a Bishop from ill health
 “ loses the use of his speech, he shall send for a Bishop to
 “ perform the episcopal functions, and shall not suffer his
 “ Priests to exercise them⁸.” ^{8 c. 30.}

“ If a Bishop desires to ordain a Clerk who resides else-

^k Supr. xix. 18. x. “ The holy sister
 “ of St. Basil, and Melania, whom St.
 “ Jerome magnifies for their sanctity,
 “ beseech God, with great fervency,
 “ that those envious spirits may not
 “ hinder them in their last passage ;
 “ and devout Bernard, when he drew
 “ near his end, sues to his friend for
 “ his earnest prayers, that the heel of
 “ his life might be kept safe from the
 “ serpent, so as he might not find where
 “ to fix his sting. Hence it is that, in

“ former times, good souls have been
 “ so provident to hearten themselves
 “ against the faint pulse of their death-
 “ beds with that *vaticum sacrum*, the
 “ strongest spiritual cordial of the bles-
 “ sed Eucharist,” Bp. Hall, Works, vol.
 viii. p. 411.

¹ Cf. Vales. in Euseb., H. E. vi. 44,
 and the Comments of Zonaras and
 Balsamon, ap. Suicer. s. v. ἐφ' ὁδὸν, ii.
 3. b.

- A. D. 441. "where, he should first make it imperative on such person
CH. LI. "to reside with him; but he ought to consult the Bishop
 "with whom the candidate lived previously, since he perhaps
¹ c. 8. "had his reasons for not ordaining him¹. No Deaconesses
² c. 26. "shall be ordained^{2m}. If two Bishops forcibly ordain a third,
 "this last shall have the church of one of the two, and a
 "new Bishop shall be ordained in the place of the other; if
 "he received the ordination voluntarily, they shall all three
³ c. 21. "be condemned³. In future, no married Deacon shall be
 "ordained unless he promises to observe continence, on pain
⁴ c. 22, 23. "of being deposed⁴; if he has been already ordained, then
 "(as was provided by the Council of Turin) he shall not be
⁵ c. 24. "promoted to any higher order⁵. Persons who have been
Conc. "twice married may be Subdeacons, or admitted to any
Taur. c. 8. "of the inferior orders⁶. Widows shall profess before the
[Labbe, t. ii. p. 1157.] "Bishop in the secret hall⁷ⁿ, and shall receive from him the
⁶ c. 25. "habit. Penance shall be inflicted on persons of either sex
⁷ c. 27. [*in* "who are untrue to their vow of continence⁸. Those who
secretario. "take refuge in the church are not to be delivered up;
Fl. la salle "the reverence due to the place should protect them⁹. If
secrète] "any one shall seize on the vassals¹ of the Church, in lieu of
⁸ c. 28. "his own who may have taken refuge there, he shall be very
⁹ c. 5. "severely condemned by all the Churches. Ecclesiastical
[1 man- "censure shall also be inflicted on any who shall attempt to
cipia] c. 6. "reduce those to servitude, who have been emancipated in
 "the Church² or recommended to the care of the Church by
[2 in Eccle- "will." At the end of these canons it is ordained, that no
sia manu-
missos]
 Council shall separate without fixing the time when the next

^m This canon as well as those of Epaone, A. D. 517 (*infr.* xxxi. 30), and Orleans, A. D. 533 (*infr.* xxxii. 41), are to be understood as forbidding the *ordination* of Deaconesses, not as abolishing the office, (Ziegler, de Diaconis et Diaconissis; xix. § 36). They existed in the Church from the earliest times (see Rom. xvi. 1. Plin. Ep. X. 97. ad Traj.), and long survived in the East; see Conc. Chal. can. 15 (t. iv. p. 783), and Conc. Trull. can. 14. 48 (t. vi. p. 1150, 1165), down to the twelfth century, Balsamon, ap. Jus Græco-Rom. p. 381. Their duties are mentioned above, xxi. 41. f, and Ziegl. u. s. § 7—16. The cause of the

order's falling into desuetude is perhaps to be traced to the more general prevalence of Infant Baptism, when one of their principal duties (Const. Ap. iii. 15) ceased.

ⁿ This hardly gives a true idea of the Secretarium, which was a hall, in or near the Church, in which the Bishop assembled in Council with his clergy; and hence Synods came frequently to be held there, e. g. that of Carthage, ann. 525 (t. iv. p. 1629). It also contained a vestry and sacristy (Paulin. Ep. 32 (olim 12) ad Sever. p. 205), and sometimes rooms for the clergy: v. Dufresne, s. v.

shall meet¹. The Council for the following year, (442,) is appointed to meet at Lucianum, in the diocese of Orange.

We have the Acts of a Council² held in that year, on the thirteenth of November³, at Vaison under the Bishop Auspicius. They passed nine or ten canons to the effect that "the Bishops of Gaul on passing from one province to another shall not require any testimonial, provided they are not excommunicated, for the places are so near that they may be easily known⁴," that is to say, the formal letters were only intended for strangers⁵. "The Priests shall receive the holy chrism from their own Bishops annually, about the time of Easter. They shall fetch it in person, or send at the least a Subdeacon for it⁶. Those shall be prayed for, who die suddenly while engaged in a course of penance, which they have been faithfully performing⁷. Those who keep back the offerings of the deceased, or defer giving them to the Church, shall be excommunicated as sacrilegious and murderers of the poor⁸. Not only are those to be avoided who have been expressly excommunicated by the Bishop, but those, too, with whom he shews, though not perhaps by words, that he is dissatisfied⁹. Bishops are not lightly to accuse or excommunicate. If the fault be small, they ought to yield readily to the intercession of others; if it be of a more serious nature, they ought themselves to bring a formal accusation¹. If any one has committed a crime known to the Bishop only, he may require of such offender not to appear before him in the public congregation; but so long as he is unable to substantiate the charge, he shall suffer him to remain in communion with all the others²."

To suppress the wicked practice which prevailed among the pagans of exposing their children, Constantine had enacted (in 331)³, that they should belong to those who brought them up and educated them, and might be treated either as children or as slaves at the option of such persons, and that the fathers or masters should have no right to claim them back. To this Honorius added (in 412)⁴, that the person who should take up a child so exposed, should, for his better security, get a certificate from witnesses, which should be signed by the Bishop. In spite of all this, to take up exposed children was to subject

A. D. 442.

CH. LII.

¹ c. 29.

III.

Council of Vaison.

² Cone. t.

iii. p. 1456.

³ Id. Novemb. cons. Dioscuro.

⁴ can. 1.

⁵ v. Sirm.

[p. 1499.]

⁶ c. 3.

⁷ can. 2.

⁸ c. 4.

⁹ c. 6.

¹ c. 7.

² c. 8.

Cone.

Carth. VII.

c. 5.

[Labbe, t.

ii. p. 1604.]

Cod. can.

132.

³ Cod. Th.

lib. 5. tit. 7.

l. 1.

⁴ Ibid. l. 2.

- A. D. 443. oneself to constant annoyance, so that few would venture to
 CH. LIII. undertake the charge. This was the reason why the Council
 of Vaison decreed that these laws should be observed, adding
 that "on Sundays the Deacon shall give notice at the altar
 " that an exposed child has been taken up, that so, if any one
¹ c. 9. " pretends to recognise it, he may claim it within ten days¹ ;
 " otherwise he who shall afterwards claim such child shall be
² c. 10. " subjected to ecclesiastical censure as a homicide²."

LIII.
 Letter from
 St. Leo.
³ Valen-
 tiniano V.
 et Anatolio
 Coss.
 Idat. Chr.
 an. 16.
 Valentin.
 Prosper
 ann. 440.
 Cassiod.
 an. eod.

Soon after the taking of Carthage, namely, in A.D. 440³, Genseric crossed over into Sicily, and having plundered it laid siege to Palermo, which held out a long time. Maximin, the head of the Arians in Sicily, had been condemned by the Catholic Bishops; he now urged Genseric to persecute them unless they would consent to embrace his heresy, and many of them suffered martyrdom in consequence. While Sicily was labouring under this calamity, St. Leo sent relief to Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum, by Silanus, Deacon of the church of Palermo, together with consolatory letters, and at the same time consulted him about the day on which Easter would fall in the following year (444); he had previously consulted St. Cyril of Alexandria. Paschasinus replied to the Pope, that after having thoroughly examined the question and made an exact computation, he had found, as Cyril had done, that Easter-Day would fall next year on Sunday the ninth of the calends of May, that is, the twenty-third of April, and he then assigns his reasons⁴. St. Paschasinus also mentions in this letter the miracle of the baptistery in Sicily, which happened in 417, under the Pontificate of Zosimus⁵.

⁴ Ap. Leon.
 ed. Ques.
 t. i. p. 412.
⁵ Supr.
 23. 35.

In the same year, 443, St. Leo wrote a decretal to the Bishops of Campania, Picenum, Tuscany, and all the suburbicary provinces⁶. Picenum included what is now a great part of the marches of Ancona. Three Bishops, Innocentius, Legitimus, and Segetius, were ordered to carry this decretal

⁶ Ep. 3.
 (al. 1.)

^o Rufinus (Hist. i. e. 6, referred to by Fleury, xi. 20) gives the Canon of Nicæa thus: "That the old custom be preserved at Alexandria and at Rome, " the Bishop of the former place taking " charge of Egypt as the Bishop of the " latter does of the *suburbicary provinces*." Some understand this to comprise the whole Western Church;

Gothofred (Conject. de Suburb. Region.), and Salmasius (de Primat.), take it of the four provinces subject to the præfectus Urbi. Sirmond (Censura Conject. de Suburb.) explains it, with great probability, of the districts subject to the Vicarius Urbis, or the civil diocese of Rome: (supr. xxiii. 45. z.) See Gieseler, vol. i. § 92. not. 3.

(which seems to have been the result of a Council) into the provinces. It censures divers abuses;—slaves and people who were engaged in such a course of life as was incompatible with the service of the Church, had been raised to the highest order of priesthood, and that, frequently, against the will of their masters; bigamists had been ordained; some clergymen lent out money on usury, either in their own or in a borrowed name, although even laymen were forbidden to practise usury. The Pope orders all these abuses to be corrected, declaring all Bishops, who should contravene his decree, to be suspended and deprived of his communion; and he admonishes them to observe the decrees of St. Innocent and the rest of his predecessors. It is dated on the sixth of the ides of October in the Consulate of Maximus and Paternus, which answers to the tenth of October, 443. A. D. 443.
CH. LIV.

Among the fugitive bands driven by the desolation of Africa and their dread of the Vandals to cross over into Italy, was a large body of Manichees who took refuge in Rome, where for some time they lay concealed¹. But St. Leo discovered them, and warned his people against them in several of his sermons, advising them, wherever any were found, to give information of them to their Priests², that is, to those who served the churches in the several parts of the town. There were two marks, he said, by which they might be distinguished³; they fasted in honour of the sun and in contempt of the resurrection of JESUS CHRIST on Sundays, and in honour of the moon on Mondays^p; and they took only the body of our Lord and not the blood when they received the Communion

LIV.
Manichees
discovered
at Rome.

¹ Prosper.
ann. 443.

² Serm. 4.
de Coll. c. 3.
[t. 1, p. 117.]

³ Serm. 4.
in Quadr.
c. 5. [p. 216.]

^p The grounds of the honour thus paid to the sun and moon are to be sought in the Magian scheme of religion, of which Manicheism was a branch (Pococke, Spec. Hist. Ar. p. 149. Hyde, de Rel. Vet. Pers. c. 21. p. 281), a corrupt branch, containing less of primitive truth than Magism itself. The Manichees, then, held the common doctrine of Sabeism, that the heavenly bodies were the seats of high intelligences, intermediate between God and men. (Pococke, p. 140.) The sun, in particular, they believed to be an emission of the inaccessible glory (Aug. c. Faust. xxi. 4 (t. viii. p. 353) contr. Secund. Man. c. 16, p. 537), and made it the throne of the Word of God, as

the Persians made it of Mithra (explained by Plutarch as *Mediator*; Beaus., H. du Manich. t. i. p. 563). Elsewhere they assert that the sun was formed of good fire and the moon of good water (Aug., de Har. c. 46. t. viii. p. 11), that the virtue of CHRIST resided in the sun, His wisdom in the moon (Faustus ap. August., xx. c. 2): and that good souls returning to heaven arrived first at the moon where they were partially purified by wisdom, and then at the sun where they were perfectly cleansed by virtue. (Cf. Tollius, Itinerar. Ital. p. 138.) In preparation for this they thought it necessary to purify themselves from *matter* by fasting on those days.

A. D. 443. of the faithful ; this last they did from an abhorrence of wine¹.
CH. LIV.

He also censures a superstition that seems to have sprung from them, which was this ; many of the faithful, as they entered the Basilica of St. Peter, were in the habit of turning round on the top of the steps, and saluting the rising sun¹.

¹ Serm. 7. Nativ. c. 4. [p. 167.] St. Leo's diligence soon produced its effects : a large number of Manichees were discovered, some of them made a public abjuration of their errors in the church, signing the same in writing, and were admitted to penance².

² Ep. 8. (al. 2.) [p. 425.] Others who continued obstinate were condemned by the secular magistrates to perpetual banishment, in accordance with the provisions of the Imperial laws³. That their errors and infamous deeds might be still more plainly exhibited,

³ p. 426.] St. Leo instituted a judicial examination of them⁴. He assembled several Bishops and Priests, with a large number of citizens, some persons of distinction, and a part of the senate. Before this assembly he brought their *electi* and *electæ*, who were compelled to reveal many things relative to their doctrines and the ceremonies used at their festivals ;

⁴ Serm. 5. de Jej. dec. c. 4. [p. 131.] Ep. 15. ad Turib. c. 16. [p. 457.]

¹ Resembling the Hydroparastatæ (supr. xviii. 9). This may be another trace of Magism : for Mithra had his " oblation of bread." (Tertull. de Præsc. Hæc. c. 40). Epiphanius says that the Ebionites communicated in unleavened bread, and water. (Hæc. 30. 16.) This superstition is complained of by Gelasius († 496) in terms much the same as those used by St. Leo ; v. Gratian. de Consecr. Dist. ii. c. 12, where he calls the division of the Sacrament " a great sacrilege : " (divisio unius ejusdemque Mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire). Communion in both kinds was universal in the early Church, see Justin M. (Apol. ii. p. 76. ed. Syll.), Theodoret (qu. 52. in I Reg. t. i. p. 253), and especially St. Chrysostom (Hom. 18. in 2 Cor.), and so it continued for full a thousand years. It had begun to give way in the time of S. Thomas Aquinas (Summa Th. pt. 3. qu. 80. art. 12), and half-communion was finally adopted in the Western Church at the Council of Constance (A. D. 1414). On its gradual introduction into Great Britain see Collier, vol. ii. p. 482. 579. 599. (ed. 1840.)

² "Partly," says Leo, "from ignorance, partly from the spirit of paganism." They misinterpreted the

old custom of praying with the face towards the East (Tertull. Apol. c. 16, adv. Valent. c. 2 ; Justin M., sive Auctor Resp. ad orthod. qu. 118 ; Origen, Hom. v. in Num. ; Athanas. quæst. ad Antioch. 16 ; Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. p. 729. Voss. de Idolol. l. ii. c. 3, p. 320). St. Leo treats their obeisance as idolatrous, quoting Job. xxxi. 26—28. "The sanctuary in which revelations were vouchsafed, stood at the west end of the temple (at Jerusalem), in opposition to the heathen custom, Ezek. viii. 16 ('at the door of the temple of the LORD . . . were . . . men, with their backs towards the temple of the LORD and their faces towards the east, and they worshipped towards the east :') and Cullen's Mexico, I. "260." p. 263, 'Notes on the Gospels,' Pickering, 1838. See also Hyde, u. s. p. 5. 11. on the Guebres, and p. 519 on the Yezidees. The Moham-medans and Armenian Christians of Persia still make this homage to the rising sun, though the forefathers of the latter preferred death to a sinful compliance on this point, Sozom. ii. 8—14 ; where 16,000 are said to have suffered martyrdom.

the infamous character of their mysteries was proved so clearly A. D. 441. that the doubts of the incredulous and the suspicions of the CH. LIV. calumnious were at once silenced. All the persons who had been parties to the abominable deed were present. A girl of ten years of age, two women who had brought her up and prepared her for the crime, a young man who had corrupted her, and the Manichean Bishop who had presided at the ceremony. Their confessions all tallied with each other, and were so revolting that the persons present could scarcely prevail on themselves to hear the details. An authentic account of them was drawn up.

St. Leo, immediately afterwards, gave his people a history of this proceeding in a sermon preached on the fast of the tenth month¹, that is, in the Ember-week of December, 443. ¹ dicto Sermon. He exhorts the women especially to flee from these heretics, and not even speak to them, lest they should fall beneath a sudden attack of curiosity and listen to their fables. He advises all persons to inform against them, and to point out where they lodge, where they teach, and whose houses they frequent, that further discoveries might be made of them. He spoke again on the same subject² on the day of the Epiphany, or January the sixth, A.D. 444, warning the people ² Sermon. 4. Epiph. c. 5. not to be imposed on by their outward appearance, their superstitious abstinence³, the poorness of their dress, and their pale complexions⁴. [³ discretionibus ciborum] The confessions of those who were apprehended at Rome stated who were their Doctors, their Priests, and their Bishops, and in what provinces and what cities they resided⁴. ⁴ Prosper, l. c.

Many escaped from Rome, and those, too, chiefly the most guilty. This obliged the Pope to write to all the Bishops of Italy⁵, lest they should unwittingly receive some of them, and ⁵ Ep. 8. their churches be corrupted by the contagion. He informed them of what had passed at Rome, sent them copies of the evidence educed at the trial, and exhorted them to make careful inquiries and maintain a steady guard against such

¹ The object of their poverty and abstinence was merely to avoid implicating themselves in matter, and had nothing moral or religious in it. "They were a monument of asceticism without its privileges; in the

"flesh and with arms of the flesh
"warring against the flesh, witnesses
"at once against the luxury and world-
"liness of the world and against them-
"selves." 'Libr. of the Fathers,' vol. i. p. 329.

A. D. 444. dangerous enemies. It is a circular letter, and bears date the thirtieth of January, A.D. 444¹. Many of the Eastern Bishops emulated the vigilance of St. Leo on this point.

CH. LV, LVI.
¹3Kal.Febr.
 Theodosio
 XVIII. et
 Albino
 Coss.

LV.
 Pelagians
 sought out.
² Auct. de
 prom. [ap.
 Properi
 opp.p.162.]
³ Phot.bibl.
 cod. 54.
 Leo. Ep. 6.
 (al. 86.) [p.
 422.]

He also prosecuted the Pelagians about the same time, especially Julian of Æculanum, who was taken at their head²; for although several had abjured their heresy, they were again beginning to propagate it. Septimius, Bishop of Altinum in Venetia, wrote about it to St. Leo³, informing him that in that province Priests, Deacons, and other Clerks of divers orders, who had been involved in the heresy of Pelagius, had been received into Catholic communion without any condemnation of their errors being exacted from them; and that they were even allowed to itinerate from place to place, exercising their functions in contempt of the canons, which enjoined all Clerks to continue in the churches to which they were ordained. On receiving this information, St. Leo wrote to the Bishop of Aquileia, who was Metropolitan of the province⁴, ordering him to convene his Council, and there oblige all the clergy who were suspected of Pelagianism to condemn that heresy publicly and in writing, and to approve all the decrees of the Councils, as confirmed by the holy see, in such clear and express terms that no pretext might be left for evading them. He at the same time recommends that the canons which ordain the continuance of the clergy in their churches⁵ should be strictly maintained, all who refused to comply being deposed and excommunicated; and this because, in general, their only motive in travelling from church to church was ambition or desire of gain.

¹ Ep. 6.

[⁵ v. Bingham.
 6. 4. § 4, 5.]

LVI.
 Vicariate
 of Thessa-
 lonica.

⁶ Prid. Id.
 Jan. Theo-
 dosio
 XVIII. et
 Albino
 Coss.
 Epist. 4.
 [p. 417.]

⁷ c. 4.

Anastasius, Bishop of Thessalonica, sent to request St. Leo that he would confirm him in the Vicariate of Illyricum, allowing him the same authority as had been granted him by preceding Popes; to this St. Leo readily assented in a letter dated the twelfth of January, 444⁶. St. Leo says that he simply follows the example of St. Siricius, who gave the same power to Anysius; but that this power is to be used only for the maintenance of the canons. He chiefly recommends to his consideration the subject of the ordination of Bishops, in which regard is to be had only to the merit of the person, and the service he has done the Church, without any partial or interested views. "No one," he says⁷, "ought

“ to be ordained Bishop in those churches without consulting A. D. 444.
 “ you, for they will be chosen with more mature deliberation CH. LVI.
 “ when your examination is feared, nor shall we account any
 “ to be Bishops, who shall be ordained by the Metropolitan
 “ without communication with you. As the Metropolitans have
 “ the right of ordaining the Bishops of their provinces, we
 “ will that you ordain the Metropolitans, in selecting whom,
 “ as they are to have the government of others, you should
 “ employ the greatest caution. Let no one absent himself
 “ from the Council when he is summoned to it¹. Nothing is ¹ c. 5.
 “ of greater use for the correction of faults, and the pre-
 “ servation of charity than the frequent assembling of the
 “ Bishops. You shall transfer to our cognizance, as pre-
 “ scribed by ancient tradition, the more important causes
 “ which cannot be terminated on the spot, as also cases of
 “ appeal.” He complains² that the ordinations of Priests and ² c. 6.
 Deacons were held, in opposition to the canons, on any day
 without distinction, and desires that they should be held on
 Sundays only, as those of Bishops were. This is to be
 understood, however, of Saturday night³. St. Leo wrote to ^{[3 Bingham. 4.}
 the Metropolitans of Illyricum a letter bearing the same ^{6. § 7, 8.]}
 date⁴, in which he informs them of the power he has given ⁴ Ep. 5.
 to Anastasius of Thessalonica, and exhorts them to submit
 themselves to it and observe the canons.

As Easter fell this year (444)⁵ on the twenty-third of ⁵ Prosper.
 April, Good-Friday coincided with the twenty-first, the day ^{Chron.}
 on which Rome was founded. It was customary to perform ^{ann. 444.}
 games in the circus in memory of that event ; but they were
 now omitted out of respect to the holy day of our Lord’s
 passion.

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- II. Canonical Letters.
- III. St. Leo's Letter to Dioscorus.
- IV. Complaints against St. Hilary of Arles.
- V. St. Leo's Letter against St. Hilary.
- VI. The Virtues of St. Hilary of Arles.
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- VIII. His Death.
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- X. Letter of St. Leo to St. Turibius.
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- XII. Death of Proclus. Flavian Bishop of Constantinople.
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXVII.

On the ninth of June in this year, (444,) died St. Cyril¹, A. D. 444. having governed the Church of Alexandria thirty-two years². CH. I. I. He left a variety of writings; among others some homilies, Death of St. Cyril. His writings. which the Greek Bishops were accustomed to commit to memory and preach³. Those which are of most use to the historian are the Paschal Homilies, in which the first day of Lent, the first day of the Holy Week (or Monday), Saturday of the same week, and Easter-Day are marked out; the days mentioned are those of the Egyptian months, but it is easy to reduce them to the Roman; so that here we have a sure means of fixing the different years. There are twenty-nine of them, for as many successive years; the first is for the year 414, in which Easter fell on the twenty-sixth of Phamenoth, i. e. the twenty-second of March; the last is for 442, in which Easter was the seventeenth of Pharmouthi, i. e. the twelfth of April. ¹ Menol. Gr. 9^o Jun. ² Conc. Chalc. Act. iii. p. 406. D: (from the year 412; v. supr. 22. 46.) ³ Gennad. Script., n. 56.

The other writings of St. Cyril, still extant, are the seventeen books On Worshipping in Spirit and in Truth, written in the form of dialogues between him and a person named Palladius; their object is to shew the usefulness of the old law, even since the publication of the Gospel, by virtue of the spiritual sense which it involves. The same design was contemplated in the twelve books of *Glaphyres*, which are a commentary upon the Pentateuch. *Γλαφυρὸν* signifies profound or elegant; and the way in which the mysteries of the law are unfolded in this work, fairly justifies the application of either of those epithets. There are also five books of commentaries on Isaiah, a commentary on the twelve minor Prophets, and another in ten books on St. John,

A. D. 444.
Cn. I.

(originally it comprised twelve books, but we have only fragments of the seventh and eighth;) a treatise on the Trinity, named *The Treasure*, nine dialogues On the Trinity and the Incarnation, besides other treatises on the Incarnation against Nestorius, which have been already mentioned in the order of time; ten books Against the Emperor Julian¹, in defence of the Christian religion, addressed to the Emperor Theodosius. St. Cyril's latest work is a book Against the Anthropomorphites; an account of it is given in a letter which is prefixed, and which thus addresses Calosirius²:

¹ Fleury,
15. 45.

[² Opp. vi.
p. 363. (alt.
p. s.)]

"Some persons having come to me from Mount Calamon, I asked them how the monks of that place lived. They told me that while many were eminently diligent in exercises of piety, there were some who went to and fro, disturbing the peace of the rest by their ignorance, and affirming that, since Scripture says that man was made in the image of God, we must believe that God has a human form." St. Cyril shews the absurdity of this notion, which makes God corporeal and limited by space. He then adds; "I am told they maintain that the mystical eulogy," i. e. the Eucharist, "in no way conduces to sanctification, if it is kept till the next day^a; but this is talking at random. CHRIST is not altered, nor His holy body changed; the efficacy of the benediction and the enlivening grace still remain in it. Others say that we ought to apply ourselves continually to prayer, to the exclusion of all labour. But let them tell us, if they are better than the Apostles, who allowed themselves time to labour, though they were employed for the Word of God? The Church does not approve of the conduct they prescribe. If all should follow their example, who would provide for their support? no—it is merely a pretext for indolence and gluttony." In conclusion, he cautions Calosirius not to allow the Catholics to

^a The Greek is, "if what is left remains till the next day;" instead of being burnt, as in some churches (Hesychius in c. 8. Levit. ap. Bibl. VV. PP. Colon. t. vii. p. 35. B), given to children (Evagr. iv. 36), or eaten and drunk by the clergy and faithful laity, as prescribed by Theophilus (St. Cyril's uncle), can. 7. ap. Galland. vol. vii. p.

606, and by our own Church. In the preceding century, St. Basil had remarked that the custom of the Eucharist's being reserved by private men for private use (the origin of which he refers to times of persecution) prevailed at Alexandria and throughout Egypt. (Ep. 93. al. 289. ad Cæsariam.)

have any intercourse with the schismatical Meletians who still remained in Egypt. The treatise which follows this letter contains answers to many subtle questions propounded by these monks about the creation of man. Calosirius was Bishop of Arsinoë; he assisted at the false Council of Ephesus in 449, and afterwards at the Council of Chalcedon¹.

A. D. 444.

CH. II.

In the Homily of the Mystical Supper St. Cyril writes against the Nestorians thus²: "Let them tell us what body it is which is food to the flocks of the Church, and what the streams by which they are refreshed? If it is the body of a God, then is Christ truly God, and not a mere man. If it is the blood of a God, then is the Son of God not only God, but the Word incarnate. If it is the flesh of Christ which is meat, and His blood which is drink—that is, according to them, the flesh and blood of a mere man—how is it we teach that it avails to eternal life? Whence comes it that though distributed here and every where it suffers no diminution? A mere body is not the source of life to those who receive it³." And in his Commentary on St. John he says⁴; "by receiving the Eucharist our flesh is united to that of Christ, as two pieces of wax melted together, to the end that by this union we might become one with the Divine Person of Him who took flesh, and that the Person of the Word might unite us to the Father, with whom He is consubstantial;" so that by these three mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Eucharist, we are raised to an intimate union with God.

¹ I. iv. Cone. p. 119. A. p. 332. A.² Opp. I. v. pt. 2. p. 378. B.³ ψιλὸν σῶμα οὐδ' αὖ μὴς πηγὰς ζῶντος τοῦ μεταλαμβάνοντος.]⁴ Lib. iv. c. 2. (I. iv. p. 365. A.) Lib. x. c. 2. (p. 863. B.) Lib. xi. c. 12. (p. 1001, 2.)

We have two letters from St. Cyril to Domnus, Bishop of Antioch, which must belong to the close of his life, since he only survived the election of Domnus four years. One of them⁵ is in favour of Athanasius, Bishop of Perrha; it was afterwards read at the Council of Chalcedon. The other is in behalf of an aged Bishop named Peter, who complained that he had been condemned without a hearing, that, on the pretence of a renunciation⁶, which, he said, was extorted from him, he had been ejected from his see, and, to crown the injustice, had been plundered of all his property. The charge brought against him was misappropriation of the revenues of his Church; on this point St. Cyril says, that Peter was not obliged to give an account of them, and that

II. Canonical letters.

⁵ I. v. pt. 2. p. 209. [alt. pagg. serie.]⁶ παρατήσεως v. Suicer. s. v.]

A. D. 445. all the Bishops in the world are grieved to hear any such
CH. III. pretension asserted; because, though they are bound to pre-
[¹ κτήσεις serve the fixtures¹ and the precious vessels² of the Church,
ἀκινήτους] they have the free administration of its revenues. No re-
[² κειμή- gard, he adds, was due to acts of renunciation made under
λια] the influence of fear and contrary to the laws of the Church³.
[³ Supr. “ If a Bishop be worthy of the ministry, let him continue in
25. 58.] “ it; if unworthy, let him be deposed in a judicial way.”

The Abbots of the Thebaid having complained of some
 irregular ordinations, St. Cyril wrote to the Bishops of Libya
⁴ Ib. p. 211. and the Pentapolis⁴, enjoining them to make careful inquiries
 about the lives of candidates for ordination; whether they
 were married or not, and if so, how or when; if they had
 been expelled by any Bishop, or out of any monastery, that
[⁵ Fl. per- none might be ordained but such as were unmarried⁵ and
sonnes li- of an unblemished character.
bres: not in
the Greek.]

III. St. Cyril was succeeded in the see of Alexandria by Dios-
St. Leo's corus his Archdeacon, who had a great reputation for virtue,
letter to and especially for modesty and humility⁶. He had never been
Dioscorus. married, and he at once gained the affections of the people
⁶ Theod. of Alexandria, by lending money free from interest to the
Epist. 60. bakers and vintners, that they might furnish the people
[t. iii. p. with white bread and good wine at a low price⁷. But it was
935.] alleged that, to provide funds for this expense, he had ex-
⁷ Liberat. torted large sums of money from the heirs of St. Cyril, by
c. 10. bringing calumnious charges against them. He sent the
 Priest Possidonius to Rome to inform Pope St. Leo of his

ordination⁸. St. Leo sent a letter in return, dated the twenty-
[⁸ Supr. 18. first of June, 445⁹, in which he gives Dioscorus some instruc-
34. d.] tions tending to preserve uniformity of discipline. He doubts
⁹ Ep. 11. not but that St. Mark delivered to his Church the same rules
(al. 81.) as St. Peter, whose disciple he was, had given to his; he
 therefore desires that at Alexandria, as at Rome, the follow-
 ing rules should be observed:—that ordinations of Priests and
 Deacons should be held on Sundays only¹, and that both they
¹ Supr. 26. who conferred, and they who received orders, should do so
56. Ep. 4. fasting. He also desires, that on the great feasts, when the
c. 6. people crowd to church in such numbers that it cannot con-
 tain them all at once, they would feel no scruple in repeating
 the sacrifice so often as the church in which it is to be ad-

ministered shall be filled; this, he says, was the custom of the Roman Church. Hence it is evident that at Rome and Alexandria the holy Sacrifice was at this time offered only in one church, even on the greatest solemnities. St. Leo says that the Priest Possidonius was perfectly acquainted with all the customs of Rome, in consequence of his frequent visits to it; which makes it probable that he is the one who was sent by St. Cyril to Pope St. Celestine¹.

Meanwhile there came to Rome a Gallic Bishop named Celidonius, complaining of St. Hilary of Arles, who had deposed him in a Council². St. Hilary, in the course of a visitation which he made in company with St. Germain of Auxerre, arrived at the city of which Celidonius was Bishop, (apparently in the province of Vienne.) The nobles and people immediately came to them, charging Celidonius with having married a widow, and with having condemned some persons to death while he was magistrate. St. Hilary and St. Germain ordered them to produce their witnesses. Several other Bishops of high character assembled along with them. They examined the affair carefully and maturely; the accusation was declared to have been substantiated, and they passed sentence, according to the rules of Scripture, that Celidonius should of himself resign his Episcopate. It was to complain of this sentence that he appeared before St. Leo about the end of the year 444. When St. Hilary was apprised of this, he crossed over the Alps amidst all the rigour of winter, and came to Rome on foot; for this was the way in which, out of his love to poverty, he always chose to travel. After having visited the churches of the Apostles and Martyrs, he came to present himself to St. Leo with all manner of respect, beseeching him to uphold the discipline of the Churches as he was wont, and complaining that Bishops condemned in Gaul by the sentence of the magistrates were, at Rome, admitted to the holy Altars. He conjured Leo, if he approved of his remonstrance, to correct the abuse privately. "I am come," he added, "only to shew my respect for you, not to plead my cause³, and I inform you of what has passed, not by way of accusation, but as a simple recital⁴; if you are of a different way of thinking I will not importune you further."

¹ Supr. 25.
12.

IV.
Complaints
against St.
Hilary of
Arles.
² Vita S.
Hilar. c.
16, 17. [ap.
Leon. opp.
(ed. Quesn.)
t. i. p. 743.]

[³ se ad
officia, non
ad causam
venisse.]
[⁴ protes-
tandi or-
dino non
accusandi.]

A. D. 445. St. Leo assembled a Council to take cognizance of the
CH. IV.
 affair¹, and St. Hilary occupied a seat in it like the other
1 Leo. Ep.
 Bishops. The Council was not satisfied with his answers,
10. (al. 89.)
c. 3. which St. Leo thought over haughty. It appeared from the
 depositions of witnesses, that Celidonius was innocent of the
 irregularity for which he had been condemned, (i. e. of
 having married a widow.) He was therefore acquitted and
 re-established in his see. St. Hilary remained unshaken
 in his opinion; and in spite of all the threats with which
 they assailed him, nay, though he believed his life itself was
 in peril, he steadily refused to communicate with him whom
 he had condemned. Seeing that he could not persuade the
 Pope and his Council, he withdrew; and notwithstanding
 the guards they had placed over him, and the severity of the
 season, (for it was still winter,) he returned to his church.

St. Leo and his Council next examined the complaints
2 c. 4. preferred by the Bishop Projectus² and a large proportion of
 his fellow-citizens, who seem to have belonged to the pro-
 vince of Narbonnensis Prima. Projectus complained that
 St. Hilary had come, while he was laid up with sickness,
 and ordained another Bishop in his place, as if the see were
 vacant; and this in a province out of his jurisdiction, in
 which none of his predecessors until the time of Patroclus
 had ever claimed any authority; that the ordination had been
 made without giving either the clergy time to make their
 election or the people to declare their suffrages, and with so
 much precipitation that Hilary was come and gone without
 any one's knowing any thing about it. It does not appear
 that there was any evidence of all this, except the letters of
 Projectus and his fellow-citizens. But St. Hilary had made
 himself obnoxious to the Roman Council by the boldness with
 which he had defended himself in the affair of Celidonius, and
 still more by his abrupt departure. The result was that the
 ordination he had made was declared null, and Projectus re-
 established in his see. They further accused St. Hilary of
 "claiming authority to regulate all the churches of the
3 c. 2. "Gauls³," by which we are probably to understand those
 districts which had formerly made up the old province of
 Narbonnensis. They accused him of "going through these
4 c. 6, 7. "districts accompanied by a troop of armed men⁴, to appoint

“Bishops to the vacant churches, to fix the meeting of A. D. 445.
 “Councils, and to interfere with the rights of the Metro- — ^{CH. V.}
 “politans.” Perhaps he found it necessary to have an
 escort in countries occupied by the barbarians and infested
 with war.

The Council of Rome forbade him to encroach on the ^{V.}
 rights of others; deprived him even of the authority which ^{St. Leo's}
 he had over the province of Vienne; prohibited him from ^{letter}
 being present at any ordination; declared him cut off from ^{against St.}
 the communion of the holy see; and represented it as an act ^{Hilary.}
 of grace that he was left in his Church and not deposed¹. ^{1 c. 7.}

This we gather from a letter of St. Leo to the Bishops of
 the province of Vienne², in which he first extols the primacy ^{2 Ep. 10.}
 of St. Peter and the authority of the Roman Church, and
 relates the complaints against Hilary, whom he treats as the
 disturber of the union of the Churches, as presumptuous and
 encroaching. He gives these rules concerning ordinations;
 that they should be reserved for the Metropolitans alone³; ^{3 c. 5.}
 that they should be conducted in peace and quiet; that the
 subscription of the clergy, the testimony of the magistrates,
 with the consent of the senate and people, should be held
 requisite⁴, and that they should be held on Sundays⁵. He ^{[1 Bingham.}
 adds, that each province ought to be content with its own ^{4. 2. and}
 Council⁶, and that no one should be excommunicated on ^{17. 5.]}
 slight grounds⁷. He declares to the Bishops of the Gauls ^{5 c. 6.}
 that he does not wish to lay claim to the government of ^{6 c. 7.}
 their provinces, but to preserve the rights and privileges of ^{7 c. 8.}
 each, and to keep them in union⁸. Lastly, he proposes to ^{8 c. 9.}
 appoint for their Primate, if they approve of him, the Bishop
 Leontius, who was recommended both by his merit and his
 great age, without prejudice to the rights of the Metro-
 politans. It is thought⁹ that this Leontius was Bishop of ^{9 v. not.}
 Frejus, and that St. Leo's intention was to introduce the ^{Quesn.}
 African discipline into Gaul, by giving the primacy to the
 oldest Bishop for the time being, not to a particular see¹. ^{1 [Bingham.}
 But the Gauls did not accept this proposal. ^{2. 16. § 6.]}

St. Leo, wishing to back up his decision by the authority
 of the Emperor Valentinian who was then at Rome, obtained
 a rescript directed to the Patrician Aëtius, who was general
 of the Gallie troops². It contains for the most part the same ^{2 Novell.}
 Theod. tit.
 24.

A. D. 445.
CH. VI.

complaints against St. Hilary, whom it treats as an encroaching, seditious, person, who had offended against the majesty of the empire and the respect due to the holy see. "For the future, therefore," adds the Emperor, "we forbid Hilary, or any other person, to make use of arms in ecclesiastical affairs; and we ordain that the Bishops of Gaul and the other provinces undertake nothing at variance with ancient custom without authority from the Pope¹; that his injunctions have the force of laws; and that every Bishop who, on being cited to his Court, shall neglect to appear, be compelled to it by the governor of the province." This

[¹ Papæ
æternæ
urbis.]

² 8 Id. Jun.
Valentiniano vi. Cos.

³ 13 Kal.
Jul.

⁴ Nov. Val.
lent. lib. ii.
tit. 2.

⁵ Ibid. tit. 1.

rescript is dated the sixth of June, 445.²

On the nineteenth of the same month³, the Emperor Valentinian issued another edict against the Manicheans, who had been so fully convicted at Rome about eighteen months before. It is directed to Albinus Præfect of the Prætorium⁴, and enforces all the ancient penalties against them, ordering that they should be prosecuted wherever they are found, and permitting all persons to accuse them. The Emperor was at Ravenna the year before⁵, when the Manichees were convicted; and the Pope seems to have taken advantage of his presence at Rome, to procure this edict.

Two years after, the Emperor Valentinian being again at Rome, made a law⁶ in which the ancient penalties were enforced against those who dug into sepulchres to obtain marble or other things still more valuable from them. Even the clergy were charged with this crime, and the Emperor decides that they deserved to be punished with greater rigour than others. He ordains that they should immediately lose the name of Clerks; that they should be proscribed and banished for life; and that no exception should be made even in the case of Bishops. The law is directed to Albinus, Præfect of the Prætorium and Patrician, and is dated the thirteenth of March, 447.⁷

⁷ 3 Id. Martias
Callypio Cos.

VI.
The virtues
of St. Hilary
of Arles.

⁸ Vit. Hilar.
c. 17.

St. Hilary on his return to Arles, directed all his efforts to appease St. Leo, and wrote several letters on the subject⁸. He sent first the Priest Ravennius, (who was his successor,) then the Bishops Nectarius and Constantius. Auxiliarius, the Præfect of Gaul, being at that time at Rome, received them

with great respect, and often conversed with them on the virtues of St. Hilary, his constancy, and contempt of human things. He also spoke with Pope St. Leo, as he testifies in a letter to St. Hilary, adding, "Men will scarcely endure us to speak with that boldness which an honest conscience would prompt us to make use of; and the ears of the Romans are somewhat delicate¹. If you would humour them a little, you would gain a great deal without losing any thing. Comply with me thus much, and disperse these little clouds by a slight change in your position." After this answer, St. Hilary returned to his pastoral functions and his exercises of piety², as if he had but just begun them, and during the three or four years he survived, (up to the year 449,) these formed his sole occupation^b.

A. D. 445.

CH. VI.

[¹ Aureus Romano-
rum quā-
dam tene-
ritudine
plus tra-
hantur.]² c. 18.

^b The consistency shewn by St. Hilary was worthy of the friend of SS. Honoratus, Eucherius, Germain, Lupus, and Vincentius. Unwilling to provoke his brother into the assertion of unjustifiable claims, he yet never receded from his rights, but continued in the exercise of his office to the end of his life, apparently with the approbation of the Bishops of his province, who, on the election of his successor, sent a letter to St. Leo, vindicating the precedence of Arles, (infr. c. 45.) Nor was he wanting in the respect due to his primate; but he knew that the prerogative of a primate in respect of inferior Bishops is otiose, so long as these obey the canons. (v. Greg. M. l. ix. Ep. 59. olim vii. 65. Quesnel. Diss. v. p. 527.)

Since this is an important incident in the history of the Roman Patriarchate, the following remarks may not be misplaced. I. As to Celsidonium: St. Leo never even intimates a defect of jurisdiction on the part of St. Hilary, or any invasion of Metropolitan rights, —which he was not slow to do in the case of Projectus;—he owns that had the charge against Celsidonium been substantiated, the sentence itself was valid. He reversed the sentence. Two questions therefore arise: (1) of the *decision*; were St. Hilary, St. Germain, and a Council examining witnesses on the spot, or was St. Leo, hearing the cause at Rome, in the best position for ascertaining the truth? Doubtless the former. (2) Of the *prerogative*; had the Bishop of Rome power to reverse the decision

of a Gallie Synod? The Bishops of Gaul held, with those of Africa (Quesn. p. 486), that the Episcopate was one and undivided, and held by the whole body of Bishops in common (supr. xxv. 47. b.): in the assigned portions of Christ's flock, therefore, each Bishop had power to judge offenders without appeal, except to a provincial or higher Synod; to appeal to another Bishop was to violate episcopal unity. This applied whether a Presbyter were judged by a Bishop, or a Bishop by his Metropolitan; v. Ep. Afr. Episc. ad Cael. (supr. 24. 35), and c. De Marca, de Conc. vii. c. 2 and 6. The canons of Sardica indeed committed to the Roman Bishop the power—not of deciding on appeal, but—of ordering a provincial Synod to hear, or rehear, a cause. (De Marca, vii. 3.) But not even thus much was allowed by the African Church (supr. xxi. 6), who inherited their views from St. Cyprian, nor by the Easterns, who never placed the Sardican canons in their collections. (De Marca, vii. c. 4.) St. Hilary then might well complain, when Celsidonium was received at Rome as a communicant (contrary to the canons, Nicen. 5. Eliber. 53. Arelat. I. c. 16, etc.), and when St. Leo set aside the sentence of a judicial Synod on one lawfully tried and convicted. II. As to Projectus, it is not so clear that St. Hilary did not transgress his jurisdiction. But indeed we know nothing of the facts, not even to what province Projectus belonged, (Quesnel's conjectures, in Apol. pro S. Hilar., are very precarious,) and we

A. D. 445.
CH. VI.

From the commencement of his episcopate he never ceased to practise the same poverty and mortification which he had maintained as a monk, wearing but one coat (a hair cloth) winter and summer, going always bare-foot, and working with his own hands¹. He had a table placed before him with a book and some nets²; a notary, with his writing implements, sat by his side. He read and dictated from time to time, still keeping his hands in constant motion, as he knotted his cords and wove his nets. He also laboured in cultivating the ground³, more so indeed than his strength would bear^c, for he had been educated in a way that corresponded with the dignity of his family. He always had something read to him at

¹ c. 8. 14.
supr. 24. 58.
² c. 12.

³ Gennad.
c. 71.

should bear in mind that Leo had only *ex parte* evidence before him. Baronius (a. 464. § 8.) reminds us how hard it was for one who had so many important interests to attend to, as the Bishop of Rome had, to preserve himself from being unfairly prepossessed by designing men. III. As to Hilary's wishing to regulate all the Churches of the Roman Province in Gaul. The few facts, still remaining, which bear on this point, tend to shew that Arles was of old the ecclesiastical metropolis, —from the time of Trophimus (infr. c. 45), downward. So early as A.D. 255, the *litteræ formatæ* of travellers in Gaul were addressed to the Bishop of Arles (Cypr. Ep. 68. ad Steph.). Its ecclesiastical pre-eminence would not be weakened by the civil importance attached to it by Constantine (supr. xxi. 52), nor does it appear that it was ever disputed until the close of the fourth century. The causes of its being then questioned were manifold, but chiefly two, (1) the subdivision of old Narbonensis (into Narbonensis, Viennensis, Alpes Grajæ, and Alpes Maritimæ); for the ecclesiastical distribution had always a *tendency* to follow the civil, however really independent of it (Innoc. Ep. 18. ad Alex. supr. xxiii. 26); (2) the unsettled state of France, (*omnia sus deque acta*, says Honorius, in Constit. ann. 418.) owing to the influx of the barbarians and the usurpations of tyrants, during which Valentinian says (Constit. de Eccl. Cap., ann. 425) that the Churches and clergy lost many of their privileges. It was at this crisis that (α) Vienne asserted its rights to be a metropolis (Conc. Taurin. a. 404. supr. 21. 52),

and that (β) Proculus claimed a presidency over Narbonensis Secunda (recently detached from Viennensis). Respecting (α), Pope Zosimus, who appears to have studied the subject more attentively than any other, calls the primacy of Arles *vetus privilegium* (Ep. 5. ad Univ. Ep. Gall.), and in Ep. 8. ad Narbon., he frequently presses this consideration: "*vetus consuetudo—prisca institutio—antiqua consuetudo*," are his phrases. His decision was acted upon by Patroclus, Honoratus, and Hilary; by the last two probably not without the advice of St. Germain and St. Lupus. The case (β) is sufficiently determined by the fact that, on the death of Proculus, Narbonensis reverted to Arles, and so remained in the time of Pope Symmachus, A.D. 514 (Ep. 9). IV. St. Leo states his aim to be, not to interfere with the internal arrangements of the Gallic Churches, but only to confirm their union with the Roman Church. St. Hilary, though desirous of maintaining communion with the mother Church, sought to maintain the integrity of the Episcopate, which he thought in danger. Thus the failings, if so be, of good men serve only to make their goodness more evident. *Qui non zelat, non amat*; their jealousy on behalf of the Church was a proof of their love for it. However, it would ill become us to scan their conduct as if we were their judges; but "*quia tantorum virorum*," to use the words of Honoratus, "*præsertim jam ad supernam gloriam vocatorum* nec in "*narratione audeo judicia ventilare, hæc breviter tetigisse sufficiat*."

^c See Bloomf. Rec. Syn. on St. Luke xvi. 3. "I have not strength (οὐκ ἰσχύω) " to dig."

his meals, and he introduced this custom into the cities. On A. D. 445. Sundays he rose at midnight, walked on foot thirty miles, (or CH. VII. ten leagues,) and assisted at Divine Service, after which he preached; this lasted to the seventh hour, or an hour after mid-day. He lived in one common house with his clergy, having only his cell like the others. He had such loving affection for the poor, that, to provide funds for the redemption of captives, he sold all the plate that was in the churches, even to the sacred vessels, and reduced himself to patens and chalices of glass.

For the times he lived in, he was very eloquent; a specimen of his style still survives in his eloge of St. Honoratus his predecessor¹. On fast-days he kept the people together by his discourses from mid-day to four o'clock². If he had only a rustie congregation to listen to him, he accommodated himself to their capacity by a plain way of speaking; but he rose into a style of singular grace and dignity if men of superior education happened to come in, so perfect a command had he over his language. He had frequently in private admonished the person who was at that time Præfect³ touching the injustice he committed in his decisions; but all to no purpose. One day he came to church, accompanied by his officers, while St. Hilary was in the middle of a sermon. The holy Bishop broke off, saying that the Præfect was unworthy of receiving the heavenly nourishment after neglecting the advice which he had given him for his soul's health. The Præfect retired in confusion, and St. Hilary pursued his discourse. Such was this holy Bishop; but he wasted himself so much by his fastings and labours, that he died in his forty-eighth year. His life was written by Honoratus, Bishop of Marseilles, his disciple⁴; who states that he left behind him homilies on all the festivals of the year, an exposition of the Creed⁵, and a great number of letters.

He was an intimate friend of St. Germain of Auxerre, whom he called his father and respected as an Apostle. For St. Germain was obliged to go to Arles, to intercede with Auxiliaris, Præfect of Gaul, in behalf of his native city of Auxerre, which, on his return from Great Britain, he had found laden with extraordinary imposts⁶. In all the places he passed through, on this journey, the people went out in crowds

¹ ap. Leon. Opp. t. i. p. 752. ² c. 11.

³ c. 10.

⁴ Gennad. c. 99. Martyr. R. 5 Mai. v. ibi Baron. [5 Supr. 25. 23. m.]

VII. St. Germain's second journey into Britain.

⁶ Vita S. Germ. per Const. t. i. c. 29. Roll. t. xxvii. p. 214.]

A. D. 445. with their wives and children, to meet him and receive his
CH. VII.
1 c. 32. benediction. At Alise¹, Nectariola, the wife of a Priest named Senator, kept some of the straw which she had used for the holy Bishop's bed, and a possessed person being bound upon it was healed. As he drew near to Arles, the Præfect Auxiliaris, contrary to custom, went a considerable distance to meet him². He was struck with his gracefulness, his politeness, and the authority of his conversation, and found that he even exceeded his reputation. He made him some valuable presents, and requested him to heal his wife, who had been long suffering under a quartan-fever. He obtained his request, and granted St. Germain the immunity which he had asked for his people.

St. Germain, after his return home, was invited a second
3 l. ii. c. 1. time into Great Britain³, to assist the Church against the Pelagian heresy, which was again beginning to spread itself there. St. Germain took for his companion on this journey⁴
4 c. 2. St. Severus, Bishop of Treves, disciple of St. Lupus of Troyes. They set out in the year 446. In their journey to Paris,
5 Supr. 25. St. Germain inquired after St. Genevieve⁵, and understood
16. that her reputation was violently assailed by divers calumnies. He, who knew her perfectly, went to her house, and saluted her with so much humility that every body was surprised. He spoke to the people in her justification, and for a proof of her virtue shewed, in the place where she lay, the ground wet with her tears^d. Having convinced all of her innocence, he continued his journey, and passed safely over into Britain.

The evil spirits bruited the news of his arrival throughout
6 c. 3. the island⁶, so that one named Elaphius, the chief of the country, without any other information, came to meet the holy Bishop, bringing with him his son, yet in the flower of his youth, who had his ham contracted and his leg withered. A great number of people followed them, and as St. Germain knew that most of them had preserved the Catholic faith, and that the heresy was taught by comparatively few, he sought these out, found them, and condemned them. In

^d Homer makes his pure Penelope
 say,

ἦτοι ἐγὼν ὑπερῶιον εἰσαναβάσα
 Λέξομαι εἰς εὐνήν, ἥ μοι στονόεσσα τέ-

τυκται
 Ἄει δάκρυσ' ἐμοῖσι πεφυρμένη.
 Odys. P. 101.

the mean time¹ Elaphius presented his son to him. St. Ger- A. D. 445.
main made him sit down, and, touching his ham and leg, ^{CH. VIII.}
healed him in the presence of the multitude. The miracle ^{1 c. 4.}
confirmed the people in the Catholic Faith, and St. Germain
exhorted them to banish error from among them. All were
unanimous in the resolve to expel the heretics from the whole
Church; they brought them to the two Bishops, in order to
have them sent into the remotest parts of Gaul²: so Britain ^{[² ad medi-}
was delivered and retained the purity of the Faith. ^{terranea]}

Scarcely had St. Germain returned home³ before he was ^{3 c. 5.}
called by a deputation to the coast of Armorica, now Bre-
tagne. Aëtius, who at that time commanded in Gaul, wish-
ing to punish these rebellious tribes, had sent Eocharich,
King of the Alemans⁴, a proud and cruel idolater, to reduce ^{[⁴ So Su-}
them to submission. St. Germain immediately set out, and ^{rius: in the}
found the barbarian chieftain already in the country with ^{MSS. *Ala-*}
numerous cavalry. He advanced on his way until he fell in ^{*norum.*]}
with him; when, addressing him by means of an interpreter,
he humbly supplicated him to proceed no farther. On his
refusal, he rebuked him, and at last seizing the bridle of his
horse, stopped him, and with him the whole army. The
barbarian astonished at his hardihood, listened to his pro-
posals of peace, and returned to his post, agreeing not to
ravage the province, provided they could obtain their pardon
from either the Emperor or Aëtius.

With this view St. Germain undertook to travel into Italy⁵, ^{VIII.}
and visit the Emperor at Ravenna. Stopping on the road at ^{The death}
the house of his friend Senator the Priest, he healed a young ^{of St. Ger-}
woman who had been dumb twenty years. He told Senator ^{main.}
that they would never see each other again in this world. ^{5 c. 6.}
At Autun he healed a girl whose hand was contracted so that
the nails had grown into the flesh. He arrived at Milan one
day when several Bishops had assembled to celebrate the
feast of some saints⁶; he entered church during the time ^{6 c. 10.}
of mass without being expected or known by any. But
one who was possessed cried out from the midst of the
people, "Germain, why dost thou come to seek us in Italy?
"Let it suffice thee to have driven us out of Gaul, and to
"have vanquished the Ocean and us by thy prayer." The
people inquired wonderingly who this Germain was. At

A. D. 445. length, in spite of the meanness of his dress, they recognised
 CH. VIII. him by the majesty of his countenance. He owned who he was; the Bishops saluted him with respect, and entreated him to deliver the possessed. He complied, took him aside into the vestry¹, and brought him back healed.

[¹ secre-
 tario]

² c. 13. He did many other miracles during the remainder of his journey, so that he was in every one's mouth at Ravenna², where the Court was residing and looking forward to his arrival with impatience. He entered the town by night for the sake of privacy; but the people were looking out for him.

³ c. 13, 14. He was received with great joy³ by the Bishop St. Peter Chrysologus, by the young Emperor Valentinian, and his mother Placidia. She sent to his lodgings a large silver dish full of dainties, but without any mixture of flesh; St. Germain, on his part, sent her a barley loaf on a wooden tray. The Empress ordered it to be enchased with gold, and kept the loaf, which performed several wondrous cures. The

⁴ c. 15, 16. Saint worked many miracles at Ravenna⁴, where six Bishops

⁵ c. 17. continually attended him. The son of Volusian⁵, Chancellor (or Secretary) to the Patrician Sigisvultus, was in the crisis of a virulent fever. At the desire of his parents and of the Bishops, the Saint went to see him. They were met by one who told them that they were giving themselves trouble in vain, for that the youth was dead. The Bishops entreated St. Germain to proceed. They found the young man dead and cold, and having prayed for the repose of his soul, they were beginning to return. The people immediately raised a shout, and importuned the Saint to pray to God for the life of the young man; he reluctantly complied, and, having put them all out, he prostrated himself near the corpse, and prayed weeping. The dead man began to stir; he opened his eyes, he moved his fingers. St. Germain raised him, he sat up and revived little by little till he was in perfect health. St. Germain could have easily procured pardon for the people of Armorica⁶, (which was the object of his journey,) if they had not themselves prevented it by a new revolt.

⁶ c. 18.

⁷ c. 19.

One day after matins⁷, as he was talking with the Bishops on religious matters, he said to them, "My dear brethren, I commend my passage to you. Methought I this night saw our Saviour, who gave me provision for a journey,

“and told me it was to go to my native country and receive
 “eternal rest.” A few days after this he fell sick. The
 whole city was alarmed; the Empress went to see him¹, and
 he desired of her as a favour that she would send his corpse
 back to his own country; which she granted much against
 her will. He died at Ravenna on the seventh day of his
 sickness, which was the last of July. St. Peter Chrysologus
 took his cowl and hair shirt², the six other Bishops parted the
 rest of his clothes amongst them. The Eunuch Acholius³,
 Prefect of the Emperor’s chamber, one of whose servants
 he had healed, had the corpse embalmed⁴; the Empress
 clothed it with rich vests, and gave a coffin of cypress; the
 Emperor furnished the carriages, and defrayed the expense
 of the journey, including the pay of the officers who attended
 it: the Bishops provided that religious reverence⁵ should be
 paid to it at Ravenna and in the whole course of the journey.
 The funeral train thus became very magnificent⁶; the number
 of lights was so great that they shone even at broad day.
 Every where, as it passed, the people came out to meet it,
 and paid it every kind of respect. Some levelled the roads or
 repaired the bridges, others bore the corpse or, at the least,
 sang psalms. The Priest Saturnus, one of the Saint’s disci-
 ples, who had by his order remained at Auxerre, was there
 informed of his death by revelation, and communicated the
 tidings to the people. He set out along with a great multi-
 tude to go as far as the Alps, to meet the procession. At
 Vienne the body was deposited in the church of St. Stephen,
 which had just been built at the entrance of the city by the
 care of Priest Severus, on the site of a heathen temple in
 which the pagans worshipped a hundred gods. Severus was
 an Indian by birth, and famous for his miracles⁷. St. Ger-
 main had promised him, as he passed, that he would come to
 the dedication of his church; and so it was, that the corpse
 arrived on the very day of the dedication, before the service
 had begun. It reached Auxerre fifty days after his death;
 and having been exposed ten days to the veneration of the
 people, it was interred on the first of October, in the oratory
 of St. Maurice, which he had founded⁸ on the spot where
 at present the famous abbey stands which bears his name.

A. D. 415.
 CH. VIII.

c. 20.

c. 21.

c. 22.

¹ Hist.
 Episc. Au-
 tiss, c. 7.
 [p. 417.]

⁵ religio-
 nis obse-
 quium]

c. 24.

⁷ Ado.
 Chron. .Et.
 6. [ap. fol.
 499. Hist.
 Christ. De
 la Barre.]

⁸ Heric, i.
 c. 24.
 Holland.
 u. s. p. 262.]

St. Germain held the see of Auxerre thirty years and twenty-

A. D. 445. five days; he died therefore in the year 448¹. The see was
 CH. IX.
¹ Supr. 23. vacant four years, which is apparently to be attributed to the
 46. desolation of Gaul by the barbarians.

IX. There were still Priscillianists in Spain. St. Turibius,
 Priscil- Bishop of Astorga in Gallicia, having discovered some of
 lianists in them in his city, convicted them in a judicial process, in
 Spain. which the Bishop Idacius assisted him; they sent the Acts
 to Antoninus, Bishop of Merida². St. Turibius gave an ac-
 count of them to Idatius and Ceponius, who seem to have
 been the two principal Bishops of Gallicia. He writes thus³:
² Idat. “ I have travelled through many provinces, and have every
 Fast. an. 21. “ where found one and the same faith; but on returning
 Valent. p. “ to my own country I perceive with grief that the errors
 30. t. ii. “ which the Catholic Church has condemned long ago, and
 Roncal. “ which I had thought extirpated, are again daily sending
³ Ep. Tu- “ out fresh shoots, taking advantage of the disorder of the
 rib. post “ times, which has put a stop to the holding of Councils.
 15. Leon. “ Hence the people come to the same altar, but attaching
 [p. 459.] “ different senses to their Creed; for when these heretics are
 “ pressed, they deny their errors and make their dishonesty
 “ a cloak to their heterodoxy. They have a great many
 “ apocryphal books, which they prefer to the canonical
 “ Scriptures [under the notion of their being esoteric]; yet
 “ they teach things which are not found in those books (so
 “ far as I have had access to them), whether it is that they
 “ derive their doctrines from them by interpretation, or that
 “ these really are contained in more private books. In the
 “ Acts which bear the name of St. Thomas, it is stated that
 “ he did not baptize with water, but only with oil; and this
 “ is the custom of the Manichees⁴, though not of our heretics.
 “ They have, moreover, the pretended Acts of St. Andrew,
 “ those of St. John composed by Leucius, and the book en-
 “ titled, The Memoir of the Apostles, in which, among other
 “ blasphemies, they make our Saviour speak against the Old
 “ Testament. There is no doubt that the Apostles could
 “ have done the miracles contained in these books; but it
 “ is certain that the discourses have been inserted by the
 “ heretics. I have extracted from them several passages full
 “ of blasphemy, which I have ranged under certain heads,
 “ and have answered according to my ability. I thought

⁴ Fleury,
 8. 12.

“myself bound to inform you thus much, that no body may
 “keep or read these books under pretence of not knowing
 “them. It is for you to examine the whole, and, with your
 “brethren, to condemn whatever you shall find contrary to
 “the Faith.” This letter was accompanied by a memoir,
 which is not extant.

St. Turibius sent a similar letter and memoir to St. Leo, ^{N. St. Leo's letter to Turibius. 1 Leo. Ep. 15. (al. 93.)}
 by a Deacon of his church named Pervincus; and St. Leo answered him in a long letter dated¹ the twelfth of the calends of August, in the Consulate of Calpius and Ardaburis, i. e. July the twenty-first, 447. He there takes notice of the punishments inflicted on the first Priscillianists², and adds, ^{2 Supr. 18. 30.}
 “Though the Church eschews all sanguinary means of
 “avenging itself, it is nevertheless assisted by the laws of
 “Christian princes; and the fear of corporal punishment
 “sometimes makes men betake themselves to the spiritual
 “remedy. But now that the incursions of our enemies pre-
 “vent the laws from being executed and the difficulty of
 “travelling has made Councils uncommon, the lurking error
 “has found freedom amidst the public calamities. One may
 “imagine how many of the people are infected by it, when
 “there are even Bishops who teach it.”

St. Leo then gives answers to sixteen articles which St. Turibius had sent him, and which contained the same errors that I mentioned in my account of the rise of this heresy.³ ^{3 Fleury, 17. 56.}
 St. Leo's answers on each article are precise and theological, and the errors are all confronted with express authorities of Scripture. The Priscillianists, besides using certain apocryphal books, corrupted those of the canon⁴. St. Leo therefore ^{4 c. 15.}
 ordains, that no one should make use of these spurious copies and that the apocryphal writings should be entirely suppressed; because, although they had a show of piety in them, they drew men aside into error by the fabulous wonders which they related. As there were some who kept the sermons of Dictynnius⁵, though full of these errors, under ^{5 c. 16.}
 the pretence that he died in the communion of the Church, St. Leo prohibits them as well as the others. Dictynnius had been Bishop of Astorga before St. Turibius, and had abjured Priscillianism⁶ at the Council of Toledo, A.D. 400. ^{6 Supr. 20. 48.}

St. Leo notices in this letter the similarity there was be-

A. D. 445. tween the Priscillianists and the Manichees, and he sends
 CH. XI. St. Turibius the Acts of the proceedings he had instituted

¹ Supr. 26. against the latter at Rome¹. In conclusion he orders them
 54. to hold a Council, in which they should examine whether
 there were any Bishops infected with the heresy, that all
 such, unless they condemned their errors, might be deprived
 of communion. He desires that it may be a general Council
 of the provinces of Tarracona, Carthagera, Lusitania, and
 Gallicia; if this could not be done he requests that at least
 the Bishops of Gallicia should be assembled by the diligence
 of Idatius, Ceperius, and Turibius. These letters of St. Leo,
 as well to St. Turibius as to the other Bishops of Spain, were
 carried by the Deacon Pervincus², and some in Gallicia sub-
 mitted to his decisions, though it was only in appearance.

² Idat.
 Chr. 23.
 Valent. [p.
 31.]

It happened, as St. Leo had foreseen, that the Bishops of
 Spain could not meet in a general Council. The provinces
 were too completely divided; Rechila, King of the Sueves,
 being master of Gallicia, and the rest being occupied by the
 Goths. However, they held two Councils; one in Gallicia,
 the other from the four provinces of Tarracona, Carthagera,
 Lusitania, and Bætica³. St. Leo wrote to the Council of Gal-
 licia, by a notary of the Roman Church, also named Turibius;
 and the Council of the four provinces drew up a confession
 of faith against the Priscillianists, and sent it to Balconius,
 Bishop of Braga, at that time the metropolis of Gallicia.
 This confession, followed by eighteen articles of anathemas,

³ Conc.
 Brac. II.
 t. v. p.
 837 A.

⁴ t. ii. Conc.
 p. 1227.

⁵ v. Quesn.
 Diss. 14.
 [p. 722.]

⁶ Martyr. R.
 Apr. 16.

XI.
 Letter to
 the Bishops
 of Sicily.

is still extant⁴; it closely resembles the one which bears the
 name of St. Augustine in an old book of the canons of the
 Roman Church⁵. The Church honours the memory of the
 holy Bishop Turibius on the sixteenth of April⁶.

⁷ Ep. 16.
 (al. 4.) v.
 not. Quesn.

The Bishops of Sicily baptized not only at Easter and
 Whitsuntide, but also on the Epiphany, in honour of the day
 on which they believed that Christ received Baptism. St. Leo
 being informed of this, wrote to them telling them to correct
 this abuse, and exhorting them to follow the discipline of the
 holy see, from which they received their episcopal consecra-
 tion⁷. This shews that in the suburbicary provinces, i. e. in
 the southern part of Italy and Sicily, none but the Pope con-
 secrated Bishops. "The whole life of CHRIST," says St. Leo,
 "was one succession of miracles and mysteries; but the

“ Church not being able to honour them all at once, has A. D. 445.
 “ apportioned the commemoration of them to various days. CH. XI.
 “ Now Baptism derives its efficacy chiefly from His death
 “ and His resurrection, both which are more expressly re-
 “ presented in that Sacrament¹. His death is there expressed [1 c. 3.]
 “ by the abolishing of sin; the three days of His burial by
 “ the three immersions; His resurrection by the rising out
 “ of the water. The solemnity of Pentecost follows, because
 “ the descent of the HOLY GHOST was the consequence of
 “ our Saviour’s resurrection; and it holds out the hand of
 “ assisting grace to those who were prevented from being
 “ baptized at Easter, whether by sickness or travelling or
 “ any other impediment. We see too, that St. Peter bap-
 “ tized three thousand persons on the day of Pentecost². 2 Acts 11. 37.
 “ Baptism, therefore, should be administered only on these
 “ two days³, and then to none but such as shall be elected, [3 c. 5.]
 “ after having been exorcised, examined, sanctified by fast-
 “ ings, and prepared by frequent instructions⁴. These two 4 c. 6.
 “ are the only legitimate days for those who are in health
 “ and at liberty; but Baptism may be administered at any
 “ time in cases of necessity, as, in peril of death, during a
 “ siege, in time of persecution, or, in danger of shipwreck⁵.”

As to the argument drawn from our SAVIOUR’S Baptism, St. Leo observes first, that it is not certain that He received it on the day of Epiphany, “some,” he says only, were of that opinion^f. Besides, “CHRIST received only the Baptism

^e On the stated times of Baptism, cf. *supr.* xxv. 18. b. “At first,” says St. Ambrose, “all taught, all baptized, on any day, at any time; but when the Church had absorbed the nations into itself, churches were built, rulers appointed over them, and the different orders received distinct offices; so that now Baptism is not administered by the inferior clergy or the laity, nor except on fixed days.” *Comm.* in Eph. iv. As to the reasons for restricting Baptism to Easter and Pentecost, besides the one drawn from the connection of the events commemorated in those festivals with the parts of baptisms, there were others (of less intrinsic value), as, the greater publicity of the Catechumen’s reception into the Church at a high feast, and the more methodical attention that

would be given to his instruction in Lent and Easter-tide. On the other hand, however, there was danger lest some might stifle their convictions with the excuse of putting off their Baptism till Easter; see Basil. *Hom.* 13. Chrys. *Hom.* 1. in Act. i. ix. p. 13. ed. Montf. Cf. Tertull. de Bapt. c. 19. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 10. de Bapt.

When Infant-Baptism became general, the custom grew out of use: yet the rubric of our Baptismal Service, as it stood prior to 1661, stated that it was “thought good to follow the same, as near as conveniently might be.” s. Wheatley, *ch.* vii. § 1.

^f v. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 10; Vales. in Theodoret. ii. 27; Mosch. *Prat. Sp.* c. 21 f; Victor de Persec. *Vand.* lib. ii., referred to by Bing. xi. 6. § 7.

A. D. 445. " of John, and that to fulfil all righteousness, and to set an
 CH. XII. " example ; just as He was circumcised and practised the legal
 " ceremonies. But He instituted the Sacrament of Baptism
 " at His death, by the water which flowed from His side with
 " the blood." For the better preservation of uniformity in
 discipline, St. Leo directs them to send three Bishops annually
 from Sicily to Rome on the twentieth of September, to assist
 at one of the two Councils, which, according to the canons,
 were to be held every year. This letter was conveyed by the
 Bishops Bacillus and Paschasinus, who were to send an ac-
 count to the Pope of their execution of his orders. It is dated¹
 the twenty-first of October, 447.

¹ 12 Kal.
 Nov. Ali-
 pio et Ar-
 dabure
 Coss.

At the commencement of the preceding year, he had
 written to Senecio and the other Metropolitans of Achaia,
 who were six in number, with a view to maintain them firm
 in their obedience to the Bishop of Thessalonica. They had
 declared themselves very well satisfied with St. Leo's ap-
 pointment of Anastasius of Thessalonica to be his Vicar for
 Illyricum. One of these Bishops, however, had frequently
 made unlawful ordinations, besides ordaining to the town of
 Thespia a Bishop who was entirely a stranger to the place.
 St. Leo exhorts them all to come, when summoned, to the
 general Council of Illyricum², that is, to send two or three
 Bishops to it from out of each province ; and he declares
 that a Metropolitan has no power to ordain a Bishop merely
 of his own will, without the consent of the clergy and people.
 This letter is dated the sixth of January, 446.

² Ep 13.
 [P. 444.]

XII.
 Death of
 Proclus.
 Flavian his
 successor.

³ Menol. Gr.
 Niceph.
 Chr.
 Supr. 26. 27.
 Niceph.
 Hist. 14. 47.
 v. Garn.
 Diss. 2. de
 libr. Th.
 [Auct. Th.
 p. 108, sqq.]

Proclus died on the twenty-fourth of October, 447, having
 held the see of Constantinople thirteen years and three
 months³. He was succeeded by Flavian, Priest and Treasurer
 of that church. This ordination was distasteful to the Eunuch
 Chrysaphius, Præfect of the Chamber, who had conceived
 some prejudice against Flavian. He urged the Emperor to
 demand of Flavian eulogies for his ordination. Flavian sent
 him some white bread, as a symbol of his blessing. Chry-
 saphius aimed at something very different, and sent him
 word that he must make a present of gold. The Bishop
 answered that he had none, unless it were the consecrated
 vessels ; but that the goods of the Church belonged to God,
 and were designed for the poor. From that time Chrysaphius

resolved to spare no pains to procure Flavian's deposition; A. D. 445. CH. XIII. but as he was supported by Pulcheria, who in fact ruled all by her authority, he proposed to begin by removing her from the position she then occupied. He therefore prevailed on the Emperor, by means of his wife Eudocia, to demand of Flavian that he should ordain Pulcheria deaconess. The Emperor sent for him and made the proposition to him in private. Flavian was grieved when he heard it, but, without manifesting his concern to the Emperor, he wrote secretly to Pulcheria, telling her not to appear before him, lest he should be obliged to do something which might not be agreeable either to her or to himself. She conjectured what the design against her was, and withdrew to Hebdomon^s. The Emperor Theodosius and the Empress Eudocia were highly incensed against Flavian for having discovered their secret; and thus the foundation was laid for his after disgrace.

When Theodoret heard of the ordination of Flavian, he wrote him a complimentary letter¹, hoping to find in him a protector; for it was now two years since he had received the Emperor's orders to retire to his diocese of Cyrus, with a strict injunction to confine himself to it. The time is ascertained from the letter to the Consul Nomus², whose Consulate fell on the year 445. He was accused of having preached a sermon at Antioch, after the death of St. Cyril, in the presence of Domnus, in which, it was alleged, he had spoken thus³: "No one is now any longer forced to blaspheme. Where are those who say that it is God who was crucified? God is not crucified; it was a man, even Jesus CHRIST, who was crucified. There is now no more dispute; Egypt and the East are under one yoke; envy is dead, and heresy is buried with it." He was further accused of having ordained to the see of Tyre the Count Irenæus, who had been twice married, and who had displayed so much ardour at the Council of Ephesus in the

XIII.
Theodoret
banished.

¹ Ep. II. [i. iii. p. 904.]

² Ep. 81.
[p. 952.]

³ Conc. V.
coll. 5. tom.
v. p. 508. D.

^s A large meadow or common extending from the walls of the city to the seventh milestone at the head of the Golden Horn. Constantine had built a palace in it, to which his successors retired to recreate their jaded

spirits. (Ruffinus, l. 3. de Vit. Patr. n. 19.) See Dufresne, CP. Chr. lib. ii. p. 173, sqq., and his Disq. ad Zonar. Ann. p. 126. ed. Par., (reprinted at the end of the CP. Chr. ed. Venet.)

A. D. 445. cause of Nestorius. Lastly, Theodoret was charged with
CH. XIII. disturbing the Church by the Councils which he was con-

¹ Ep. 80. 79. tinually assembling at Antioch¹; and this is the only reason specified in the Emperor's letter. He obeyed, and left Antioch without bidding any one farewell, that he might escape the importunity of some who would gladly have detained him there.

But he complained to divers persons of the injustice of being thus branded and condemned without any judicial examination. He wrote about it to the Patrician Anatolius, to the Præfect Entrechius, to the Consul Nomus, to Eusebius

² Ep. 79, 80, Bishop of Ancyra². "It is not," he says³, "that I am dis-

³ Ep. 79. satisfied with living at Cyrus; I can truly say, I love it
 [p. 950. B.]

"better than the most celebrated cities, because God has
 [⁴ ἀναγκά.] "thing⁴ to be tied down to it of necessity, not of choice.

v. Arist. "This measure strengthens the wicked and makes them
 Meta. b. iv.

⁵ Ep. 81. "more untoward." And again⁵; "The cities are all open to
 [p. 953. B.]

"heretics, to pagans, to Jews; and I who fight for the doc-
 "trine of the Gospel am expelled from all the cities. But it
 "is said that I hold wrong opinions. Let a Council then be
 "called: let me explain myself in the presence of the Bishops
 "and magistrates, and let the judges state which opinion is
 "conformable to the doctrine of the Apostles." And after-
 "wards: "I never came of my own accord to Antioch, neither
 "under Theodotus, nor under John, nor under Domnus; I
 "yielded a constrained obedience, after being summoned five
 "or six times, and then only out of deference to the canons,
 "which denounce those who refuse to attend the Councils."

He remarks in these two letters that he had now been Bishop
⁶ Supr. 25. twenty-five years⁶; that during the whole of that time he had
 30. never accused any one, nor been himself accused; and that
 none of his clergy had ever appeared before the tribunals. He also recounts, in self-justification, the benefits temporal and spiritual which he had conferred on his diocese.

⁷ Ep. 82. In the letter to Eusebius of Ancyra⁷, he says, "Those who
 "are reviving the heresy of Marcion and of the other Docetæ,
 "enraged at my open refutation of them, have endeavoured
 "to circumvent the Emperor, treating me as a heretic, and
 "charging me with dividing into two sons our Lord Jesus

"CHRIST. But they have not succeeded, for the order
 "which has been issued against me contains no accusation
 "of heresy." Afterwards; "So far am I from embracing so
 "detestable an opinion, that it grieves me to have found some
 "of the Fathers of the Council of Nicea, who, whilst writing
 "against the Arians, have pushed the division of the hu-
 "manity and the Divinity too far. That it may not be
 "thought that fear leads me to speak thus for the nonce,
 "you may read what I wrote previously to the Council of
 "Ephesus, and afterwards twelve years ago. For, by the
 "grace of God, I have explained all the Prophets, the Psalms,
 "and St. Paul. I wrote long since against the Arians, Mace-
 "donians, Apollinarians, and Marcionites. I have composed
 "a mystical book, a book on Providence, another on the
 "Questions of the Magi, the Life of the Saints, and many
 "more¹. I defy my accusers and judges to point out in them
 "any opinion that I have not found in Holy Scripture."

A. D. 445.

CH. XIV.

[¹ v. Fabric.
 Bibl. Græc.
 ed. Harles.
 t. viii. pp.
 277—309.]

Of the works here mentioned by Theodoret, the first, against the heretics, are lost, unless they lie concealed under the name of some other author². Neither are the mystical book and the answers to the Magi now extant. But we have his Commentaries on the Prophets, the Psalms, and St. Paul³. The Life of the Saints is the *Philotheus*, otherwise called The Religious History⁴, which contains the lives of thirty hermits whom Theodoret had known, beginning with St. James of Nisibis and ending with St. Dominus. But besides the works which he enumerates in the letter to Eusebius, he had at that time composed a large treatise On the diseases of the Grecians⁵, that is, on the errors of the pagans; it is divided into twelve books, and contains ample stores of erudition. Above a hundred ancient authors are quoted in it. He had also written a commentary on Solomon's Song⁶.

XIV.
 Theodoret's
 writings.

² v. Garn.
 Diss. p. 259.

³ t. i, ii, iii.
⁴ t. iii. [p.
 757.]

⁵ t. iv. [p.
 461.]

⁶ t. i. [p.
 983.]

It is thought that it was during this forced retirement that he wrote his *Eranistes* or *Polymorphus*⁷, so called because he maintained that the error which he assailed in it was a mere cento of several old heresies. It was the opinion held by those who⁸, carried away by their extreme zeal against the Nestorians, fell into the opposite heresy, affirming that there was but one nature in Christ. The work is divided into three dialogues; the title of the first is *Immutable*, because

⁷ t. iv.
⁸ Pref. in
 Eran.

A. D. 447. the author there shews that the Word making Himself flesh suffered no change; of the second, *Inconfusable*, where he shews that the Incarnation took place without confusion of the two natures; of the third, *Impassible*¹. He refers to Theophilus of Alexandria and St. Cyril, as among the orthodox Fathers², and quotes Latin Fathers as well as Greek³. He gives several syllogisms, in an appendix, in proof of the same three truths, that the Word is immutable, incapable of mixture, and impassible.

XV. Those whom he attacks in this work were, he says, obscure persons, who had no other means of attaining celebrity than by their crimes. This may refer to certain Eastern Monks, or, as he elsewhere says, certain clerks of Orrhoene⁴, who came to Alexandria, and accused Theodoret of having divided CHRIST into two Sons, in the discourses which he delivered at Antioch⁵; they also charged the Bishops of Cilicia with the same error. Dioscorus of Alexandria wrote about it to Domnus of Antioch, complaining more particularly of Theodoret. The latter wrote to Dioscorus justifying himself, and appealing to the many thousands⁶ who heard him at Antioch, whilst his accusers, he says, numbered but fifteen at most. "I taught six years," he proceeds, "under Theodotus of blessed memory; thirteen years under the blessed John, who was so delighted with my discourses, that he often rose up and clapped his hands⁷. This is now the seventh year of the holy Bishop Domnus; and, hitherto, none either of the Bishops or the clergy have found any fault with aught that I have said." The seventh year of Domnus falls on the year 447.⁸

Theodoret then protests that he is desirous of following in the steps of the Fathers and of preserving the Faith of Nicæa. He explains his belief respecting the Incarnation, which is the same as the Catholic. He refers to the book in which he had made use of the authority of Theophilus and St. Cyril, that is, to the Eranistes. Then he adds⁹, "I believe you are well aware that St. Cyril, of blessed memory, frequently wrote to me. And when he sent his books against Julian, and the Treatise on the Scape-goat, to Antioch, he desired the blessed John of Antioch to shew them to the most celebrated doctors of the East. John sent them to me; I read

[¹ ἄτρε-
πτος, ἀσύγ-
χυτος, ἀπα-
θήs]

² Dial. 2.

p. 101. 110.

³ Dial. 3.

p. 167.

XV.
Theodoret's
letter to
Dioscorus.

⁴ Ep. 87.
[p. 965.]

⁵ Ep. 83. ad
Diosc. [p.
957.]

[⁶ πολλὰ
μυριάδες.]

[⁷ v. Supr.
25. 30.]

⁸ Supr. 26.
46.

[⁹ p. 960. B.]

“them with admiration; I wrote my opinion of them to A. D. 447.
 “St. Cyril, and he sent me an answer, bearing witness to ^{CH. XVI.}—
 “my accuracy and affection. I still possess these letters.”
 He finishes with this profession of faith; “If any one denies
 “that the holy Virgin is the Mother of God; or if he says
 “that our LORD JESUS CHRIST is a mere man; or if he
 “divides into two sons¹ the only-begotten Son and first-born ^{[¹ εἰς δύο}
 “of every creature, let him be deprived of the hope which is ^{ἰσθὺς μὴ}
 “in CHRIST.” ^{ξεί]}

Theodoret wrote, at the same time, a circular letter to the
 Bishops of the two Cilicias², in which he informs them that ² Ep. 81, 85.
 the widely-spread slander against them took its rise, as he
 was told, “from some few people, who divide the Incarnate
 “Word into two persons³.” He refers to the passages of Scrip- ^{[² εἰς δύο}
 ture which are most express for the Unity of Person: those ^{πρόσωπα}
 two of St. Paul⁴, “There is but one LORD JESUS CHRIST;” ^{διαιρούν-}
 and again, “One LORD, one Faith, one Baptism:” ^{τῶν]}
 and those ¹ 1 Cor. 8, 6; Eph. 4. 5.
 of the Gospel⁵, “No man hath ascended up into heaven, but ^{John 3. 13;}
 “He that came down from heaven, the Son of Man who ^{6. 62.}
 “is in Heaven;” and again; “If ye see the Son of Man
 “ascend up where He was before.” Theodoret exhorts the
 Bishops to repress those who oppose this doctrine out of
 ignorance or contentiousness: “if indeed there be any
 “such,” he adds, “and the charge against them be not as
 “calumnious as the one against us.”

Dioscorus paid little regard to Theodoret's letter⁶. On the ^{XVI.}
 contrary, he permitted his accusers to pronounce a public ^{Theodoret's}
 anathema against him in the church of Alexandria, and he ^{letter to}
 himself rose up from his seat and joined in the cry of ^{Flavian,}
 ‘anathema.’ He went still further; he sent Bishops to Con- ⁶ Ep. 86.
 stantinople to accuse Theodoret and the Easterns. Theodoret
 complained of this to Flavian of Constantinople. “I sent one
 “of our Priests,” he says, “with a synodal letter to Dio-
 “scorus, to inform him that we abide by the reconciliation
 “made under Cyril of blessed memory; that we approve of
 “St. Cyril's letter, and cheerfully⁷ admit St. Athanasius's ^{[⁷ ἀστα-}
 “letter to Epictetus and the Creed of Nicaea. The clergy ^{σίως]}
 “whom he sent here satisfied themselves, by experience, that
 “none of the Eastern Bishops hold opinions contrary to the
 “apostolic doctrine.” He then shews the injustice of the

A. D. 447.
CH. XVII.

[¹ τὰς διοικησεις διεκρίναν]

anathema pronounced against him, urging that the Council of Constantinople, agreeably to that of Nicæa, had divided the jurisdiction of provinces¹ in such sort that the Bishop of Alexandria had no right to diocesan power out of Egypt. "He is ever vaunting," he adds, "of the chair of St. Mark; though he knows very well that Antioch possesses the chair of St. Peter, who was not only the teacher of St. Mark, but the first and chiefest of the Apostles^h." And afterwards; "Know, my lord, that his displeasure against us dates from the time when, in conformity with the canons, we gave our assent to the synodal letter which you drew up under Proclus of blessed memory. He has once and again complained to us about it, as if we had betrayed the rights of the Churches of Antioch and Alexandria." This synodal letter of Proclus is probably² the one which was afterwards produced at the Council of Chalcedon, relating to Athanasius, Bishop of Perrha in Syria. Dioscorus pretended that the Easterns, by receiving this letter, had acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Constantinople over the Bishop of Antioch; who, up to that time, had been the third Bishop in the world, those of Rome and Alexandria alone taking precedence of him.

² v. Garn.
ad Ep.
Theod. 86.
[Auct. p.
223.] Infr.
28. 28.

XVII.
Deputation
from Syria
to Constantinople.

To defend Theodoret, and the Eastern Bishops generally, against the calumnies of the clergy of Orrhoene and of others who had gained the ear of Dioscorus, Domnus, Bishop of Antioch, sent Bishops to Constantinople on his part, as Dioscorus had on his. The Bishops of Syria set out in the depth of winter³, (at the end, that is, of the year 447,) and Theodoret gave them several letters. Two and twenty of these are still extant⁴, comprising communications to thirteen great officers, most of whom had been Consuls⁵; to some of the clergy of Constantinople⁶; and to three Bishops,—Flavian of Constantinople⁷, to whom Theodoret took this opportunity

³ Ep. 94. 101.

⁴ Ep. 100, 101, etc.

⁵ Ep. 88, 89,

sqq.

⁶ Ep. 105—

108.

⁷ Ep. 104.

^h Τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν Ἀποστόλων πρῶτος καὶ κορυφαῖος. So, too, Dionys. de Eccl. Hier. c. 5. § 5, Cyril Alex. l. 12. in Johan. (t. iv. p. 1118), and S. Chrys. t. iii. p. 4. E; vi. p. 282. E; ix. 48. A. and in perhaps a dozen other places. It is (not 'a hyperbolical flash or flourish' as Barrow thinks, vol. vii. p. 150, but) a very exact and expressive phrase. The Coryphæus of the Greek chorus

was, to be sure, not of a higher rank than the rest, but in him the whole was united and personified, so that the chorus always spoke and was addressed through him as one integer: (S. Ambr. in Psal. 38. Quod Petro dicitur, Apostolis dicitur; and S. August de Agon. Christ. 30. Cum dicitur Petro, ad omnes dicitur, Pasce oves meas.) Cf. supr. xxv. 48. c.

of sending a second letter; Basil of Seleucia¹, who was then at A. D. 447.
Constantinople; and Eusebius of Ancyra², whom they were CH. XVIII.
to visit on their route. In the letter to Flavian, he gives a ¹ Ep. 102.
doctrinal exposition of his belief, and notes down the various ² Ep. 109.
heresies respecting the Incarnation. Simon, Basilides, Valen-
tinus, Bardesanes, Marcion¹, and Manes, acknowledge Christ
only as God, attributing humanity to Him in appearance only.
The Arians [and Eunomians] say that the Word assumed a
body only, to which He supplies the place of a soul. Apol-
linarius says that He took a body that was animated³ indeed, [³ ἐμψυχωρ.]
but not by a reasonable soul. On the other hand, Photinus,
Marcellus of Ancyra, and Paul of Samosata say that He is
a mere man. To the last, therefore, we must oppose those
passages which prove the Divinity of Christ, to the first
those which prove His humanity.

In the mean time, Theodoret heard from Constantinople XVIII.
that there was an Emperor's order for deposing Irenæus, Irenæus of
whom he had ordained Bishop of Tyre. He wrote about it Tyre de-
posed.
to Domnus, and stated the reasons for supporting that ordi-
nation. "I did it," he says⁴, "out of deference to the votes ⁴ Ep. 110.
" of all the Bishops of Phœnicia, and because I knew his
" zeal, his magnanimity, his love of the poor⁵, and other [⁵ φιλο-
" virtues. Besides, I do not know that he ever refused to πτωχία]
" call the holy Virgin 'Mother of God,' or maintained any
" other opinion contrary to the Faith. As to the question
" of bigamy, I followed the examples of our predecessors.
" Alexander of Antioch, assisted by Acacius of Berrhæa, or-
" dained Diogenes, who had been twice married; Præyllius
" of Jerusalem ordained Domninus of Cæsarea, who had
" been twice married; nay, Proelus of Constantinople ap-
" proved of this very ordination of Irenæus, as also did the
" principal Bishops of Pontus, and all those of Palestine."

The first impulse of Irenæus, on being apprised of this
order, was at once to withdraw. However, he consulted
Theodoret⁶, who advised him to wait till he was forced to do ⁶ Ep. 3.
so, and not voluntarily to abandon his flock. The subject of [P. 890.]
consultation was concealed beneath this parable. An impious
judge allowed two Martyrs to choose whether they would
sacrifice to idols, or throw themselves into the sea: one of

¹ On these Gnostic leaders, see Neander, vol. ii. pp. 54, 70, 96, 119. (E. Tr. 1844.)

A. D. 448. them at once rushed into the waves; the other chose neither
 CH. XIX. part of the alternative, but waited until he was thrown in by force. Theodoret approves of the conduct of the latter.

The order against Irenæus was executed; he was deposed, and Photius ordained Bishop of Tyre in his stead. Irenæus is comprehended in a law of Theodosius¹, which declares, first, that all the writings of Porphyry against the Christian religion shall be burnt: and secondly, that the Nestorians, if Bishops or Clerks, shall be expelled from their churches; if laymen, excommunicated; and permission is given to all Catholics to lodge an information against them. If any books maintain a doctrine not conformable to that of the Council of Nicæa, of the Council of Ephesus, and of St. Cyril, they are to be burnt; all persons whatsoever being prohibited from reading or keeping them, on pain of capital punishment. This article seems to be aimed at the writings of Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodorus of Mopsuestia. Lastly, the law provides that Irenæus, who had incurred the high displeasure of the Emperor as being a Nestorian, and, after that, had been ordained contrary to the canons [since he had been twice married], should be ejected from the Church of Tyre, and should not leave his country but remain there in quiet, without either the name or the dress of a Bishop. This law was published in the church of the monks of Egypt, on the three and twentieth of Pharmouthi, in the first indiction, in the year of Diocletian 164; that is, the eighteenth of April 448. Photius however had been installed Bishop of Tyre in the preceding February.

XIX. This is evident from an assembly which was held there, Proceed- relative to the affair of Ibas or Ihiba², Bishop of Edessa. He
 ings against Ibas. was the successor of Rabbula, but held the very reverse of
 [* Assem. his opinions; for Rabbula had steadily adhered to St. Cyril
 B. O. t. iii. pt. 1. p. 85.] and the Council of Ephesus³, whilst Ibas had belonged to the
³ Supr. 26. party of Nestorius and the Easterns, down to the re-union
 36. effected by Paul of Emesa. The clergy of Edessa were divided, several being opposed to Ibas. Four Priests belonging to this party were stimulated by Uranius⁴, Bishop of Himeria in Orrhoene, who held a correspondence with Eutyches, an Abbot of Constantinople, a very zealous man against the Nestorians. These four Priests, whose names were Samuel,

⁴ Cone. Calch. Act. 9. p. 626. E. [p. 627. D.]

Cyrus, Eulogius, and Maras, preferred bills against Ibas to A. D. 446.
 Domnus, Bishop of Antioch¹, who summoned Ibas to appear ^{CD. XIX.}
 before him; but as it was Lent (apparently in the year 446) ^{1 Act. 10.}
 the convention was not appointed to meet until after the holy-
 days. In the mean time Domnus enjoined Ibas to remove
 the excommunication, which he had pronounced against
 these Priests. Ibas committed the whole matter to the
 judgment of Domnus, who, out of respect for the festival,
 released them from their excommunication, on condition
 that they should not leave Antioch before the affair was
 definitively arranged; failing in this condition, they were to
 be deposed. In spite of this, before Ibas arrived at Antioch,
 Samuel and Cyrus left Antioch for Constantinople²; and <sup>[² ἐῖς τὴν
 κομητῆατον]</sup>
 Maras and Eulogius alone remained behind.

Domnus assembled a numerous Council at Antioch, at
 which Uranius of Himeria was present³. The bills against ^{3 p. 645. C.}
 Ibas were ordered to be read; and as the names of four
 accusers were mentioned and only two were forthcoming,
 the Council asked what had become of the others⁴. The ^{4 p. 642. E.}
 answer was, that they had withdrawn; "we have heard," it
 was added, "that they are gone to Constantinople." The
 Council pronounced them guilty of default, and, as such, to
 have incurred the penalty of deposition. The Bishop Uranius,
 with the Priests Eulogius and Maras, accompanied the other
 accusers of Ibas to Constantinople, where they joined Samuel
 and Cyrus, and presented a petition to the Emperor, re-
 questing that, as they had reason to suspect Domnus, they
 might have other judges allowed them. They eventually ob-
 tained letters by which Uranius himself was commissioned,
 jointly with Photius, Bishop of Tyre, and Eustathius, Bishop
 of Berytus, to take cognizance of the accusation entered
 against Ibas by Samuel, Cyrus, Maras, and Eulogius⁵. The ^{5 C. Calch.}
 bearer of this order was Damascius, Tribune and Notary of <sup>Act. 9. p.
 628. C.</sup>
 the Emperor, whose special commission was dated at Con-
 stantinople, on the seventh of the calends of November⁶, that ^{6 p. 637.}
 is, the twenty-sixth of October; the year must have been
 447^k. He brought with him the Bishop Uranius, a Deacon

^k The chronology of these events is doubtful. Fleury has followed Baro-
 nius (a. 448. § 57), who disposed of
 the date assigned in the Acts of Tyre,

"after the Consulate of Zeno, &c.,"
 by the summary process of correction.
 Baluze (not. in C. Calch. ap. Mansi,
 t. vii. p. 197) thinks that "post con-

A. D. 448. of Constantinople named Eulogius, (who was sent by the
 CH. XX. Bishop Flavian,) and the accusers of Ibas, namely, the four
 [1 p. 635. D.] Priests of Mesopotamia, and some monks¹.

XX.
 The arbi-
 tration of
 Tyre.

When they came to Tyre, Photius and Eustathius opened the Emperor's commission, and the adversaries of Ibas preferred various articles of indictment, the most heinous being one relating to the Faith. For they alleged that Ibas was a Nestorian, and that he had said publicly in the church, "I do not envy CHRIST's becoming GOD." Ibas denied it on oath, and protested that he was Catholic. The accusers produced against him only three witnesses, against whom he
 [2 p. 635. E.] excepted, because they had lived with his accusers². As they made a great noise and filled the city of Tyre with confusion and scandal, Photius procured their removal out of it; and finding nothing of substance in their accusations, he and Eustathius quitted their character of judges to assume that of mediators, and induced the parties to agree to a treaty; the acts of which were drawn up on the fifth of the calends of March, in the consulate³ of Zeno and Postumian, in the first indiction, according to the Macedonians the 574th year from Alexander, the tenth of the month Perithius⁴, that is, February the twenty-fifth, A.D. 448.

[³ μετὰ τῇ ν
 ὑπατερίαν]

⁴ p. 628.

This treaty purports that Ibas produced a confession of faith in writing, to which he promised to conform himself in preaching in his church, and that he undertook to anathematize distinctly both Nestorius and those who made use of his books and discourses. "He has declared that his belief is conformable to the letters which contain the terms of the union negotiated by Paul of Emesa between John of Antioch and St. Cyril; that he receives all the decrees of the Council of Ephesus as of a Council inspired by the HOLY GHOST, and esteems it equal in all respects to the Council of Nicæa. He has followed up this confession by a promise to forget all that has passed, and to look on his accusers as his children, while they on their part promise to assemble in church with Ibas, acknowledging him for

"sulatum" may mean "post initum consulatum." Noris (Diss. iv. de Epoch. t. ii. oper.) and Pagi (A. 448. § 9) place the commission of Damascius in 418, and the two Councils in 449. Tillemont

agrees with Noris as to the year, but makes the trial at Berytus to have preceded that at Tyre; see note 13. t. xv. p. 897. He is followed by Walch, Ketzherh. th. vi. p. 70.

“ their father, and shewing him all manner of affection. A. D. 448.
 “ That if in future he should think he has reason to CH. XXI.
 “ complain of Samuel, Cyrus, Maras, or Eulogius, he will
 “ not punish them by his own single authority, but only
 “ after and with the advice of Archbishop Domnus. And
 “ whereas Ibas is accused of misapplying the revenues and
 “ offerings of the Church; he agrees to follow the usage of
 “ the Church of Antioch, and to have the revenues of his
 “ Church managed by stewards¹ whom he is to choose from [¹ Supr. 26.
I. a.]
 “ among the clergy.” After this agreement² Ibas and the [² p. 637. A.]
 four Priests communicat^d together in the sacred gifts in
 the cathedral³ of Tyre. [³ ἐν τῷ
ἐπισκοπείῳ]

The hollowness of this reconciliation soon shewed itself:
 the same Priests renewed their prosecution of Ibas, and
 further accused along with him Daniel, Bishop of Carrhæ,
 his nephew, and John Bishop of Batna⁴. The four Priests [⁴ So Baronius, § 60.
In the concilia it is
Theodosio-
polis.]
 were joined by five new accusers, Ablabius⁵, John, Anatolius,
 Caïumas, and Abib, all Clerks. They came to Constanti-
 nople and addressed themselves to the Emperor Theodosius [⁵ Fl. Al-
banus.]
 and the Archbishop Flavian, who referred the trial to the
 same Bishops as he had nominated on the former occasion,
 (that is, Photius of Tyre, Eustathius of Berytus, and Uranius
 of Himeria,) as appears from those letters of Flavian with
 which Eulogius, Deacon of Constantinople, was entrusted.
 The Emperor also sent letters to the same effect, and, as
 before, charged the Tribune Damascius with the execution
 of them.

But this second time the assembly was held at Berytus⁶ on XXI.
 the first of September in the same year, 448. The three The Trial at
Berytus.
 judges, the Tribune Damascius, the three Bishops who were ⁶ C. Cateh.
Act. 10. p.
637. E.
 impeached, and the nine accusers, were all there. The judges,
 wishing to be thoroughly informed, in the outset, of the posi-
 tion in which the two parties stood to each other, asked Ibas
 what had passed at the Council of Antioch. Samuel, one of
 the accusers, rose and said: “ We beg that what is spoken
 “ may be explained in Syriac to the Bishop Uranius; for
 “ he is thoroughly acquainted with what was written by the
 “ Archbishop Domnus to the Archbishop Flavian relative to
 “ our case; he was at Constantinople.” They gave him an
 interpreter named Maras, because they spoke Greek, which

A. D. 448. Uranius, who was a Mesopotamian, did not understand. Ibas, CH. XXI. in answer to the demand of the judges, gave a sketch of the proceedings at Antioch; and as two of his accusers had absented themselves, they read the Acts of the Council, which he held in his hand.

Next in order came the reading of the bill of indictment which had been presented the day before; and the accusers, on being asked severally whether they yet stood to it, declared they did. The articles of accusation were then read, being in number eighteen. Those which concerned Ibas may be reduced to three main heads:—that he was a Nestorian, and had spoken of St. Cyril as a heretic¹:—that he had ordained unfit persons², among others, his nephew Daniel³, whom he had made Bishop in a city of the pagans, which required a pastor of most exemplary life, whereas this was a young man of unsettled and even profligate habits:—that he was greedy of lucre, making his ordinations a source of income⁴, and turning the revenues of the Church, and the donations which were made to it, out of their proper course, for the sake of enriching his nephew and relations⁵. Against Daniel they urged, that⁶ he had a criminal conversation with a married woman of the city of Edessa named Challosa; that he carried her about with him to various places; that he had enriched her at the expense of the Church, so that⁷ she who before was worth nothing was now able to lend two or three hundred sols of gold⁸; and that Daniel had in his will left her and her children the wealth he had amassed [out of the ecclesiastical property⁹:] that besides this he had given her the inheritance of the estate of a rich Deacon¹, and [had cut down timber for her in] the woods belonging to the Church². They also accused Daniel of ordaining the companions of his revels³, and of accepting gifts⁴ for absolving the crime of idolatry⁵.

The judges said that they must begin with the count which spoke of a violation of the Faith, as this was the most heinous⁶. Maras said, “He (Ibas) said in a discourse, ‘I do not envy CHRIST’s becoming God; for I am become so no less than He!’” The Bishops asked Ibas if he had

¹ This charge, if substantiated, would have proved Ibas to be, not, as the in-

dictment says, a Nestorian, but rather a Samosatzenian. Though he so strongly

¹ art. 11.

² 4. 5.

³ 6.

⁴ 3.

⁵ 1. 2. 7. 8.

⁹ 13.

⁶ 6.

⁷ 15.

[⁸ νομισμά-
των]

⁹ 14.

¹ 16.

² 18.

[³ 12.]

[⁴ σπύρ-
τωνα]

⁵ 17.

⁶ p. 651. D.

spoken thus: he answered, "Anathema to him who said it A. D. 448.
 " and to the author of this calumny, for I never uttered it; CH. XXX.
 " God forbid I should." Samuel said, "We have witnesses
 " of it here, we pray you to call them, and let them depose
 " with their own mouths, if they did not hear him say this."
 Ibas said, "I would rather die ten thousand deaths than
 " speak these words. God forbid that I should even have
 " imagined them." The Bishops said, "Do you mean to
 " say that Ibas spoke this in the church?" Samuel said, "It
 " is a custom of the Church, that on Easter-Day or Easter-
 " Eve the Bishop should give some presents with his own
 " hand to the clergy; before doing this, he usually delivers
 " an address; and it was on one of these occasions that he
 " made use of the words in question before all the clergy.
 " We can prove this by some of their number, now present,
 " who heard him say them." The Bishops said, "How long
 " is it since, as you assert, Ibas said this?" Samuel answered,
 " Rather more than three years. He has also said other
 " things which we are ready to prove, if you order it."

The Bishops said, "Who are your witnesses?" Samuel
 answered, "We have three of them here, but if you order it,
 " we will give you the names of others whom we will pro-
 " duce." Ibas said, "Our clergy consists of two hundred
 " persons, more or less. They have given you their testi-
 " mony as to whether I am heretical or orthodox; and have
 " sent their declarations on the subject, in writing, to the
 " Archbishop Domnus and to your holiness. It is for you
 " to examine whether their testimony is compatible with that
 " of these three who went with my accusers to Constantinople,
 " and are still with them." Samuel said, "The proof lies
 " with us, not with the Bishop Ibas; no one ever thinks of
 " proving a negative." The Bishops ordered them to name
 their witnesses. Samuel said, "There is the Deacon David,
 " who has been Treasurer; the Deacon Maras, who recites
 " the writings of St. Ephrem and is the most learned man
 " among the Syrians." Ibas said, "Maras was with them
 " at Antioch; he presented the libels¹ along with them, and

[¹ λιβελλ-
 λους]

repudiated these words, he was still re-
 presented as having made use of them
 by later writers, e. g. in the letter of

Simeon of Beth-Arsama, in *Assem.*
B. O., t. i. p. 350.

- A. D. 448. "went with them to Constantinople. But, in fact, he is ex-
 COMM. XXI. "communicated—not by me, but by his own Archdeacon,
 "for having insulted a Priest, and they, finding him irritated
 "in consequence, welcomed him as an assistant in the work
¹ p. 655. "of accusing me." The Bishops represented¹, that as the
 blasphemy of which Ibas was accused had been uttered, as
 they alleged, in the hall of the Bishop's house², before the
 whole of the clergy, there could be no lack of witnesses. To
 this Eulogius replied, that the greater part were deterred
 from giving evidence by their dread of Ibas; but the Bishops
 were not satisfied with this answer, and said, "We do not
 "receive the deposition of the three witnesses whom you
 "produce; especially as they are persons suspected by the
 "Bishop Ibas."
³ p. 657. E. They now asked him a second time³, if he had really said
 what they laid to his charge. Ibas answered, "I not only
 "never said it, but I anathematize him who said it, whoever
 "he be. I do not believe a devil would utter such words."
 Maras said, "Did you not call the blessed Cyril a heretic?"
⁴ p. 659. "In truth," said Ibas⁴, "I do not remember it; if I did call
 "him so, since the Council of the East had anathematized
⁵ [ἐξάρχῃ] "him as such, I did but follow my Patriarch⁵." Maras
 added, "Did you not say, that unless he had anathematized
 "his articles, you would not have received him?" Ibas re-
 plied, "I said that if he had not explained himself⁶, the
⁶ [ἐαυτὸν
 ἡρμήνευσεν.] "Council of the East would not have received him, nor I
 "either." The Bishops said to the accusers, "State whether
 "you are prepared to prove that he called Cyril a heretic
 "after the re-union with John." Ibas said, "So far was I
 "from anathematizing him after he had explained his articles,
 "that I received and answered his letters, and we were in
 "communion with each other." The Bishops said, "Shew
 "if since the death of the blessed Cyril the Bishop Ibas has
 "called him a heretic." Maras said, "We will do so," and
 he produced a letter from Ibas to a Christian of Persia named
 [⁷ p. 662. B.] Maris^m, which was read aloud⁷.

^m Simeon Beth-Arsam. (Assem. t. i. p. 204) says, "Maris, of the city of Ardaschir, received the Nestorian error from Ibas; and thence the

"whole of Persia began to be infected
 "both from the letters of Ibas and the
 "writings of his masters," i. e. Dio-
 dorus and Theodorus. He afterwards

It contained a complete history of the division which had occurred between Nestorius and St. Cyril. Ibas accuses St. Cyril in it of having fallen into the heresy of Apollinarius, and adds that his Twelve Articles were full of all sort of impiety. He then gives an account of what had passed at Ephesus, always taking care to side with the Easterns against St. Cyril. He inveighs against Rabbula his predecessor, though without expressly naming him; he styles him tyrant, and accuses him of having persecuted not the living only but the dead, especially Theodorus of Mopsuestia, whom he had anathematized publicly in the Church. In conclusion he speaks of the reconciliation mediated by Paul of Emesa between John of Antioch and St. Cyril, the acts of which he sent to Maris, adding, "The dispute is over, there is no more schism, the Church is in peace as before. You will see this by the Acts, which we send you in order that you may inform all of this good news. The middle wall¹ of hatred is removed, and those who, in violation of all order, attacked the living and the dead, are confounded, being obliged to defend themselves and to teach the reverse of what they taught formerly: for no one dares now affirm that there is but one nature of the Divinity and the humanity, but they confess that the temple and He who dwells therein is one only Son, Jesus Christ." Such is the famous letter of Ibas to Maris.

A. D. 448.
CH. XXII.
XXII.
Letter of
Ibas to
Maris.

[¹ μεσότοιχον
Eph. ii. 14.]

Ibas on his part demanded that they should read a letter, which had been written in his favour in the name of all the clergy of Edessa; it was addressed to the Bishops Photinus and Eustathius, his judges². After noticing the blasphemy of which he was accused, they protest that they had never heard any such words from him or from any other person. It ended thus: "We beg and pray that you will send us back our Bishop as soon as possible, especially seeing that the festival of Easter is approaching, when his presence is required for catechising and baptizing." Hence we conclude that the letter was intended for the assembly at Tyre. It was subscribed by sixty-one clerks; namely, thirteen Priests,

informs us that "at Edessa was a Persian school, in which many natives of Persia were trained to learning;"

and so Theodor. Lect., lib. ii. n. 5. p. 572.

A. D. 448.
CH. XXIII.

six and thirty Deacons, eleven Sub-deacons, and a Reader. Several of the subscriptions are stated by the document to have been made in Syriacⁿ; shewing that the two languages, Greek and Syriac, were both used in that Church. On the ground of this declaration taken in connection with the rest, Ibas received his acquittal at Berytus; but the sequel of the acts of this assembly are not extant.

XXIII.
The com-
mence-
ment of
Eutyches.

[¹ Conc. t.
iv. p. 275.]
Liberat. Br.
c. 11.

² Synodic.
c. 203. ap.
N. C.
Baluz. [p.
99.]
Supr. 26. 20.

³ Posthu-
miano et
Zenone
Coss. Leon.
Epist. 19.
(al. 6.)
⁴ Facund.
8. c. 5. [p.
338.]

Eutyches, who had acted in concert with Uranius in the prosecution of Ibas, was himself the originator of a heresy opposed to that of Nestorius^o. He was Priest and Archimandrite of a monastery of three hundred monks¹ near Constantinople. He had been one of the most zealous opponents of Nestorius, and the friends of St. Cyril looked upon him as likely to be a useful auxiliary in defending the Faith². This very year the Pope St. Leo, on being informed by him that Nestorianism was recruiting its forces, had sent him a letter in reply, commending his zeal and encouraging him to persevere. St. Leo's letter is dated³ the first of June, A.D. 448. But the Nestorians, of whom Eutyches complained, were in fact Catholics, as we learn from a synodal letter written by Domnus of Antioch to the Emperor Theodosius⁴. He there accuses Eutyches of reviving the heresy of Apollinarius, by

ⁿ The Syriac was spoken vernacularly over most of Syria and Mesopotamia up to the invasion of Mohammed. (Walton, Proleg. xiii.) The author of the life of Alexander the Acemete, in Bolland, Jan. 15. p. 1023, says, "In that city (Edessa) were many schools of the Syrian tongue erected for the benefit of the neighbouring cities;" which seems to imply that the surrounding country was more purely Syrian than Edessa, at which, as the centre of commerce (supr. xxv. 27. n.) as well as of learning, Greek might be expected to have become naturalized.

^o Most men who have considered the course which church-history takes, have in some stage of their progress felt pain, if not misgiving, at the rapidity with which one heresy seems to follow upon another. To minds in this state we may suggest, *first*, that as wars occupy a wide space on the page of civil history, though often affording scarcely any criterion of the aggregate happiness of a nation, so ecclesiastical history is often

compelled to dwell on the life of a single heretic, while thousands and tens of thousands are passing to their heavenly inheritance unnoticed and unknown. *Secondly*, that from the disproportionate time spent in examining heresies we are apt to think too slightly of the periods of rest, those "intervals of sunshine between storm and storm" in which it "is God's will" to gather in His elect by little and little." *Lastly*, that heresy is overruled to several of the best ends,—to promote humility—to try our faith (1 Cor. ii. 19. Supr. xxvi. 23)—to rouse the careless to an attentive study, and the religious to a more earnest realization of the Christian verities—and to subserve the evolution of these verities in a dogmatic form. Some of these ends are frequently insisted on by St. Augustine: as in the interesting passages collected by Möhler, *Einheit in der Kirche*, Zus. xi. (S. 295, ed. 1843), especially *De Verâ Relig.* c. 15 (t. i. p. 753.)

asserting that the Divinity of the Son of God and His humanity are only one nature, and by attributing His sufferings to the Divinity; he also complains of his having anathematized Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodorus of Mopsuestia, who had defended the Faith against Apollinarius.

Eusebius, Bishop of Dorykeum in Phrygia, had also been one of the most zealous adversaries of Nestorius; it was he who had put forth a protest against him at Constantinople, being at that time only a layman and advocate¹. Similarity of opinion had united him very closely in friendship with Eutyches, but he afterwards discovered, by his conversation, that he pushed matters too far and ran into the opposite heresy. For a long time he endeavoured to reclaim him; but finding him fixed in his opinion he not only renounced his friendship, but on learning that thirty Bishops, who happened to be collected at Constantinople, had met in Synod^p (to decide a difference between Florentius of Sardis, Metropolitan of Lydia, and two Bishops of that province,) he took this opportunity of becoming his accuser.

On the sixth of the ides of November, in the consulate of Zeno and Postumian², (i. e. November the eighth, A.D. 448,) the Council being assembled in the Council-chamber of the cathedral church³ of Constantinople, and Flavian presiding in it; after the affair of Lydia had been settled, Eusebius of Dorykeum, one of the assisting Bishops, rose and presented a bill to the Council, conjuring the Fathers that it might be read and inserted in the Acts. Flavian ordered it to be read by Asterius, Priest and notary; it set forth, that Eutyches was incessantly uttering blasphemies against Christ; that he spoke of the clergy with contempt, and accused Eusebius himself of being a heretic; he therefore begged that the Council would summon Eutyches to answer the charges brought against him. Flavian said, "I am surprised at such a complaint against Eutyches; take the trouble to visit and converse with him, and if you really find that his opinions are wrong, the Council will then call upon him to make his defence." Eusebius replied, "I was formerly his

A. D. 448.
CH. XXIV.

¹ in
A. D. 429.
Supr. 25. 2.

XXIV.
The Council of Constantinople; first and second sessions.
[² ἐν τῇ σηκρήτῳ τοῦ ἐπισκοπέου.]
³ C. Calch. Act. I. p. 150. E.

^p Συνόδου τῆς ἐνδημούσης ἐν τῇ μεγαλοπόλει occurs in the title. This does not mean (as some have taken it) that it was stationary there; it was, in

fact, composed of Bishops who were constantly coming and going. Evagrius (i. e. 9) calls it μερικὴν σύνοδον.

A. D. 448. "friend, and have spoken with him on this subject, not
 CH. XXIV. "once or twice, but several times, since he was perverted.
 "I have admonished him, I have instructed him; but he
 "still persists in saying things contrary to the Faith. This
 "I can prove by several witnesses who were present and
 "heard it. I conjure you therefore to send for him, since
 "he is corrupting a large portion of the people." Flavian
 said, "Be at the trouble to go once more to his monastery,
 "and speak to him words of peace, that no new disturbance
 "may arise in the Churches." Eusebius answered, "Having
 "been so many times without success, it is impossible for me
 "to go any more to hear his blasphemies." The Council,
 finding that he persevered, ordered that his libel should be
 received and inserted in the Acts, and that Eutyches should

[¹ ἑκδικος] be summoned by John, Priest and Defender¹, accompanied by
 the Deacon Andrew, who should read to him the libel and
 summon him before the Council to make his defence.

² p. 156. Six days after this, being the twelfth of November², at the
 request of Eusebius of Dorylæum, they ordered the two
 principal letters of St. Cyril on the Incarnation to be read;

³ p. 157. D. the first to Nestorius³, approved by the Council of Ephesus;

[¹ p. 164.] the second to John of Antioch on the re-union⁴. After these

[⁵ p. 176.] had been read, Eusebius declared⁵ that they contained his
 faith, on which he meant to take his stand in convicting his
 adversaries, and he desired the Council to make the same
 declaration. Flavian said, "This is my faith; that our
 "LORD JESUS CHRIST is perfect GOD and perfect man,
 "composed of a reasonable soul and a body, consubstantial
 "with the Father as touching His GODHEAD and with His
 "mother as to His manhood; and that from the two natures,
 "united in one hypostasis and one person, there results
 "since the Incarnation one CHRIST." He then invited

each of the Bishops to declare his opinion; and this they
 all did, to the same effect though in different words. They
 were Basil of Seleucia in Isauria, Seleucus of Amasia in
 Pontus, Saturninus of Marcianopolis in Mæsia, all three

⁶ p. 181, 184. Metropolitans⁶; Julian Bishop of Cos⁷, the Pope St. Leo's

⁷ p. 188. deputy for managing the affairs of the Roman Church at
 Constantinople; and others, amounting to seventeen in all.

⁸ p. 190. D. This done, Eusebius said⁸, "Some of the Bishops who are in

“ the city have not appeared, either because they are unwell, A. D. 418.
 “ or because they were not aware of the convoking of this CH. XXV.
 “ Council; I desire, therefore, that they may be served with
 “ notices.” Archbishop Flavian gave directions accordingly.

The third session was held in the same place, on Monday XXXV.
 the fifteenth of November¹. Eusebius of Dorykeum desired The third
 that those who had been sent to Eutyches should report his session;
 answer. Flavian directed the notaries to name the persons citations of
 who had been sent; the notaries said that they were John, Eutyches.
 Priest and Defender, and the Deacon Andrew, both of whom
 were present. They were ordered to stand before the Council;
 and the Priest John said, “ When we came to the Abbot Eu-
 “ tyches in his monastery, we read to him the libel, and gave
 “ him a copy of it; we told him who was his accuser, and
 “ read the citation requiring him to appear before you and
 “ make his defence. This he refused to do, saying that from
 “ the first he had made a resolute determination never to
 “ stir out, but to remain in his monastery as if, in some sort,
 “ in his grave. But he desired us to tell you, that the Bishop
 “ Eusebius has been long his enemy and instituted these
 “ proceedings against him only for the sake of doing him an
 “ injury; that for his part he is ready to subscribe the ex-
 “ positions of Faith drawn up by the Fathers of Nicæa and
 “ of Ephesus; that if they were mistaken in any chance ex-
 “ pressions², he does not wish either to censure or to receive
 “ them, but studies only the Scriptures, as being more sure
 “ than the exposition of the Fathers; that since the Incar-
 “ nation he adores one only nature of God incarnate. He
 “ produced a little book out of which he read to this effect:
 “ adding, ‘ When they make me say that the Word brought
 “ ‘ His flesh from heaven, it is a mere calumny, I am inno-
 “ ‘ cent of it; but that our LORD JESUS CHRIST was made of
 “ ‘ two natures united in hypostasis³,—I have not met with
 “ ‘ it in the expositions of the Fathers, nor, if I should have
 “ ‘ any thing of the kind read to me, would I receive it, for
 “ ‘ the Holy Scriptures are of more value than the teaching
 “ ‘ of the Fathers.’ However, he admitted that He who was
 “ born of the Virgin Mary, is perfect God and perfect man;
 “ but not that His flesh is consubstantial⁴ with ours.” The
 Deacon Andrew deposed to having likewise heard all this;

1 p. 191.

[² εἰ τυχὸι
τι ἐν τισι
λάξουσιν ἢ
διασφαλθὲν
ἢ διαπλανη-
θὲν]

[³ ἐκ δύο
φύσεων
ἐνωθεισῶν
καθ’ ὑπό-
στασιν]

[⁴ ὁμοού-
σιον]

A. D. 448.
CH. XXV.

and as the Priest John said that the Deacon of Basil of Seleucia was present at this conversation, Flavian examined him, and he too declared that he had heard the same.

Eusebius of Dorylæum desired that Eutyches should be summoned a second time¹. Flavian said, "God grant that he may come and acknowledge his fault. Wherefore let the Priests Mamas and Theophilus go to summon him once more, and give him our letter of citation," which was then read to the Council: it mentioned that this was the second summons. While they were waiting for the return of the two Priests, and listening to the expositions of the Fathers concerning the Faith, which were being read to them, Eusebius rose and said: "I find that Eutyches has sent a volume round to the monasteries to stir up the monks to sedition; I desire that the Priest of Hebdomon, who is here present, may declare what it is." Flavian ordered him to come forward, and asked him his name. He answered, "Abraham." "What rank do you hold?" "I am Priest in Hebdomon under your holiness." "Have you heard what the Bishop Eusebius has deposed?" "Yes," replied Abraham; "Manuel, the Priest and Archimandrite, sent me to the Priest Asterius, bidding him inform your holiness that Eutyches had sent him a treatise relating to the Faith, with a request that he would sign it." Eusebius desired that they would send to the other monasteries, to know whether the treatise had been sent to them. Flavian consented, and said², "The Priest Peter and the Deacon Patricius shall go to the monasteries of the city; the Priest Rhetorius and the Deacon Eutropius to those of Sycal³; the Priests Paul and John to those of Chalcedon." Sycal was the suburb of Constantinople now called Pera; it received its old name from the fig-trees growing in it⁴.

[³ εἰς δὲ τὰ
πέραν ἐν
Συκαῖς]

⁴ Cang. CP.
lib. i. c. 22.
p. 67.

While Flavian was speaking, Aëtius, Deacon and notary, announced the return of the Priests Mamas and Theophilus. Flavian ordered them to make their report. Mamas said, "When we reached the monastery of Eutyches, we found some monks standing before the gateway. We went in with them, and said to them, 'Announce us to the Archimandrite, for we have somewhat to say to him on the part of the Archbishop and the whole Council.' They said,

“ ‘The Archimandrite is sick and unable to see you; what
 “ ‘is your pleasure? Tell it to us.’ We said, ‘We were sent
 “ ‘to him personally with a citation in writing, which we
 “ ‘now hold in our hands.’ They went in and came back,
 “ ‘bringing with them a monk named Eleusinius, and saying,
 “ ‘The Archimandrite has sent this monk in his stead, to
 “ ‘receive your orders.’ We answered, ‘If he will not admit
 “ ‘us, tell us so.’ We saw they were perplexed, for they
 “ ‘whispered to each other, and muttered that the citation
 “ ‘was in writing. We said, ‘What is it that troubles you?
 “ ‘We will tell you the contents of the citation. The Council
 “ ‘summons him a second time to appear and answer to the
 “ ‘charge laid against him by the Bishop Eusebius.’

“ They again went in and we were presently admitted.
 “ We gave Eutyches the citation; he had it read in our
 “ presence, and then said, ‘I have made a resolution not to
 “ ‘stir out of my monastery till death obliges me; the Arch-
 “ ‘bishop and the Council see that I am old and falling to
 “ ‘pieces¹; they may do what they please; only I beg that
 “ ‘no one may have the trouble of bringing a third citation;
 “ ‘I look on it as already brought.’ He pressed us to take
 “ ‘charge of a certain paper, but we refused, adding, ‘if you
 “ ‘have aught to say, come and say it yourself.’ We would
 “ ‘not even hear it read. He subscribed it, and as we were
 “ ‘taking our departure, told us that he would send it to the
 “ ‘Council.’ The Priest Theophilus confirmed this report of
 Mamas, and the Council ordered that Eutyches should be
 cited a third time by Memnon, Priest and Treasurer, Epi-
 phanius, Priest, and Germanus, Deacon; and a citation in
 writing was delivered to them, requiring him to be present
 on the ensuing fourth day², that is, the seventeenth of
 November.

On the day after the third session, that is, on the six-
 teenth of November, a fourth session was held. Asclepiades,
 Deacon and notary, said, “Some monks from Eutyches, and
 “the Archimandrite Abraham, desire admittance.” Flavian
 said, “Let them come in;” and on his inquiring what was
 the occasion of their visit, Abraham said that Eutyches had

A. D. 448.
 CH. XXVI.

¹ p. 201.
 [γέρων καὶ
 σαθρός,
 f. σαπρός.
 v. Aristoph.
 Pac. 700.]

² p. 204.
 [τῇ τετάρ-
 τῃ ἡμέρᾳ,
 i. e. Wed-
 nesday.]

XXVI.
 The fourth
 and fifth
 sessions.

¹ From his letter to St. Leo (infr. c. 31) it appears that he was at least seventy years old. He had been Archimandrite above thirty years (infr. c. 40)

A. D. 448. sent them because he was sick; he added, "In truth he has
CH. XXVI. "been sleepless the whole night, and has done nothing but
 "moan. I, too, have had no rest, for he sent for me last
 "night, and gave me a message to deliver to you." Flavian
 said, "We do not press him, it is for God to restore him to
 "health, but for us to wait till he is better, we are not in-
 "human¹. God has placed us here to exercise humanity²."

[¹ ἀπανθρώ-
 πίας τέκνα]
² p. 205. Abraham said, "He gave me a message, which I will deliver
 "if you will ask me." Flavian said, "How is it possible,
 "I pray you, when a man is accused, that another should
 "answer for him? We do not press him; if he comes here,
 "he will find fathers and brethren: he is not a stranger to
 "us, we still preserve some friendship for him. If he came
 "formerly to maintain the truth against Nestorius, how much
 "rather should he now come to defend it in his own behalf?
 "We are but human: many great men have been mistaken.
 "There is no shame in repenting, the shame is in continuing
 "in the sin. Let him come and confess his error, and assure
 "us that for the future he will conform to the expositions of
 "the Fathers, and not teach [nor converse about] his private
 "opinions, and we forgive what is past. He must do it. I
 "have known him longer than you." After the Council had
 "risen, Flavian added, "You know the zeal of the accuser;
 "fire itself appears cold to him; God knows how much I
 "have entreated him to abate his warmth; but failing in
 "this, what could I do? Seek I your dispersion³? God
[³ σκορπισ-
 μὲν ὑμῶν] "forbid! I would much rather gather you."

On the next day, the seventeenth of November, a fifth
 session was held. The Priest Memnon, who had been en-
 trusted with the third citation, made his report thus⁴: "Eu-
 "tyches said, 'I sent the Archimandrite Abraham to con-
 "sent, in my name, to all that was declared by the Fathers
 "of Nicæa and Ephesus, and by the blessed Cyril.'" Eu-
 seabius of Dorylæum, fearing that if the Council were satis-
 fied with this declaration, he should pass for a slanderer,
 interrupted the Priest Memnon in his report, and said,
 "Comes he now to consent? I have not accused him about
 "the future, but the past. If an exposition is now offered
 "to him, and he subscribe it from compulsion, do I in con-
 "sequence lose my cause?" Flavian said, "No one holds

⁴ p. 208.

“you released from the duty of making good your charge, A. D. 448.
 “or him from the duty of clearing up the past.” Eusebins CH. XXVI.
 said, “I beg that this message may not prejudice my case;
 “for I have good witnesses. Otherwise, say to thieves in
 “prison, ‘Steal no more henceforward,’ and they will all
 “promise it.” Memnon, continuing his report, said that
 Eutyches asked for the remainder of the week to be granted
 him, undertaking to present himself before the Council on
 the Monday following.

They now called in those who had been sent to the mo-
 nasteries to gather information about the treatise of Eu-
 tyches¹. The Priest Peter said, “We have been to the ¹ p. 209.
 “monastery of Martin, Priest and Archimandrite; and in
 “answer to our inquiries, he said, ‘On Friday last, the
 “twelfth of this month of November, Eutyches sent his
 “treatise to me by a Deacon named Constantine, desiring
 “me to subscribe it. I refused, adding, that it was not for
 “me, but only for Bishops to subscribe.’ He insisted on
 “it, saying, ‘If you do not join me now, the Bishop will
 “crush me, and afterwards fall upon you.’ After that we
 “went to seek the Priest and Archimandrite Faustus.”
 Flavian, interrupting him, asked, “What did the Archiman-
 “drite Martin say about the contents of the treatise which
 “he refused to subscribe?” Peter said, “He told us that it
 “was the doctrine of the Council of Ephesus, and of St. Cyril;
 “that there was a subscription to the volume, which subscrip-
 “tion however was concealed. Similarly the Abbot Faustus
 “said, that Constantine and Eleusinius had brought the
 “volume to him for subscription; and on his asking what it
 “contained, they told him it was the exposition of Nicæa and
 “Ephesus; that he said², ‘we have copies of that by us, let ² p. 212.
 “me have it to examine and see that there is no addition;’
 “but this they refused to do, and went their way. Faustus
 “added, ‘We are the sons of the Church, and, after God,
 “have no other father than the Archbishop.’ Job said
 “that the treatise had not been sent to him; but he had
 “received a message, that a volume was to come from the
 “Archbishop in a few days to be subscribed, ‘which,’ said
 “he, ‘they warned us not to do.’ We saw Manuel, who
 “told us that no book had been sent him, and Abraham

A. D. 448.
CH. XXVII.

“gave us the same answer.” After this report, Eusebius of Dorylæum demanded that Eutyches should be judged according to the canons, alleging that they had already sufficient proofs against him. Flavian agreed with him in this, but yet, to avoid even the appearance of wrong, he granted Eutyches the delay he had asked for, namely, till the Monday following, being the twenty-second of November.

XXVII.
The sixth
session.

¹ p. 213.

[² Supr. 25.
5. i.]

[³ or pro-
tor at the
imperial
court; v.
supr. 25.
51. f.]

⁴ p. 215.

[⁵ φυσιολο-
γείν τὸν
Θεόν μου.]

The sixth session was held on Saturday the twentieth¹. Eusebius of Dorylæum desired that certain persons, who would be required for the substantiation of his charge, might be summoned to appear on the Monday following; they were the Priest Narses, who was Syncellus² to Eutyches, the Archimandrite Maximus, who was his friend, the Deacon Constantine, his Apocrisiary³, and Eleusinius, another Deacon of his monastery. Flavian ordered them to be summoned. Eusebius then said, “I have been informed that the Priests Mamas and Theophilus, who were sent to Eutyches with “the second citation, heard something from him which they “did not depose, and which would be of great service in “shewing what his opinions are; I demand, therefore, that “they declare it before the Holy Gospels.” Mamas was absent; Theophilus being present was called upon to give evidence, and said, “Eutyches asked the Priest Mamas and “myself in presence of the Priest Narses, the Archimandrite “Maximus, and some other monks, in what part of Scripture “we found two natures mentioned; and afterwards, which of “the holy Fathers affirmed that the Word has two natures. “We said to him, ‘Do you, too, shew us in what part of “Scripture the consubstantiality is mentioned⁴.’ Eutyches “said, ‘It is not in Scripture, but in the exposition of the “‘Fathers.’ Mamas said, ‘The same holds good as to the “‘two natures.’ I added,” said Theophilus, “‘Is the Word “‘perfect God, or not?’ Eutyches said, ‘He is perfect.’ “I said, ‘Being incarnate, is He perfect man, or not?’ He “answered, ‘He is perfect.’ I proceeded; ‘If then the two “‘perfects, the perfect God and perfect man, make one only “‘Son, what prevents us from affirming that He is of two “‘natures?’ Eutyches said, ‘God forbid that I should affirm “‘CHRIST to be of two natures, or that I should speculate “‘about the nature of my God⁵. Let them proceed against

“ ‘me as they think fit, I will die in the faith which I have
 “ ‘received.’ ” Flavian asked Theophilus why he had not
 mentioned this the first time. Theophilus answered, “ We
 “ were sent only to cite Eutyches, and thought it unneces-
 “ sary to speak of what was not in our commission.”

When Mamas came, they read to him the deposition which
 Theophilus had just made; after which he said, “ When we
 “ were sent to Eutyches, we did not wish to have any con-
 “ versation with him, but he began a discussion about his
 “ dogma. We reprovèd him gently. He said that the in-
 “ carnate Word came to raise fallen human nature. I im-
 “ mediately asked him ‘*What* nature?’ He again said,
 “ ‘Human nature.’ I said to him, ‘And by what nature
 “ ‘is it raised?’ ‘I have never found in Scripture,’ said he,
 “ ‘that there are two natures.’ I replied, ‘Neither is the
 “ ‘consubstantiality to be found in the Scriptures¹, but in’ p. 217.
 “ ‘the holy Fathers, who well understood them and faith-
 “ ‘fully expounded them.’ He answered, ‘I do not specu-
 “ ‘late about the nature of the Deity², nor do I speak of two
 “ ‘natures, God forbid. Here I am; and if I am deposed,
 “ ‘the monastery shall be my tomb.’ ”

The appointed day, Monday the twenty-second of No-
 vember, having arrived, the seventh and last session was
 held. When the Council had assembled, Asterius, Priest
 and notary, said that the Bishop Eusebius was at the gate.
 Flavian said, “ Let him come in;” and added, “ Let the
 “ Deacons Philadelphius and Beryllus look round the church
 “ to see if the Abbot Eutyches has come according to his
 “ promise.” They presently returned, and said that they
 had searched all the church, and could not find either him
 or any that belonged to him. Flavian then sent the Deacons
 Crispinus and Jovianus to look for him; they returned, and
 said that they were not able to find him, but were informed
 that he was coming with a large escort. The Council was
 still waiting when John, Priest and Defender, came to tell
 them that Eutyches had arrived, attended by a multitude of
 soldiers, monks, and officers of the Prefect of the Prætorium.
 “ They will not suffer him,” said he, “ to enter the Council,
 “ unless we promise to restore him to them. Magnus, the
 “ Silentiary, is also at the gate, and desires admittance as

A. D. 448.
 CH. XXVIII.

[² ἐγὼ θεό-
 τητα οὐ φύ-
 σιολογῶ.]

XXVIII.
 Seventh
 session.
 Appear-
 ance of
 Eutyches.

A. D. 448. "sent from the Emperor." Flavian said, "Let them enter."
CH. XXVIII.

When they had come in, the Silentiary presented and read aloud an order from the Emperor, importing that it was his will that Florentius the Patrician should assist at the Council for the preservation of the Faith. After the reading of this, the Council made some acclamations of thanks and of prayers for the long life of the Emperor;—a sufficient proof that acclamations of this sort were merely ceremonial: for it is plain that the order could not have been agreeable to them. However, they agreed that Florentius should be present, and as Eutyches also consented, Flavian asked the Silentiary to go in quest of him.

[¹ p. 219.
D.]

On the arrival of Florentius¹, they made the accuser and the accused stand in the middle of the Council, and ordered Aëtius, Deacon and notary, to read the minutes of their proceedings up to that time. When they came to the passage in St. Cyril's letter to the Easterns, in which he points out the distinction of the two natures, Eusebius of Dorylæum interrupted the reading and said, "The defendant² does not

[² οὐτος]

"assent to this, he teaches the contrary." Florentius, the Patrician, said, "If it please your holiness, let the Pope³ "Eutyches be asked whether he assents to it." Eusebius desired that the whole of the Acts should be read, saying, "I have sufficient to convict him; if he should now assent "to it, that ought not to prejudice my cause. I fear his "artifices; I am poor, he threatens me with banishment; "he is rich, and designs to have me sent to the Oasis; if "I am found a slanderer, let me lose my dignity." Flavian assured him, that whatever Eutyches might say, it should do him no prejudice.

[³ Bingham. 2.
2. § 7.]

He then said to Eutyches, "You have heard what your "accuser states⁴; say now if you confess a union out of two "natures⁵." Eutyches answered, "Yes; out of two natures⁶." Eusebius said, "Do you confess two natures after the Incarnation, my Lord Archimandrite, and that CHRIST is "consubstantial with us according to the flesh, or not?" Eutyches addressing himself to Flavian, answered, "I did "not come here to dispute, but to declare my sentiments to "your holiness; they are written in this paper, order it to "be read." Flavian said, "Read it yourself." Eutyches

⁴ p. 224.

[εἰ ἐκ δύο φύσεων ἐνωσιν ὁμο-λογεῖς]
[⁶ ναὶ ἐκ δύο φύσεων.]

told him that he could not. "Why?" said Flavian, "Is A. D. 448. CH. XXVIII.
 "this exposition your own, or another's? if it be yours,
 "read it yourself." "It is mine," replied Eutyches, "and
 "conformable to that of the holy Fathers." Flavian asked,
 "What Fathers? Declare it yourself; what occasion is
 "there for paper?" Eutyches said, "Thus I believe: I
 "adore the FATHER with the SON, and the SON with the
 "FATHER, and the HOLY GHOST with the FATHER and the
 "SON. I confess that His incarnate presence¹ came from [¹ τὴν ἐν-
 σαρκὸν αὐ-
 τοῦ παρου-
 σίας]
 "the flesh of the holy Virgin, and that He was made per-
 "fect man for our salvation. This I confess in the presence
 "of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST,
 "and before your holiness."

Flavian said to him², "Do you confess that the same JESUS p. 225.
 "CHRIST, the only SON of GOD, is consubstantial with the
 "FATHER in respect of the GODHEAD, and consubstantial
 "with His mother in respect of the manhood?" Eutyches
 replied, "I have declared my opinion, why do you question
 "me further?" Flavian said, "Do you now confess that He
 "is of two natures³?" Eutyches replied, "Inasmuch as I [³ ἐκ δύο
 φύσεων]
 "acknowledge Him for my GOD and the LORD of heaven
 "and earth, up to this day I have not suffered myself to
 "speculate upon His nature⁴; nay, I own that until now I [⁴ φουσιολο-
 γεῖν]
 "never said that He is consubstantial with us." Flavian
 asked, "Do you not say that He is consubstantial with the
 "FATHER as regards the Divinity, and also with us as re-
 "gards the humanity?" Eutyches answered, "Till this day
 "I have not said that the body of the LORD our GOD is con-
 "substantial with us, but I confess that the holy Virgin is
 "of the same substance as we, and that our GOD was in-
 "carnate of her."

Basil, Bishop of Seleucia said, "If the mother is consub-
 "stantial with us, He is also; for He was called the SON
 "of Man." Eutyches answered, "Since you now say so, I
 "consent to every thing⁵." Florentius the Patrician said, [⁵ πᾶσι
 στοιχῶ]
 "The mother being consubstantial with us, the SON is cer-
 "tainly consubstantial with us too." Eutyches said, "Until
 "to-day I have not said so, for, seeing that I maintain His
 "body to be the body of GOD, (you observe?) I do not use
 "to say that the body of GOD is the body of a man, but that

A. D. 448. "it is a human body¹, and that the LORD was incarnate of
 CH. XXVIII. "the Virgin. But if I must add that He is consubstantial
 [¹ οὐκ ἐῖπον
 σῶμα ἀν- "with us, I say that also; I never said so before; but now
 θρώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ "since your holiness says so, I say so." Flavian replied,
 σῶμα, ἀν- "It is from constraint then, not because it is your opinion,
 θρώπινον δὲ "that you confess the Faith." Eutyches said, "It is my
 τοῦ σῶμα.] "present disposition². Up to this hour, I feared to say it,
 [² ἔρτι οὕ- "knowing that the LORD is our GOD; I did not suffer my-
 τως ἔχω.] "self to speculate about His nature; but since your holiness
 "allows me and teaches me to say so, I say so." Flavian
 said, "It is no innovation of ours; we only follow the faith
 "of our fathers." Florentius, the Patrician, said, "Tell us
 "whether the LORD is of two natures after the Incarnation,
 "or not?" Eutyches replied, "I confess that He was of two
 [³ ἐκ δύο "natures before the union³, but after the union I confess but
 φύσεων γέ- "one."
 γενήσθαι
 πρὸ τῆς
 ἐνώσεως]

⁴ p. 228. C. "The Council said⁴, "You must make a clear confession,
 "and anathematize whatever is contrary to the doctrine
 "which has just been read." Eutyches said, "I told you that
 "I never said it before; since you teach it, I agree to it and
 "follow my fathers. But neither have I found it clearly in
 "Scripture, nor have the Fathers all said so. If I pronounce
 "this anathema, woe is me, for I anathematize my fathers."
 The whole Council rose, and cried aloud, saying, "Let him
 "be anathema." Flavian said, "Let the Council declare
 "what this man deserves, who will neither clearly confess
 "the true Faith nor submit to the opinion of the Council."
 Seleucus, Bishop of Amasea, said, "He deserves to be de-
 "posed, but it lies with you to shew him indulgence."
 Flavian answered, "If he would confess his fault and
 "anathematize his error, we might pardon him." Floren-
 tius asked him, "Do you say that there are two natures, and
 "that CHRIST is consubstantial with us? speak." Eutyches
 replied, "I have read in St. Cyril and St. Athanasius that
 "He is of two natures before the union; but, after the
 "union and Incarnation, they say no more, two natures,
 "but one." Florentius said, "Do you confess two natures
 "after the union? speak." Eutyches answered⁵, "Order
 "St. Athanasius to be read; you will find no such thing
 "there." Basil of Seleucia said, "Unless you say two na-

⁵ p. 229.

“tures after the union, you admit a commixture and con-
 “fusion.” Florentius said, “He that says not, ‘of two na-
 “tures,’ and, ‘two natures¹,’ does not believe aright.” The
 whole Council rose, and cried, “Faith stands not with con-
 “straint²: many years to the Emperors, many years. Our
 “faith is ever victorious. He does not surrender; why do
 “you try to persuade him?”

A. D. 448.
 CH. XXIX.

[¹ ἐκ δύο φύσεων καὶ δύο φύσεις]
 [² μετὰ ἀνάγκης οὐκ ἔστι πίστις]

Flavian pronounced sentence in these terms: “Eutyches,
 “late Priest and Archimandrite, is fully convicted, both by
 “the evidence contained in our Acts³ and by his own pre-
 “sent declarations, of maintaining the error of Valentinus
 “and Apollinarius, and of obstinately following their blas-
 “phemies; the more so because he disregards our advice
 “and instruction, and consents not to receive sound doc-
 “trine. Wherefore, with tears and groans at his utter de-
 “struction⁴, we have determined, through our LORD JESUS
 “CHRIST whom he has blasphemed, that he is deprived of
 “all sacerdotal rank and of our communion and of the
 “government of his monastery; and we inform all who shall
 “hereafter hold converse or company with him, that they
 “will subject themselves to excommunication.” This sen-
 tence was subscribed by two and thirty Bishops, and twenty-
 three Abbots, of whom eighteen were Priests, one a Deacon,
 and four laymen. The most eminent were Andrew, Faustus,
 (who seems to be the son of St. Dalmatius,) Martin, Job,
 Manuel, Abraham, and Marcellus, Abbot of the Aemetes.
 The Bishops of chief note were Flavian of Constantinople,
 Saturninus of Marcianopolis, Basil of Seleucia, Seleucus of
 Amasea, Ætherichus of Smyrna, and Julian of Cos, St. Leo’s
 deputy. As the Council was dispersing⁵, Eutyches told the
 Patrician Florentius, in a low voice⁶, that he appealed to the
 Council of Rome, of Egypt, and of Jerusalem⁷; and Floren-
 tius immediately told it Flavian, as he was going up to his
 apartment [in the hotel.] These words, though spoken

XXIX.
 The con-
 demnation
 of Euty-
 ches.
 [³ τῶν ἡδὴ πεπραγ-
 μένων. Fl.
 ses actions
 passées]

[⁴ παντελεῖ ἀπωλεία]

⁵ C. Calc.
 Act. 1. p.
 244. C. D.
 [alterā pp.
 s.]
 [⁶ πρᾶως]

¹ The omission of Antioch and insertion of Jerusalem is obviously to be assigned to the relations in which the occupants of those two sees stood to Eutyches. Juvenal took the lead in voting for Eutyches at the Latrocinium (infr. c. 40): Domnus, besides his rivalry and actual collision with Dios-

corus (supr. c. 16, 17), had, not improbably, been the first to point out the heretical nature of Eutyches’s teaching. This, indeed, is expressly stated by Faundus (l. viii. c. 5), who gives the letter of Domnus to Flavian. The passage is extracted in Quesnel, Opp. Leon. t. ii. p. 570.

A. D. 448. stealthily, served Eutyches as a pretext for boasting that he
CH. XXX. had appealed to the Pope; to whom he did, in fact, send a
¹ Leon. Ep. 20. (al. E.) letter¹.

XXX. St. Marcellus, Abbot of the Acemetes, was a native of
St. Marcellus Abbot of the Acemetes. Apamea in Syria, of a respectable family². While he was yet
² Vita ap. Sur. 29 Decemb. t. vi. p. 1020. (ed. 1575.) in the flower of his age his parents died, leaving him a large
 fortune; but far from abandoning himself to pleasure, he
 went to Antioch and gave himself up to study and religion.
 He afterwards bestowed all his goods on the poor, and re-
 paired to Ephesus, which at that time contained several
 persons eminent for virtue. As he wrote a good hand, he
³ p. 1021. employed himself in transcribing books³, which supplied him
 with the necessary means of subsistence and of almsgiving;
 and he then passed nearly the whole night in prayer. The
 reputation of St. Alexander, founder of the Acemetes, at-
 tracted him to Constantinople, and he entered himself in
 that community. He there made great progress towards
 perfection; so that foreseeing they would elect him Abbot
 after the death of St. Alexander, he left them and went to
 visit the other monasteries, to profit by what he should find
 best in each, and did not return to his own until after the
⁴ p. 1022. election of the Abbot John⁴, who, however, made him his
 partner in the cares of government.

The Abbot John had been presented with an estate in
 Bithynia, called Gomon, half a league from Constantinople;
 to this place he transferred his society, and built there a
 house, which was afterwards called the great monastery of
 the Acemetes; it also went by the name of *Irenaion*⁵, which
[⁵ v. Bol-land, t. i. p. 1019, 1030.] in Greek means peaceable, on account of the tranquillity
 and freedom which they enjoyed there, much greater than at
 Constantinople, where the novelty of their institute subjected
 them to much opposition and annoyance. The Abbot John
 was ordained Priest on the same day which saw Marcellus
 Deacon. He was esteemed and respected by the wisest of
 the society, but some accused him of vain-glory. To unde-
 ceive these, the Abbot John appointed him to take care of
⁶ p. 1023. the asses⁶; Marcellus accepted the office in the presence of
 the whole community, and bound himself to it, even by
 writing, for the rest of his life. The envious were convinced,
 and conjured him to resume his former employments.

A short time after, on the death of the Abbot John, Mar- A. D. 448.
cellus was elected to fill his place; and so large a number of ^{CH. XXX.} disciples resorted to him, that it became necessary to make considerable additions to the buildings of the monastery. Providence supplied the means. A very wealthy man named Pharetrius came to Marcellus, and placed at his disposal both himself and his children, who were as yet very young, and the whole of his property. Marcellus now built a larger church, an infirmary, and lodgings for strangers, and repaired the old buildings which were falling to decay. He was at the same time entirely disinterested. When his brother, who was very rich, appointed him his heir¹, he distributed all ^{p. 1029.} that was left him to other monasteries of men and women, which he knew to be in need of assistance, reserving nothing for his own convent. Several miracles are related of him, and, among others, this²:—A monk named Paul being sick, ^{p. 1028.} sent to request Marcellus to come and visit him. Marcellus was at that time in his monastery, engaged in conversation with the Bishop of Chalcedon on solemn points of doctrine. As soon as the conversation was ended, he set out to visit the sick man, but found him already dead. They were laying him out for burial. Marcellus was moved even to tears; but after praying for some time, he touched the dead man, who instantly rose and began to speak. Marcellus ordered the persons present not to mention it, but they could not forbear publishing this miracle. Numbers of eminent persons were taken from the monastery of Marcellus³; those who built ^{p. 1023.} churches, or founded monasteries, were always desirous of having his disciples. After giving the night and a great part of the day to prayer, he devoted the rest to the love of his neighbour⁴. First of all he received those who were ^{p. 1032.} troubled in mind, and gave them advice drawn from Scripture and his own experience. Then he gave audience to those who complained of suffering some wrong; and he furnished them with letters of recommendation for the judges and magistrates, and sometimes for the Emperor himself. In the third place, he went to visit the sick, providing for them every kind of assistance. He often accepted the office of arbitrator, in order to terminate differences and reconcile enemies. Such was St. Marcellus, Abbot of the

A. D. 448. Acemetes, who assisted at the Council of Constantinople, and
 CH. XXXI. subscribed the condemnation of Eutyches.

XXXI.
 Letter of
 Eutyches
 to St. Leo.
 1 Synodic.
 c. 222. (ap.
 N. Coll.
 Baluz.)

When Eutyches found himself condemned, he wrote a long letter to the Pope St. Leo¹, complaining of the accusation brought against him by Eusebius of Dorylaeum. "I hastened," he says, "to appear before the Council, though weighed down by age and infirmities, and though aware of the conspiracy formed against me. I presented a petition, which contained my profession of faith, but the Bishop Flavian would neither receive it nor order it to be read. I declared my assent to the very words of the creed pronounced by the Council of Nicæa and confirmed at Ephesus. They demanded that I should confess two natures and anathematize all who refused to do so. For
 [2 definitio] "my part, I stood in awe of the decision² of the Council, that nothing should be added to the Creed of Nicæa, knowing that our holy Fathers Julius, Felix, Athanasius, and Gregory rejected the expression, 'two natures;' and I durst not reason about the nature of the Divine Word or anathematize those Fathers. I therefore begged that the case should be referred to your holiness, promising my unqualified assent to your judgment. But I could gain no hearing: the Council broke up; a sentence of deposition was issued against me; and even my life would have been in danger if I had not been rescued by a body of soldiers. They next compelled the Superiors of the other monasteries to subscribe my deposition, a measure never resorted to even against avowed heretics or Nestorius himself. Nay further; when, to satisfy the people, I published my confession of faith, they would not allow it to be heard, and even tore down the placards on which it was written. Now, therefore, I fly to you, the defender of religion, for assistance, conscious that I have never innovated on the Faith [delivered to us from the beginning]; but anathematize Apollinarius, Valentinus, Manes, Nestorius, and those who say that the flesh of our Lord came down from heaven, as well as all other heresies up to Simon Magus. I beseech you to decide about the Faith, as seems good to you, paying no regard to what has been done against me by a cabal, nor suffering him to be driven from among the

“ Catholics, who has lived threescore and ten years in continence and all the exercises of piety. I have appended to this letter both petitions, that, namely, which my accuser presented to the Council, and that which was taken thither by me, but was rejected; and [I have added an abstract of] what the holy Fathers say concerning the two natures.” After this letter, we meet with one claiming to be from Pope Julius to a Bishop Dionysius¹; in which, while combating the error of Paul of Samosata, he says, that only one nature is to be acknowledged in Christ, just as man is one nature only, though composed of body and soul, which are of different natures; but the genuineness of this letter has been doubted. The Emperor Theodosius also wrote to St. Leo, at the same time, about the troubles which beset the Church of Constantinople; he enters into no details, but simply requests him to use his influence to restore peace. Eutyches, no doubt, obtained this letter through the interest of the Eunuch Chrysaphius, his patron.

St. Leo on receiving these letters, wrote to Flavian thus²: “ I am surprised that you wrote nothing to me about this scandal, and that you were not the first to apprise me of it. Judging by the statement of Eutyches, we do not see with what justice he has been separated from the communion of the Church; but as we wish that the judgments of Bishops should be well matured, we cannot decide any thing without a knowledge of the case. Send, therefore, some suitable person to give us a full account of what has occurred, and let us know what the new error is which has raised itself to oppose the Faith, that we may be able, in fulfilment of the Emperor’s intention, to extinguish this dissension. It will be no difficult task, for the Priest Eutyches has declared in his petition³, that if any fault be found in him, he is ready to correct it.” This letter is dated⁴ the eighteenth of February, 449. The answer to the Emperor is of the first of March⁵.

The Pope’s letter was delivered to Flavian by the Count Pansophius; Flavian returned an answer⁶, of which the substance was, that Eutyches wished to revive the heresies of Apollinarius and Valentinus, maintaining, that before the Incarnation of Christ there are two natures, the Divine and

A. D. 449.
CIL, XXXII.

¹ c. 221.

² Leon. Ep.
20. (al. 8.)

[³ libello]
⁴ 12. Kal.
Mart. Asterio et
Protophane
Coss.

⁵ Ep. 21.
(al. 7.)

XXXII.
Flavian’s
letter to
St. Leo.

⁶ Post Ep.
Leon. 21.

[p. 473.]
C. Catech.
pt. I. c. 4.

A. D. 449.
CH. XXXIII.

the human, but that after the union there is only one nature ; and that His body taken from Mary is not of our substance nor consubstantial with His mother, though he called it a human body. "We have condemned him," he says, "at the instance of the Bishop Eusebius, on the evidence of the answers which he made before the Council, in which he revealed his heresy with his own lips, as you will see from the Acts which accompany this letter. It is right, too, that you should be informed that Eutyches, instead of seeking to make his peace with God and comfort us, in the sorrow we feel at his loss, by true penitence, is busily engaged in troubling the Church, placarding in public what he deems his wrongs¹, and presenting conceited petitions to the Emperor. We find, too, from your letter, that he has sent you a petition filled with falsehoods ; saying, that at the time of the trial he presented us with writs of appeal to your holiness, which is an utter falsehood, fabricated to gain you over to his interests. All this should rouse you, holy father, to employ in this case your usual vigour ; make the common cause your own ; authorize by your writings the condemnation which has been canonically pronounced, and confirm the Faith of the Emperor. Nothing is now required but that you should assist us by expressing your agreement with us ; so that peace may be established and the Council prevented, for the rumour of it has already got abroad, and will disturb all the Churches of the earth." The Council, thus anticipated by rumour in the East, was a general Council, which was eventually convened at Ephesus.

[¹ propositiones injuriarum publice ponens]

XXXIII.
Revision of
the con-
demnation
of Euty-
ches.

² Liberat.
Br. c. 11.
[p. 66. ed.
Garn.]
C. Calch.
p. 241.
³ Ibid. p.
236. D.

The petitions of Eutyches to the Emperor, of which Flavian speaks, had for their object a revision of the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, which he pretended had been unfaithfully compiled. The Emperor granted his request². By his orders, a Council was held for that purpose, at Constantinople, in the Baptistery of the church, on the sixth of the ides of April in the Consulate of Protogenes³, (i. e. April the eighth, 449;) composed of about thirty Bishops, ten or twelve of whom had sat in the former Council. Thalassius of Cæsarea presided ; but Florentius, the Patrician, directed all the proceedings, and Macedonius,

Tribune and Notary, drew up the formal statement of the case. The letters of Pope St. Leo reached Constantinople some days before the assembly was held¹. Eutyches did not attend in person, but sent the monks Constantine, Eleusinius, and Constantius to represent him. Eusebius of Dorykeum objected to their entrance, and said, "If Eutyches is to defend himself by proxy, I have nothing to do but to withdraw." Meliphthongus, Bishop of Juliopolis, supported him, and contended that as a general Council had been summoned, the whole affair should be reserved for its consideration; but the Emperor's orders were express, and the proxies of Eutyches were admitted².

A. D. 449.
CH. XXXIII.

¹ p. 230. B.
(a. p. s.)

² p. 240. C.

It was now proposed that the Bishops should swear to the truth of the Acts in question; but Basil of Seleucia said that up to that time no instance could be found of an oath's having been tendered to Bishops, so the Patrician did not press it. Flavian presented his notaries who had taken down the Acts of the Council, and the Patrician ordered them to produce the document. Aëtius, one of the notaries, made several remonstrances to excuse himself from doing so; on the ground that the Acts could not be suspected without an implied suspicion of the notaries. At last, by order of the Council, he produced the original Acts³, and Constantius produced a copy of them on the part of Eutyches. They began to read them, and no difficulties arose about the two first sessions⁴. They afterwards made some unimportant objections respecting the answers of Eutyches, as reported by those who summoned him, and respecting those which he had made in person before the Council⁵. They also pretended that anathema had not been pronounced against him by the whole Council. Aëtius observed⁶, "It often happens in Councils that one Bishop says something which is written down and understood as said by the whole Council. This has been always the usage." The subscriptions were supposed to confirm all that preceded. On another occasion⁷ he said, "The Bishops frequently say things in Councils as in common discourse and by way of mutual consultation, which they do not suffer to be written down."

³ p. 246. B.

⁴ p. 247. B.

⁵ p. 269.

⁶ p. 233. D.
(a. p. s.)

⁷ p. 239. C.

Constantine, one of the proxies of Eutyches, afterwards said⁸, "When the sentence of deposition was being read, he appealed

⁸ p. 243. B.

A. D. 449. " to the Councils of the most holy Bishops of Rome, Alexan-
 CH. XXXIII. " dria, Jerusalem, and Thessalonica; and this is not entered
 " in the Acts." The Patrician said, " In the noise consequent
 " on the breaking up of the Council, he said to me in a low
 " voice that he appealed to the Council of Rome, to that of
 " Alexandria, and to that of Jerusalem. I thought it im-
 " proper that Flavian should be ignorant of this, and there-
 " fore went and told it to him." Basil of Seleucia said, " I
 " speak the truth. Whilst the Council was yet assembled,
 " on its being proposed to him to acknowledge the two
 " natures without mixture or confusion, he said, ' If the
 " ' Fathers—he of Rome and he of Alexandria,—bid me, I
 " ' will say it.' He said this, however, not by way of appeal,
 " but as intimating that his respect for the Fathers prevented
 " him from speaking thus." Flavian said, " I did not hear
 " him say it, but I had it from the most noble Patrician, as
 " I was going up to my apartment after the Council was
 " ended." The Patrician asked if the other Bishops were
 aware that Eutyches had appealed; they declared that they
 had heard nothing of it.

¹ p. 256. Eutyches presented another petition to the Emperor¹, pray-
 ing that Magnus the Silentiary might be heard in evidence
 on some points relating to the Council: this also was granted.
 Magnus appeared on the fifth of the calends of May; that is,
 the twenty-seventh of April in the same year, 449, in the
² p. 246. presence of Ariobindus, Master of the Offices²; and declared
 that a paper containing the sentence of deposition against
 Eutyches had been shewn to him, written out in full, before
 the Council had met. Macedonius, Tribune and Notary, like-
 wise declared that Asterius, Priest and Notary, had informed
 him that the other notaries had falsified the Acts. Constan-
 tine, the proxy of Eutyches, was the person at whose instance
 this proceeding was taken.

³ Liberat.
 br. c. 11.
 [p. 67.]
 C. Calch.
 pt. I. c. 5.
 [⁴ ἐν μιᾷ
 ὑποστάσει
 καὶ ἐν ἑνὶ
 προσώπῳ]
 [⁵ σεσερ-
 κωμένην καὶ
 ἐνανθρωπή-
 σασαν.]
 They next procured an order from the Emperor, compelling
 Flavian to produce his confession of Faith³. In this he de-
 clares that he follows the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople,
 and Ephesus; and that he acknowledges in CHRIST, after the
 Incarnation, two natures in one hypostasis and one person⁴;
 that he does not refuse even to say "one nature of the
 " Divine Word," provided that "incarnate and made man"⁵

be added. He anathematizes all those who divide JESUS A. D. 449.
CHRIST into two, especially Nestorius. CH. XXXIV.

Meanwhile¹ the eunuch Chrysaphius, the patron of Eutyches, wrote to Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria, promising to assist him in all his designs if he would undertake the defence of Eutyches, and attack Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum. He also prevailed on the Empress Eudocia to act on the same side, chiefly to spite Pulcheria. Eutyches himself entreated Dioscorus to take cognizance of the affair and examine what had been done against him. Dioscorus wrote to the Emperor that he ought to convene a universal Council; and, being seconded by the solicitations of Eudocia and Chrysaphius, he easily carried his point. The letter which convoked it is still extant; it is addressed to Dioscorus, and is dated at Constantinople on the third of the calends of April, after the Consulate of Posthumian and Zeno²; that is, the thirtieth of March, 449. It states, that whereas certain doubts concerning the Faith had sprung up, to the disturbance of men's minds, the Emperor orders the Bishops to assemble: "Wherefore your holiness, too," he says to Dioscorus, "shall take with you ten Metropolitans belonging to your diocese, and ten other Bishops, and hasten to reach Ephesus by the first day of August next. No more Bishops than these shall attend the Council, since more will only prove an incubrance; but if any one absents himself, his absence shall be taken as a sign of conscious guilt. As to Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, whom we have before ordered to confine himself to his Church; we ordain that he shall not come to the Council, unless the assembled Council shall [unanimously] consent to his being present." The Emperor wrote in the same form to the other Bishops, directing that each Patriarch or Exarch should bring the same number of Bishops from his province.

On the fifteenth of May following, the Emperor issued another letter, addressed to Dioscorus, and to this effect³: ³ p. 103. D.
"It has reached our ears that many Archimandrites of the East, along with the orthodox laity, contend fervently against some Bishops who are said to be Nestorians. We therefore order, that the most pious Priest and Archimandrite Barsumas shall be present at Ephesus, to take his

XXXIV.
Council at
Ephesus
convoked.
¹ Niceph.
l. 14. c. 47.
Liberat. c.
12. [p. 72.]

² C. Calch.
act. l. p. 100.

A. D. 449. "seat with your holiness and with all the Fathers, as representative¹ of all the Archimandrites of the East." The Emperor also wrote to Barsumas², acknowledging his great services in behalf of the Faith, and giving him a seat and voice in the Council. It was Eutyches and Dioscorus who had procured him this honour; their object was to exclude the other Abbots from the Council, as these were any thing but favourable to their views.

Two laymen also were appointed to assist at the Council as the Emperor's commissioners³, namely, Elpidius, Count of the Consistory, that is, counsellor of state; and Eulogius, Tribune and Notary. They were empowered, by their commission, to prevent any disorder in the Council; and in case any one attempted to raise a tumult, they were to take him into custody and send information to the Emperor. Those who had condemned Eutyches were to attend the Council, not as judges, but as parties impleaded; and no question was to be mooted previously to that of the Faith. Proclus⁴, Proconsul of Asia, had a special order to be ready with troops to assist the two commissioners in preventing any disturbance in the Council. The Emperor further wrote a letter⁵ addressed to the Council in general, explaining the object of their meeting, which was "to terminate a question of Faith that has arisen between Flavian and Eutyches, and to eject from the Church all who maintain or favour the error of Nestorius." His last letter, on this occasion, was one to Dioscorus⁶, appointing him president of the Council; "being well assured," he adds, "that the holy Archbishops Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius, and all other ardent lovers of orthodoxy, will agree with your holiness." He sent a letter of the same tenour to Juvenal of Jerusalem.

Pope St. Leo was also invited to attend the Council with the Bishops of the West⁷, but he did not receive the Emperor's letter till the thirteenth of May⁸. There only remained two months and a half to the first of August, when the Council was to meet; and the greater part of that time would be spent in making preparations for the Bishop's journey; since it would be necessary to hold a council at Rome, to name the deputies, and to furnish them with instructions. St. Leo satisfied himself, therefore, with writing several letters, to

¹ Leon. Ep. 27. (al. 13.) c. 4. [p. 491.]
² tertio Idus.

³ Ibid. D.

⁴ p. 103. C.

⁵ Ibid. E.

⁶ p. 110. C.

⁷ Leon. Ep. 27. (al. 13.) c. 4. [p. 491.]
⁸ tertio Idus.

prevent, if possible, the holding of the Council; or, if he failed in this, to provide that the Faith should be preserved in it. A. D. 449.
CH. XXXV.

He wrote first of all to the Emperor Theodosius¹; dating his letter the twenty-fifth of May. In it he declares his attachment ¹ Ep. 23.
(al. 9.)

to the Faith of Nieva; and while he condemns Nestorius, he condemns "those no less, who deny that JESUS CHRIST took upon Him the truth of our flesh," that is, Eutyches. He therefore entreats the Emperor to convene a Council in Italy.

However, foreseeing that he should not be able to prevent the Council from being held at Ephesus, he nominated

Julius, Bishop of Pozzolo², Renatus, Priest of the title of St. Clement, the Deacon Hilarus, and the Notary Dulcitus, to be his envoys, and gave them several letters in charge. v. Quest.
not. 39, 40.
ad Ep. 21.
[c. ii. p. 844.
sqq.]

Of these the most important is the one to Flavian Bishop of Constantinople³, in which St. Leo thoroughly explains what we are to believe concerning the mystery of the Incarnation. He first notices the ignorance of Eutyches⁴; "who has fallen into this error from want of studying the Scriptures⁵, and because he had not seriously attended to the terms of the Creed which all the faithful profess; for in it they say, that they 'believe in God the FATHER Almighty, and in 'JESUS CHRIST his only SON our LORD, who was born of 'the HOLY GHOST of the Virgin Mary.' These three sentences," adds St. Leo, "are sufficient to destroy almost all the machinations of the heretics; for by believing that God Almighty and Eternal is FATHER, we shew that His SON is co-eternal and consubstantial⁶ with Him and in every point like Him. It was the same eternal SON of the eternal FATHER, that was born of the HOLY GHOST and the Virgin Mary. This generation in time neither aught diminished, nor added aught to, the eternal generation, but its one entire object was to vanquish death and the devil in order to the restoration of man; for we could never have overcome the author of sin and death, had not HE taken upon Him our nature and made it His own, who could neither be infected with sin nor holden of death. He was conceived, then, by the HOLY GHOST, in the womb of the Virgin mother, who brought Him forth, as she had conceived Him, without impairing her virginity." St. Leo then passes on to the proofs from Scripture, and shews that the XXXV.
St. Leo's
letter to
Flavian.
³ Ep. 21.
(al. 10.)
⁴ c. 1, 2.
[⁵ Non ad
Propheti-
cas voces,
non ad
Apostolicas
litteras, non
ad Evan-
gelicas au-
toritates,
sed ad se-
metipsos,
recurrunt.]

[⁶ non di-
visus essen-
tia]

A. D. 449. WORD took upon Him a real flesh,—from the Gospel, which
CH. XXXV. calls Him son of David and of Abraham¹,—from St. Paul,
1 Matt. i. 1, who says that He “was made of the seed of David according
10. “to the flesh²,”—from the promise made to Abraham, that
2 Rom. i. 1. in his seed all the nations should be blessed; which St. Paul
3 Gen. xii. expounds and applies to CHRIST³,—and from the prophecies
3. of Isaiah concerning Emmanuel the Son of a Virgin, and the
Gal. iii. 8. Child which “unto us is born⁴.” Whence he concludes, that
4 Isa. vii. 14; JESUS CHRIST had not only the form of a man, but a true
ix. 6. body taken from His mother. The operation of the HOLY
 GHOST did not hinder the flesh of the SON from being of the
 same nature with that of the mother, it only bestowed fruit-
 fulness on a virgin.

5 c. 3. “The two natures, therefore⁵, each remaining entire,
[6 Salvâ “coalesced in one Person⁶, to the end that the same Me-
propriate “diator might die, in respect of the one, while He remained
naturæ et “immortal and impassible in respect of the other⁷. He had
substantiæ, “all that belongs to us, all that He placed in us when He
et in unam “created us, all that He undertook to restore; but of those
coeunte “things which the deceiver introduced into us He had none;
personam.] “He took the form of a servant, but unsoiled by sin. One
[7 et mori “nature is not altered by the other⁸; He who is true God is
posset ex “also true man; there is no self-inconsistency⁹ in this union;
uno et mori “God is not changed by His graciousness towards us, the
non posset “man is not destroyed by the dignity which He receives;
ex altero.] “the Word and the flesh retain their own proper agencies.”
8 c. 4. Scripture proves equally the truth of both natures. “He is
[9 Menda- “God; for it is said, ‘In the beginning was the Word, and
cium. Fl. “‘the Word was with God¹, and the Word was God;’ He is
mensonge.] “man; for it is said, ‘The Word was made flesh and dwelt
 “‘among us.’ He is God; ‘all things were made by Him,
 “‘and without Him was not any thing made.’ He is man;
2 Gal. iv. 4. “‘born of a woman, made under the law².’ The being born
[3 Nativitas “of flesh³ manifests His human nature; His being born of a
carnis] “virgin the Divine power. He is an infant in the cradle,
 “and the Most High, lauded by angels. Herod plots for
 “His death, and the Magi rejoice in adoring Him. He
 “comes to the baptism of John, and at that very time the
 “voice of the FATHER declares Him His well-beloved Son.
 “As man, He is tempted by the devil; as God, He is

“ ministered to by the angels. His hunger, thirst, weariness, sleep, belong plainly to a man; but to satisfy five thousand with five loaves, to give the woman of Samaria living water, to walk upon the sea and calm the tempest, these are beyond doubt divine. It is not of one and the same nature to bewail His departed friend and raise him to life; to hang on the cross and change day into night; to shake the elements and open the gates of heaven to a robber. As GOD, He says, ‘The FATHER and I are one;’ as man, ‘The FATHER is greater than I¹;’ for although in JESUS CHRIST there is but one person of GOD and man, yet that which is the subject of the suffering common to them both is one thing, that which is the subject of their common glory another.

A. D. 149.
CH. XXXV.

¹ John x. 30;
xiv. 28.

“ By virtue of this unity of person² it is said, that the Son³ of Man came down from heaven⁴, and that the Son of GOD took flesh of the virgin; that the Son of GOD was crucified and buried, as we say in the Creed, although He was so in the human nature only. The Apostle says⁵, ‘If they had known the LORD of glory, they would never have crucified Him.’ Our SAVIOUR asks His Apostles, ‘But whom say ye that I am⁶?’—I, that is, who am the Son of Man, and whom you see in real flesh:—St. Peter replies, ‘Thou art CHRIST, the Son of the living God,’ acknowledging Him to be equally GOD and man. After His resurrection, He shewed His body, sensible and palpable, with the holes in His wounds; He spoke, He ate, He sojourned, with His disciples, and at the same time ‘He entered, the doors “being shut,” gave them the HOLY GHOST, and opened their eyes to understand the Scriptures, thus shewing in Himself the two natures distinct and united.”

³ e. 5.
⁴ Matt. xvi.
16.

* See Maldonat. in Joh. iii. 13. This application to the one divine subject-person of what is true only in reference to the assumed humanity is called *κοινωνία τῶν ἰδιωμάτων*, or *communicatio idionatum*; also (Damascen. Orth. Fid. iii. f. p. 190. ed. Fabri) *τρόπος ἀντιθέσεως*. Not that it is a mere way of speaking or figure (*ἀλλοίωσις*, v. Formul. Conc. p. 770);—for, from the very idea of personality, the communication is *real*;—nor again, as if the properties of the one nature were imparted to the

other nature as such; as conceived (if it be indeed conceivable) by Lutherans. —Further: as it is only by virtue of the hypostatic union of the two natures that this communication is possible, it is rejected by both the Nestorian and Eutychian schemes. The former, as shewn in the crucial instance of the *θεοτόκος*, denied it directly; the latter involving an absorption of the humanity left no *ἰδιώματα*. Neither of them could interpret such passages as Acts xx. 28, John xiv. 9.

A. D. 449.
CH. XXXVI.

¹ 1 John iv.
2.

[² Solvit]

³ c. 6.

XXXVI.
Other
letters of
St. Leo.
⁴ Ep. 25.
(al. 11.)

[⁵ c. 2.]

“Eutyches, when he denies that our nature is in the Son
“of God, ought to fear the sentence pronounced by St. John¹;
“‘Every spirit which confesses that JESUS CHRIST is come
“in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit which divides²
“‘JESUS, is not of God; and this is Antichrist.’ For what is
“the dividing of JESUS, if it be not the separating His human
“nature from Him? The error relating to the nature of the
“body of CHRIST, of necessity, annuls His passion and de-
“stroys the efficacy of His blood. When Eutyches answered
“you³; ‘I confess that our LORD was of two natures before
“‘the union, but after the union I acknowledge only one;’
“I am surprised that you did not reprehend so great a
“blasphemy, since it is no less impious to say, that the
“Son of God was of two natures before the Incarnation,
“than it is to assert but one in Him after the Incarnation.
“Do not fail to make him retract this error, if God gives
“him grace to repent. But in this case you may use all
“indulgence towards him; for when error is condemned
“even by its followers, it is then that the Faith is most
“advantageously defended.” Such is the famous letter of
St. Leo to Flavian, designed to be read in the Council as a
testimony of the Faith of the Roman Church.

St. Leo also explains his views in a letter⁴ which he sent
to Julian, Bishop of Cos, his legate at Constantinople, to
enable him, jointly with Flavian, to maintain the truth
against the heretics. Co, or Cos, is a little island near
Gnidus, at present called Lango or Stanchio. In this letter
he says that Eutyches accused the Catholics of Nestorianism,
but that his heresy, denying as it did the reality of the In-
carnation, destroyed all the consequences of this mystery
and the whole hope of Christians. We must believe⁵, then,
that “the WORD is not changed either into flesh or soul,
“since the Divinity is immutable, and that the flesh is not
“changed into the WORD; and it ought not to appear im-

^t So the Vulgate, supported by Irenæus, adv. Hær. iii. 18 (p. 242. Grab.). Socrates (vii. 42) states that the reading $\delta\lambda\theta\epsilon\iota$ existed in the old MSS., but had been changed into what is now the received reading— $\delta\mu\eta\delta\mu\omega\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$ —by the Humanitarians. This last is found in the Syriac version, in Polye. ad

Philipp. § 8, Cyprian. adv. Jud. ii. 8, and Epiphanius, Hær. 24. § 9, 26. § 15. St. Augustine comments on both readings (Tract 6. t. iii. pt. 2. p. 871). Tertullian also has both readings, c. Marc. v. 16 (cf. iii. 8. De Carne, Chr. c. 24). See Estius in l., who shews how the text applies to the opposite extremes of error.

“ possible, that the WORD, with the flesh and the soul, make A. D. 449.
 “ one JESUS CHRIST, since in each man the flesh and the CH. XXXVI.
 “ soul, which are of natures so different, make one only
 “ person. When Eutyches said¹ that there were two natures ^{1 c. 3.}
 “ before the Incarnation, he must have believed that the soul
 “ of the SAVIOUR dwelt in heaven prior to its union with
 “ the WORD in the womb of the virgin. But this is contrary
 “ to the Catholic Faith, for He did not assume a humanity
 “ already created, but He created it when He assumed it². [² ipsâ as-
 “ The other would be to revive the condemned opinion of sumptione]
 “ Origen³, that souls live and act before they are united to [³ Supr. 23.
 “ human bodies. The soul of CHRIST is not distinguished 17. 1.]
 “ from ours by a diversity of kind, but by the transcendency
 “ of its virtue. His flesh produced no desires contrary to
 “ the Spirit; in Him there was no contest, nor aught but
 “ affections submissive to the Divinity.”

St. Leo wrote at the same time to the Emperor Theodosius⁴, ^{4 Ep. 26.}
 naming the legates whom he sent to supply his place at the (al. 12.)
 Council and to carry thither the spirit of justice and mercy;
 “ that so,” he says, “ since there can be no doubt what the
 “ true Christian Faith is, both error may be condemned,
 “ and Eutyches, if he repents, (as he has promised in the
 “ writing which he sent me,) may be forgiven.” He sent a
 letter to St. Pulcheria⁵, in which he commends the zeal she ^{5 Ep. 27.}
 had shewn against all the heretics of her time. He speaks of (al. 13.)
 Eutyches with compassion, as believing his error sprang more
 from ignorance than malice⁶, and as hoping for his amend- ^{6 c. 3.}
 ment; “ But,” he adds, “ if he persists in his error, no one
 “ can revoke the sentence which the Prelates have pronounced
 “ against him.” The reasons which he assigns for not going
 to the Council in person⁷ are, first, because such a step was ^{7 c. 4.]}
 without precedent, and next, because the present state of
 affairs would not allow him to quit Rome without throwing
 the people into despair. The crazy state of the Empire kept
 them in continual alarm, and at that time especially they
 were apprehensive of the Huns, who entered Italy three
 years after.

St. Leo wrote moreover to Faustus, Martin, and the other
 Archimandrites of Constantinople⁸, who had subscribed the ^{8 Ep. 28.}
 condemnation of Eutyches, to encourage them in their de- (al. 14.)

A. D. 449. fence of the Faith, and referring them to his letter to Flavian,
CH. XXXVII. “in which, I think,” he says, “I have sufficiently explained

[¹ per insinuationem]

² Ep. 29.

(al. 15.)

C. Calch.

pt. 1. c. 13.

“our doctrine, to the end that you may receive it by the
“ministry¹ of your prelate.” Lastly, he wrote a letter to the
Council of Ephesus², which may be considered the commission
of his legates. He there acknowledges that the Emperor had
convened this Council that the heresy might be suppressed by
a more authoritative sentence, and he empowers his legates
to join the Council in decreeing what shall be agreeable to
God’s will: that is to say, first of all, to condemn the error,
and then to re-establish Eutyches, provided he retracts and
condemns his heresy. In all these letters he refers to the
letter to Flavian, and they are all six of the same date,—the
ides of June, in the Consulate of Asterius and Protogenes,
i. e. June 13, 449. In another letter to the Emperor Theo-
dosius³, he excuses himself for not coming to the Council,
in the same way as in the letter to Pulcheria, and adds;
“The Faith on this point is so clear, that it would have
“been more reasonable not to have called a Council, for it
“is a question on which there neither can be, nor ought to
“be, any doubt.”

³ Ep. 33.

(al. 17.)

⁴ Post Ep.

33. Leon.

C. Calch.

pt. 1. c. 6.

Flavian wrote a second letter to St. Leo⁴, in which he enters
into a fresh explanation of the errors of Eutyches and the
grounds of his condemnation, “of which,” he says, “I sent
“you the Acts some time ago, in order that you might
“acquaint all the Bishops of your jurisdiction with his im-
“piety; that no one might, in ignorance of his errors, com-
“municate with him by letter or otherwise.” We here see
that Flavian does not ask the Pope for a new trial, but only
that the sentence he had himself passed should be acted upon
in the Western Patriarchate. Nor was it without reason that
he apprehended Eutyches would apply for protection in those
quarters, for he had actually addressed himself to St. Peter
Chrysologus, Bishop of Ravenna, which city was the ordinary
residence of the Emperor Valentinian; the answer, however,
which he received from him was by no means favourable. It
begins thus:

XXXVII.

Letter of

St. Peter

Chrysolo-

gus to Eutyches.

“It was with grief⁵ that I read your melancholy letters; for
“as the peace of the Churches causes a heavenly joy, so the

⁵ Post Ep. 23. Leon. et ap. C. Calch. pt. 1. c. 15. [p. 35.]

“dissension of brethren bows us down in affliction, especially when it springs from such causes. Human laws restrict the liberty of calling human rights in question to a period of thirty years¹”, and after so many ages we are still disputing about the generation of CHRIST, which the law divine proposes to us as inexplicable²! You are not ignorant how Origen erred when searching into first principles, or how Nestorius fell whilst reasoning about the natures.” He then quotes some passages of Scripture relative to the mystery of the Incarnation, and adds; “I would have sent you a fuller answer if our brother Flavian had written to me about this affair; for since you yourself complain of not having had a hearing, how is it possible for us to judge those whom we have not seen, and of whose opinions, during their silence, we know nothing³. I exhort you, my venerable brother, to submit yourself in every thing to what has been written by the blessed Pope of Rome; for St. Peter, who lives and presides in his own see, gives the true Faith to those who seek it. As to us, the affection we bear to peace and to the Faith, allows us not to judge on matters of Faith, except with the consent of the Bishop of Rome.” After this letter we find no more mention of this Saint⁴, whose elegance of style gained him the surname of *Chrysologus*, that is, the golden-speeched. One hundred and seventy-six sermons of his still remain⁵, most of them on subjects from the Gospels; the Church honours his memory on the second of December⁶.

The Council of Ephesus, summoned by the Emperor to meet on the first of August, assembled on the eighth of that month, which, according to the Romans, was the sixth of the ides of August, according to the Egyptians the fifteenth of Mesi, in the third indiction, after the Consulship of Zeno and Posthumian⁷, or in the year 449. The session was held in the place where the first Council of Ephesus had met, that is, in the church called Mary. There were one hundred and

A. D. 449.
CH. XXXVIII.

[¹ Trīginta annis humane leges adimunt questiones;—cf. Faunus, Ep. c. Vig. ap. Sirmond. Opp. t. ii. p. 850.]
[² ἀνεκδιδύγητος, Isa. liii. 8.]

[³ quid intellexerint, eorum facilitate nescimus.]

[⁴ v. Agnelli Vit. Pont. Raven. pt. I. p. 321-350.]
[⁵ ap. Bibl. PP. t. v. pt. 2. p. 662. Colon.]
[⁶ Martyr. R. Dec. 2.]

XXXVIII.
Opening of the pseudo-Council of Ephesus.

⁷ C. Calch. Act. l. p. 115.

¹ Similarly Gelasius: “I hear that some would subvert the constitutions of Christ, now after five hundred years; whilst a human law of thirty years’ standing cannot be broken off.” ap. Grat. Decr. Pt. ii. caus. 16. qu. 3. c. 9. (p. 215 Corp. J. Canon. ed. 1618.) Thirty years was the term which con-

stituted a full prescriptive right in civil matters, Cod. Theod. l. iv. t. 14. leg. 1; Cassiod. Var. i. 18. iii. 31. v. 37. as also in ecclesiastical, Conc. Calch. can. 17. (Labbe, t. iv. p. 763.) Decret. Greg. l. ii. t. 26. c. 3. (p. 565.) It was afterwards lengthened out to forty years. Cod. Just. l. vii. t. 39. leg. 8, 9.

A. D. 449. thirty Bishops from the provinces of Egypt, the East, Asia,
CH. XXXVIII. Pontus, and Thrace; Dioscorus of Alexandria held the first

¹ Evagr. I. place by virtue of an order from the Emperor¹; after him
10. Julius is named as supplying the place of the Pope St. Leo²:
² Brevic. Hist. Eut. t. iv. Conc. p. 1079. —for this, and not *Julian*, is the true reading, required by the
Prosper. Chr. an. best Latin copies and the ancient historians³: we are to un-
449. [p. 670.] derstand by it Julius of Pozzolo, one of the Pope's envoys.
³ v. Quesn. After him follow the names of Juvenal of Jerusalem, Domnus
not. 39. ad of Antioch, Flavian of Constantinople, who thus occupied only
Ep. 24. the fifth place, as holding the most recently erected Patri-
S. Leon., archate. Next to the five Patriarchs come the Exarchs and
[t. ii. p. 844.] et Metropolitans, or their Vicars; namely, Stephen of Ephesus,
Baluz. Thalassius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius of Ancyra in
Præf. in Galatia, John of Sebastia in Armenia, Cyrus of Aphrodisias
C. Calch. in Caria, Erasistratus of Corinth, Quintillus of Heraclea, (who
pp. 981-3. also represented Anastasius of Thessalonica,) and others whose
names may be seen in the Acts. After all the Bishops we
have the Priests mentioned;—first, the Abbot Barsumas,—
then four deputies of absent Bishops;—and last of all, the
Deacon Hilarus and the Notary Dulcitius, the Pope's envoys.
The Priest Renatus is not mentioned, as he had died on his
way in the island of Delos⁴. Eutyches, too, was present at
Ephesus; neither the vow he had made never to leave his
monastery, nor his great age and infirmities, had been able
to deter him from undertaking the journey.

⁴ Brevic. H. Eut. n. s.] John, Priest and Head-Notary⁵, (apparently, of the Church
of Alexandria,) held the office of Promoter, as the Priest
⁵ C. Calch. Act. I. p. 120. E. of Alexandria,) held the office of Promoter, as the Priest

⁶ Supr. 25. Peter had done in the first Council of Ephesus⁶. Having
c. 37. declared in general terms the object for which the Council
was assembled, he next, by Dioscorus's order, read the Em-
peror's letter for convening the Council: after which the

⁷ p. 121. B. Bishop Julius, Legate of the Pope, said⁷, "Our holy Pope
"Leo has been summoned in the same form." As he spoke
in Latin, Florentius, Bishop of Lydia, acted as interpreter;
the Deacon Hilarus, using the same interpreter, added,
"Our Most Christian Emperor by his letters summoned"
"our blessed Bishop Leo to be present at the holy Council,
"and his holiness would have done so had there been any
"precedent for such an act. But you know that the Pope
"assisted neither at the Council of Nicæa, nor at that of

“ Ephesus, nor at any other ; he therefore sent us to represent A. D. 449.
 “ him, and gave us letters in charge for you, which we desire CH. XXXIX.
 “ may be read.” Dioscorus said, “ Let the letters written to
 “ the holy general Council, by our most holy brother Leo, be
 “ received.” Instead, however, of reading them, the Priest
 John proposed to read another letter from the Emperor to
 Dioscorus, and Juvenal of Jerusalem ordered it to be read.
 It was the letter which enjoined that Barsumas should assist
 at the Council. Juvenal said¹, “ I have received a similar p. 126. A.
 “ injunction respecting Barsumas ; let him therefore be
 “ present at the Council, as is fitting he should.” Count
 Elpidius then read the commission given by the Emperor to
 himself and the Tribune Eulogius, and caused the Emperor’s
 letter to the Council to be read², in which he charged Flavian [p. 107. E.]
 with having embroiled Eutyches in the dispute about the p. 127.
 Faith.

Thalassius, Bishop of Cæsarea, then said, that in pursuance
 of the Emperor’s wish, as signified by his letter, they ought
 to begin with the question of the Faith, laying aside all other
 business. To this Bishop Julius, the Pope’s Legate, assented.
 Dioscorus said, “ We are not met here to give an exposition
 “ of the Faith ; for this our Fathers did long ago ; but to
 “ examine if the new opinions agree with the decisions of
 “ the Fathers. We must therefore begin at once with this
 “ examination, or do you wish to alter³ the Faith of the [³ ἀνα-
 κελεύσαι]
 “ Fathers ?” The Council said, “ If any one alters it, let him
 “ be anathema. We preserve the faith of the Fathers.”
 They then made some acclamations in praise of Dioscorus⁴ ; p. 131. B.
 after which Count Elpidius said, “ Since you are all agreed
 “ about the Faith, order that the Archimandrite Eutyches,
 “ who is the subject of our present proceeding be introduced,
 “ and that he explain his opinion.” The Council consented,
 and as soon as Eutyches had entered, Thalassius of Cæsarea
 desired him to make his defence.

Eutyches said⁵, “ I commend myself to the FATHER, the XXXIX.
 “ SON, and the HOLY GHOST, and to your justice. You are Petition of
 “ witnesses of my faith, for which I contended along with you Eutyches.
 “ in the former Council assembled here. But I hold in my p. 134. A.
 “ hands a written account of my faith ; order it to be read.”
 This was accordingly done. It contained the Creed of Nicea,

A. D. 449. with a prayer that as he had lived, so he might die, in that
 CH. XXXIX. faith; he anathematized¹ Manes, Valentinus, Apollinarius,
¹ p. 142. A. Nestorius, and all heretics, even to Simon Magus, with all
 who say that the flesh of JESUS CHRIST came from heaven.
 He added, "Living agreeably to this faith, I was accused
 " by Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylæum, who presented a libel
 " against me, in which he styled me a heretic, without
 " specifying any heresy; in order that, being surprised and
 " perplexed in the examination of my cause, some novelty of
 " expression might escape from me. The Bishop Flavian (he
 " who was almost always in the company of my accuser) or-
 " dered me to appear, supposing that because it was my
 " custom not to stir out of my monastery, I should not
 " attend, and so he might depose me as guilty by default.
 " In fact, when I did come from my monastery to Constan-
 " tinople, Magnus the Silentary, whom the Emperor had
 " given me as my safeguard, told me that my presence was
 " then unnecessary, and that I was already condemned before
 " I had been heard. For the truth of this I may appeal to his
² Supr. c. 32. " deposition². When at last I appeared before the assembly,
 " they would neither receive my confession of Faith nor
 " suffer it to be read; and when I declared that my belief
 " was conformable to the decision of Nicæa, confirmed at
 " Ephesus, they demanded that I should add some words to
 " it, and I, fearing to act contrary to the decrees of the first
 " Council of Ephesus and of the Council of Nicæa, desired
 " that your holy Council might be made acquainted with it,
 " since I was ready to submit to whatever you should ap-
 " prove. Whilst I was saying this, they read the sentence
 " of deposition against me, which Flavian had long before
 " drawn up as suited his own will, and several things were
³ p. 145. " altered in the Acts, as was afterwards ascertained³ under
 Supr. c. 33. " an order which the Emperor granted to a petition of mine.
 " For the Bishop Flavian had taken no notice of the ap-
 " peal to you which I had interposed; he had shewn no
 " respect for my grey hairs, or for the life-long war which
 " I have maintained against heretics, but had condemned
 " me, as if he possessed absolute authority. He delivered me
 " up to be torn in pieces, as a heretic, by the rabble got
 " together for that purpose in the Cathedral and market-

“ place,—but Providence preserved me. He ordered the
 “ sentence pronounced against me to be read in various A. D. 449.
CH. XXXIX.
 “ churches, and got it subscribed by the monasteries; a
 “ step which, as you know, has never been resorted to even
 “ against heretics. He sent copies of it into the East, and
 “ in various places has induced Bishops and monks, who
 “ were not my judges, to subscribe to it, whereas he ought
 “ first of all to have sent it to the Bishops to whom I ap-
 “ pealed. This is what compelled me to have recourse to you
 “ and to the Emperor, that you may give your judgment on
 “ the sentence pronounced against me.”

When the reading of this was ended, Flavian of Constantinople said, “Eusebius was his accuser; let him be admitted.” The Count Elpidius said¹, “The Emperor’s orders were, that ¹ p. 146. D.
 “ they who were judges before should now be regarded as
 “ parties to the suit². I answer, then, to the Archbishop ² κρίνωμέ-
 “ Flavian, that the prosecutor has fully discharged his func-
 “ tion, and, as he supposes, gained his cause; so that the ^{νων]}
 “ judge has assumed the position of accuser, as is the
 “ usage of the secular courts. You are now assembled to
 “ judge the judges, not to admit the accuser a second time
 “ and begin the proof a-new. Give orders, then, if it please
 “ you, that the rest of the Acts be read which relate to this
 “ subject.” Dioscorus readily fell in with this proposition,
 and the other Bishops were guided by him. Thus Eusebius
 of Dorykeum did not enter the Council, though Eutyches was
 admitted to it. When all the Bishops had given their con-
 sent to the motion for reading the Acts, Dioscorus asked for
 the opinion of Julius, the Pope’s legate, who said³, “We are ³ p. 150. B.
 “ willing that the Acts should be read, on condition that the
 “ Pope’s letters are read first.” The Deacon Hilarus added,
 “ And this the rather, because the most holy Bishop of Rome
 “ did not write his letters until after he had perused the Acts
 “ which you now wish to hear read.” Eutyches said, “I have
 “ reason to suspect the envoys of the most holy Bishop of
 “ Rome, Leo; for they lodge in the same house with Flavian,
 “ they dined with him, and he has paid them every kind of
 “ attention. I beg therefore, that if they should do me any
 “ injustice, it may not prejudice my cause.” Dioscorus said,
 “ The order directs that the Acts of the cause should first be

A. D. 449. "read, then the letters of the most pious Bishop of Rome."
 CH. XL. They thus for the second time evaded the reading of the Pope's letter, and read the Acts of the Council held at Constantinople on the eighth of November, 448, and the following days¹; Flavian and Eutyches each produced a copy of them.

XL. When the bill filed by Eusebius of Dorylæum against Eutyches was read, on reaching the place in which St. Cyril is named in it, the Council of Ephesus cried out², "The memory of Cyril is eternal. Dioscorus and Cyril have one Faith; cursed be he who adds to it, cursed he who takes away from it." Julius the Pope's legate said, "This is the opinion of the Apostolic see." They next read St. Cyril's letter to John of Antioch about the re-union, in which he insists upon the distinction of the two natures; whereupon Eustathius, Bishop of Berytus, said³ that St. Cyril had also explained himself⁴ in many other writings, as in the letters to Acacius of Melitene, to Valerian of Iconium, and to Successus of Diocæsarea, where he uses this expression among others; "We are then to understand not two natures, but one incarnate nature of the Word⁵," which expression he confirms by the authority of St. Athanasius.

On arriving at the place, in the last session, where Eusebius of Dorylæum pressed Eutyches to confess two natures after the Incarnation, and to state that CHRIST is consubstantial with us in respect of the flesh; the Council of Ephesus cried out⁶, "Take him away, burn Eusebius, let him burn alive; let him be torn in two; as he has divided, let him be divided." Dioscorus said, "Can you endure this language, which speaks of two natures after the Incarnation?" The Council said, "Anathema to him who thus speaks." Dioscorus said, "I require your voices and your hands; if any one cannot shout, let him hold up his hand." The Council said, "If any one say two natures, be he anathema." And after the declaration of Eutyches had been read, Dioscorus asked them⁷, "which exposition of faith do you approve?" "That of Eutyches," replied the Council; "Eusebius is impious," alluding to his name, which means 'pious.' When they had finished the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, they read⁸ those of the assembly, which had been held for the

¹ Supr. 24, 25, sqq.

XL. Reading of the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, &c.

² p. 151. E.

³ p. 174. B.
 [⁴ ἐαυτὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι]

[⁵ μίαν φύσιν τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένην.
 See note on 28. 8. infr.]

⁶ p. 224. A.

⁷ Ibid. E.

⁸ p. 236. D.

revision of these Acts, on the eighth of April¹, 449, and also the copy of depositions taken on the twenty-seventh of April².

After all these documents had been read, Dioscorus called upon the Bishops to deliver their opinions³. Juvenal of Jerusalem led the way; "Since Eutyches," he said, "has constantly declared that he follows the Nicæan exposition of faith, and the decrees of the first Council of Ephesus, I find him very orthodox, and vote⁴ that he retain both his monastery and his rank." The Council said, "This is a just decision." Domnus of Antioch said, "In consequence of the letter sent me by the Council of Constantinople about Eutyches, I subscribed to his condemnation, but on considering the document he has now presented to the Council, in which he confesses the Faith of Nicæa and of the first Council of Ephesus, I agree with you, that he should resume the dignity of Priest and the government of his society." Stephen of Ephesus, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, and all the other Bishops, gave the same opinion, except the two legates of the Pope, of whom no mention is made. Barsumas delivered his opinion after all the Bishops⁵; and as he was a Syrian and unable to speak Greek, the monk Eusebius acted as interpreter. Finally, Dioscorus, who as president voted last, confirmed the suffrages of the rest in favour of Eutyches.

This done, the Priest John read a petition from the monks of Eutyches' society, drawn up in these terms: "Moved by the promises of God, we left our estates, our dignities, our [worldly] employments⁶ and hopes, to form a community of monks, which numbers three hundred, under the direction of the most pious Archimandrite Eutyches, and there most of us have lived these more than thirty years. But the most reverend Bishop Flavian, instead of giving us encouragement and protection, surrounded our pastor with calumnies: and, having deposed him, sent us word, by the Priest Theodosius⁷ and some other clerks who attended him, that we were to keep aloof from him, and not even converse with him; and that we should preserve the riches of the monastery for Flavian, in the name of the poor, (for this was what he aimed at;) that if we failed in this, we,

A. D. 449.

CH. XL.

¹ Supra. c. 33.² p. 245. C.

[altera pp.

s.]

³ p. 256. D.

[tertia pp.

s.]

⁴ ψηφίζο-

μαι]

⁵ p. 276. A.⁶ σπαρα-

τεις]

⁷ p. 278.

A. D. 449. "as well as our pastor, should be deprived of the communion
 CH. XL. "of the divine mysteries. Indeed, the holy Altar, which
 "Flavian himself erected six months before this proceeding,
 [¹ κενὸν τῆς θείας
 ἐπουργίας ἐστίν.] "is without the sacrifice¹; we have remained up to the meet-
 "ing of your holy Council bound down beneath this unjust
 "censure, and some of our brethren have even died in this
 "state. The feast of our Lord's nativity [saw us in tears;]
 "the day of Epiphany, [the day of our SAVIOUR's suffering,
 "the holy night,] and the day of his resurrection, on which
 "Bishops grant absolution to the greater part of offenders
 "and princes give pardon to criminals^x, found us still in the
 [² ἀχράν-
 τῶν μυστη-
 ρίων] "same misery, [and cut off from the holy mysteries².] It is
 "now nine months since we began to suffer this rigorous
 "treatment, but in all other respects we have observed the
 "usual exercises of the monastic rule. We therefore beg
 "you to compassionate us, restoring to us the use of the
 "Sacraments, and inflicting on him, who has thus dealt with
 "us, the due reward of his injustice." This petition was
 subscribed by the Priest Narses, ten Deacons, three Sub-
 deacons, and sixteen other monks, in all thirty-five. Dio-
 scorius asked them for their confession of faith³, and they
 declared that it agreed with that of Eutyches; whereupon,
 with the consent of Juvenal of Jerusalem and the whole
 Council, they were declared to be absolved, and re-established

^x It was usual both with the old Romans (Livy, v. 13. A. U. C. 355, Casaubon ad Suet. Tib. 61) and the Greeks (Petit. in Legg. Att. p. 38) to liberate prisoners on great festivals. The Jews were accustomed (St. John, xviii. 39) to have a release at the Pass-over, in memory of their deliverance out of "the iron furnace;" and from them, probably, the Easter release was borrowed by the Christian Emperors. The first enactment on this subject was by Valentinian, A. D. 367 (Cod. Theod. l. ix. t. 38. legg. 3, 4), re-enacted by Valentinian the Younger and Theodosius in 381 (ibid. legg. 6, 7, 8. Cod. Just. l. I. t. iv. leg. 3.) The reason of it is given by St. Chrysostom, Hom. 30 in Gen. (t. iv. p. 294. ed. Montf.): see also Hom. 3, 6, 20, ad pop. Antioch. (t. ii. pp. 36, 76, 210), St. Ambros., Ep. 33 (20. ed. Bened.), Greg. Nyss. Hom. 3 De Pasch. (t. iii. p. 420. ed. 1638.) and Arnold. Carnot. p. 42. (post

Opp. Cyprian. ed. Fell.) This last mentions the remission of ecclesiastical censures as taking place on the same day with the release of prisoners, namely, Maundy Thursday; and this agrees with the words used at the ceremony of washing feet,

Nexi solvuntur hodie

Carnis et cordis carcere.

Cf. Bingham. xx. § 6. J. A. Fabricius, Bibliogr. Ant. p. 314. Gothofr. in C. Th. t. iii. p. 272, and Lomeier., Dies Genial. Dec. ii. Diss. 7; who relates that when the Queen Constance of Arragon sent word to Charles II. of Naples, as he lay in prison on Good Friday, that he must prepare for death, he answered, "I am ready to die for the love of Him, who died to-day for me." The Queen was moved, and said, "That, which makes him glad to die, ought to make me fain to save him; let him live." It was this feeling, doubtless, that gave rise to the above laws.

in the communion of the Church and the functions of their orders. A. D. 449.
CH. XLII.

Dioscorus next proposed the recital of the decisions respecting the Faith made by the first Council of Ephesus¹; and as the other Bishops approved of this, the Acts of the sixth session, held on the twenty-second of July, 431, were read. They contained² the Creed of Nicæa, the quotations from the Fathers in reference to the Incarnation, Charisius's petition, with the false³ creed of Theodorus of Mopsuestia⁴, and the extracts from the books of Nestorius. When the recital was ended, Dioscorus said⁵, "I believe that you all
 "approve the exposition of the Nicæan Fathers, which was
 "confirmed by the Council formerly held in this place. We
 "have heard what this Council decreed; that if any one
 "affirm or opine any thing, or raise any question beyond⁶
 "the Creed aforesaid, he is to be condemned. What think
 "you of it? Let every one declare his opinion in writing." XLI.
Condemnation of Flavian, &c.
1 p. 282. D.
2 p. 283, &c.
Supr. 2. 1. 36.
[1 falsari]
4 p. 292.
5 p. 300. E.
[6 παρὰ]
 Thalassius of Cæsarea said that he held to the Councils of Nicæa and Ephesus, and detested all who opposed their decisions. The other Bishops made similar statements. Julius, the Pope's legate, said that this was the opinion of the Apostolic see⁷; but the Deacon Hilarus added⁸, "The
 "letter which the Apostolical see has written to you agrees
 "therewith; if you order it to be read you will find it con-
 "sonant to the truth." His suggestion met with no support. 7 p. 302. D.
8 p. 303. B.

On the other hand, Dioscorus, having laid down this as his premiss, proceeded to draw from it the inference which was his real object; "The holy Council of Nicæa," he said, "and the holy Council of Ephesus expounded the Faith, and decreed, that whoever should speak otherwise⁹ should
 "be subjected to the penalties [there specified.] Well now,
 "you see that Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople, here before
 "us, and Eusebius of Dorylæum have unsettled every thing,
 "and are become a scandal to all the Churches. It is plain,
 "then, that they have subjected themselves to the punish-
 "ments decreed by our Fathers; and, therefore, in main-
 "tenance of their decisions, our sentence is that the afore-
 "said Flavian and Eusebius be deprived of all sacerdotal
 "and episcopal dignity¹. Let each of you declare his opinion [9 ἐτέραν
πίστιν παρὰ
ταῦτα ἐκτί-
θεσθαι.]
1 p. 305.

A. D. 449.
CH. XLI.]

[¹ παραι-
τοῦμαι σε.]

[² κοντρα-
δικτοῦν, ὅ
ἐστιν, ἀντι-
λέγεται.]

“and see that it be recorded in the Acts; and know, that every one of this day’s transactions will be reported to the Emperors.” Flavian said, “I disclaim your authority¹.” Hilarus, Deacon of the Roman Church, said, *Contradicitur*, “We oppose it;” the Latin word is inserted in the Greek Acts².

Juvenal of Jerusalem, however, followed Dioscorus and pronounced Flavian and Eusebius to be deposed, as having changed the Faith of Nicæa and Ephesus; and he was followed by Domnus of Antioch, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Stephen of Ephesus, and the rest. Even Barsumas, after the Bishops, affected to give a judicial sentence. All of them, except the Pope’s legates, then subscribed. Thus much we learn from the Acts of the Council of Ephesus itself; but matters were not to be settled so calmly.

When Dioscorus began to pronounce sentence against Flavian³, Onesiphorus, Bishop of Iconium, rose with several others, and seized his knees, entreating him not to proceed. Dioscorus rose from his throne, and, standing on his footstool, declared, that although his tongue were to be cut out he could not say otherwise; and as the Bishops continued to entreat him, holding him by the knees, he cried out “Where are the Counts?” which brought in the Proconsul, with a great number of soldiers, armed with swords and clubs, and bringing chains with them. By this means the greater part of the Bishops were compelled to affix their signatures to a *carte-blanche*⁴; being shut up in the church till evening, and prevented from taking either rest or refreshment. Those who continued faithful to Flavian, and refused to subscribe, were banished⁵. The Deacon Hilarus with great difficulty effected his escape, and got to Rome by taking cross routes⁶. There were some other Bishops deposed in the Council, of whom the Acts, as they are now extant, make no mention; namely, Ibas of Edessa, and Daniel of Carrhæ his nephew, Aquilinus of Byblus, and Sabinian of Perrha⁷. Theodoret, too, was deposed, though absent. Even Domnus of Antioch, because he had retracted his forced subscription to the condemnation of Flavian⁸, was deprived of his see, by the following artifice of Dioscorus. Three days after the session

³ Ep. Pulch.
C. Calch.
pt. I. c. 35.
[⁶ per in-
cognita et
invia loca.]

⁷ Evagr. 1.
10.
[Liberat.
c. 12.]

⁸ Niceph.
14. 47.

in which Flavian was deposed¹, Dioscorus produced some letters before the Council, which Domnus had written to him, charging St. Cyril's twelve Articles with being obscure, and the Council were thus prevailed upon to depose him as suspected of Nestorianism, though he was absent and laid up with sickness. It is not known what became of Domnus from that time², but it is conjectured that he returned to the monastery of St. Euthymius, and died there some time after. Thus ended the Council, better known under the name of the Latrocinium or Robbers' Meeting³, of Ephesus.

Flavian and Eusebius were thrown into prison, but Flavian, besides his protestation in the Council, presented the Pope's legates with a paper, in which he appealed to the Apostolic see. After the Council Dioscorus immediately withdrew, and pronounced an excommunication⁴ against the Pope St. Leo, to which he procured the subscriptions of about ten Bishops who had accompanied him from Egypt. Flavian was banished, but expired in the course of a few days at Hypepa in Lydia, in consequence of the kicks and other severe treatment which he had received, principally from Barsumas and his monks⁵. In his stead, and probably after his death, Anatolius, Deacon of Alexandria, who was residing at Constantinople as the Apocrisiary of Dioscorus, was ordained Bishop of Constantinople⁶. There was thus a schism in the Church; the Bishops of Egypt, Thrace, and Palestine, sided with Dioscorus; the Bishops of Pontus and Asia followed those who had remained in communion with Flavian: and this schism continued up to the death of the Emperor Theodosius. This prince went so far as to issue an edict⁷, in which he gives his approval to the second Council of Ephesus, prohibits any one from being ordained Bishop who maintains the heresy of Nestorius and Flavian, (for he supposes their doctrine identical,) and forbids all persons to keep in their possession the writings of Theodoret, which he puts in the same class with those of Nestorius.

Meanwhile St. Leo was in great anxiety about the events which were taking place in the East, and wondered that he received no communication; he therefore took the opportunity of sending a letter to Flavian, by a man of rank

A. D. 449.
CH. XLII.
¹ Brev. Hist.
Eulych. ap.
Conc. t. iv.
p. 106. B.

² Evagr. l.
10.

³ ἡ λη-
στροκή.
Theoph.
Chronogr.
p. 86.]

⁴ Lib.
Theod.
C. Calch.
Act. 3. p.
397. B.

⁵ Prosp.
Chr. int.
[p. 670.]
Marcell.
Chr. [p.
289.]
C. Calch.
Act. 4. p.
524. E.
Martyr. R.
18. Febr.
⁶ Liberat.
c. 12. [v.
Coteler.
Mon. Eccl.
Gr. t. i. p.
66.]
⁷ C. Calch.
pt. 3. c. 10.
[p. 863.]

A. D. 449.
CH. XLII.-
XLIII.

named Eupsychius, in order to acquaint him with his uneasiness¹. This letter is dated the eleventh of August, 449. But he was shortly after put in full possession of all the proceedings by the return of his Archdeacon Hilarus.

¹ Ep. 35.
(al. 21.)

XLII.
Ravennius
Bishop of
Arles.

While St. Leo was thus expectant, he received a letter from the Bishops of the province of Vienne, who informed him of the election of Ravennius to the see of Arles, in the place of St. Hilary. St. Leo's answer mentions the names of twelve Bishops to whom it is addressed². "We confirm," he says, "by our judgment, the good work which you have done, in consecrating in the city of Arles, after the death of Hilary of holy memory, a man whom we no less esteem, even our brother Ravennius; and that in accordance with the wishes unanimously expressed by the clergy, the magis-

[³ cleri, hono-
ratorum,
et plebis.]

trates, and the people³." We see by this, that although they notified to the Pope the election of a Bishop to so important a see, yet they did not wait for his consent to consecrate him. We may also observe the honourable terms which the Pope St. Leo employs when speaking of St. Hilary of

⁴ Supr. c. 4.

Arles, in spite of all that had passed between them⁴. This letter⁵ is dated the twenty-second of August, 449. He also wrote to Ravennius, (with whom he was previously acquainted, from his having been sent to Rome about the affair of St. Hilary,) exhorting him to cultivate all the episcopal virtues, and to send him frequent accounts of his proceedings in the government of his flock. A few days afterwards, (on the twenty-sixth of August,) he wrote to him a second time⁶,

⁵ Ep. 37.
(al. 90.)

advising him to be on his guard against a vagabond⁷ named Petronian, who was running up and down the provinces of Gaul, styling himself a Deacon of the Roman Church. "Direct the Bishops," says St. Leo, "to reject him from the communion of all the Churches."

⁶ Ep. 38.
(al. 107.)
[⁷ erronem]

XLIII.
Council of
Rome op-
poses that
of Ephesus.

The Deacon Hilarus arrived at Rome about the end of September, and as there was a Council held every year in the beginning of October⁸, it met very seasonably for considering the proceedings at Ephesus; these were unanimously condemned⁹, and several letters were drawn up in the name of St. Leo and the Council. The first is to the Emperor Theodosius¹, complaining of the violence of Dioscorus and the irregularity of the Council of Ephesus. "We have been

⁸ Ep. Leon.
16. (al. 4.)
c. ult.

⁹ Ep. Hilar.
ap. Leon.
p. 530.

¹ Ep. 40.
(al. 25.)
C. Calch.
pt. i. c. 19.

“informed,” he says, “that those who came to the Council
 “did not all take part in passing sentence. Some were ex-
 “cluded, to make room for others who implicitly set their
 “hands to those impious subscriptions merely to pay court
 “to Dioscorus, and because they knew that they would lose
 “their dignities if they were refractory. Our legates steadily
 “resisted him, because, in effect, the whole mystery of the
 “Christian Faith is overthrown unless this crime, which
 “surpasses all sacrilege, is blotted out. My brethren and I
 “conjure you, therefore,—lest our silence should render us
 “guilty before the tribunal of JESUS CHRIST;—we conjure
 “you before the undivided Trinity, and before the holy
 “angels, to ordain that all things remain in the state in
 “which they were before these sentences were passed, till
 “such time as a greater number of Bishops can be assembled
 “from every part of the world.”

And afterwards; “All the Churches in our parts and all
 “the Bishops beseech you with tears, that since ours faith-
 “fully resisted, and since the Bishop Flavian presented a
 “bill of appeal, you would order a general Council¹ to be
 “assembled in Italy, to remove all doubts concerning the
 “Faith and all those divisions which have inflicted such
 “wounds on charity. Let the Bishops of the Eastern pro-
 “vinces also appear there, that such as have fallen away
 “through weakness may be re-established. The canons of
 “Nicaea annexed to this letter will shew you how necessary
 “our request is, when an appeal has been interposed.”
 There is no doubt that these canons of Nicaea were those of
 Sardica²; and the use St. Leo makes of them is remarkable.³ Fleury,
 For although they seem to assign to the Pope, singly, the
 power of trying appeals put in by Bishops, St. Leo assigns
 this power to the general Council, and he infers the necessity
 of a Council’s being called, as well from the provisions made
 in the canons, as from the appeal interposed by Flavian³. The
 second synodical letter written by St. Leo and the Roman

[¹ genera-
 lem syno-
 dum.]

² Fleury,
 12. 39.
 Supr. 24. 6.

³ v. Quesnel.
 Diss. 8.

¹ “This mistake was favoured by
 “the form of the collections of canons
 “then in use:—the canons of the
 “Council of Nicaea were followed by
 “those of other Councils without any
 “distinguishing mark, as may be seen
 “in the collection attached by Quesnel

“to his edition of St. Leo’s Works.
 “Hence the canons of other Councils
 “are often quoted as those of Nicaea;
 “see Ballerini de ant. coll. cann. Pt.
 “ii. c. 3. § 3 (ap. Galland. Syll. t. i.
 “p. 311).” Gieseler, vol. i. § 92.
 n. 47.

A. D. 449. Council¹ was to St. Pulcheria. He complains in this, as in
CH. XLIII.
1 Ep. 41.
C. Calch.
pt. I. c. 21. the preceding, that his letter to Flavian had not been read
 at the Council of Ephesus; he declares that all the Western
 Bishops remain in communion with Flavian, and begs the
 Princess to support the request he had made to the Emperor
 for a general Council. The third letter² is to the clergy,
2 Ep. 45.
C. Calch.
pt. I. c. 22. magistrates, and people of Constantinople, offering them
 consolation, and exhorting them to remain stedfast in the
 Faith and in allegiance to their Bishop: "For," he adds, "if
 "any one shall dare to usurp the see of Flavian during his
 "life-time, he shall never be admitted to our communion,
 "nor be numbered among the Bishops." The fourth³ is to
3 Ep. 47.
(al. 28.) Faustus, Martin, Peter, Magnus, Elias, and Emmanuel, all
 Priests and Archimandrites of Constantinople; its tendency
 is much the same, being designed to comfort them, and to
 confirm them in the Faith and in union with the Bishop
 Flavian. These four synodical letters all bear the same
 date, the ides of October, in the Consulate of Asterius and
 Protogenes, i. e. the fifteenth of October, 449.

Besides these, St. Leo wrote some private letters: one to
 St. Flavian⁴, to encourage and console him; for he had not as
4 Ep. 42.
C. Calch.
pt. I. c. 18. yet been informed of his death: also to Anastasius of Thessa-
5 Ep. 43.
(al. 29.) lonica⁵, congratulating him on his not having been at Ephesus,
 and exhorting him to remain firm in the Faith and commu-
 nion of Flavian, and to strengthen the hearts of his brethren:
 to Julian of Cos⁶, in a similar way, exhorting him to hope
6 Ep. 44.
(al. 30.) patiently: to the clergy, magistrates, and people of Constau-
 tinople⁷, instructing them at greater length in the doctrine
 of the Incarnation, which they were to preserve. This last
 seems to have been written later than the others; for St. Leo
 speaks in it of having received copies of the people's acclam-
 ations, which can only refer to those by which they pub-
 licly testified their disapproval of Flavian's deposition. In
 this letter, among other proofs of the Incarnation he ad-
 duces the Sacrament of the Eucharist, "in which even in-
 "fants," he says, "acknowledge with their own mouth the
 "truth of the Body and Blood of CHRIST;" for at that time
 infants communicated⁸, and answered, *Amen*, as well as the
[8 Supr.
26. 50. g.]
9 C. Calch.
pt. I. c. 24. others. The Deacon Hilarus wrote privately to St. Pulcheria⁹,
 stating what had prevented him from coming to Constanti-

nople to present the letters of which the Pope had appointed him bearer. He informs her of what had occurred at Ephesus; of the difficulty he had in saving himself; and of the violent proceedings of Dioscorus, which were condemned by the Pope and all the Western Council.

When Theodoret heard of the results of the Ephesine Council, he wrote a long letter¹ to the Pope St. Leo; in which, after owning the superiority of the holy see, he dilates on the praises of Rome, and of St. Leo in especial. He commends his zeal against the Manichees², and his letter to Flavian, which he says he had read, and admired as the very language of the HOLY GHOST. He then adverts to his own personal concerns³, and complains of the injustice of Dioscorus, who had condemned him while absent, having never been summoned, never heard in his own defence, and, in fact, residing at the distance of a thirty-five days' journey. He describes his labours for the Church⁴. "Six and twenty years," he says, "have I been a Bishop, and never incurred any censure either under Theodotus or under those who succeeded him in the see of Antioch; I have rescued above a thousand souls from the disease of Marcion, and have brought back many Arians and Eunomians; there is not one heretic⁵ in the eight hundred parishes⁶ of my diocese. God knows how often I have been assaulted with stones, and how many contests I have sustained against Gentiles and Jews. Within these twenty years⁷ I have written several works," which he enumerates; "From these," he says, "it is easy to ascertain whether I have kept to the rule of Faith, or have erred from it. I pray you, therefore, not to reject my humble prayer⁸, nor despise my old age, which after so many toils is now loaded with opprobrium. Above all things⁹, I wish to know from you, whether I ought to acquiesce in this unjust deposition. I await your decision. If you bid me submit to this sentence, I will do so; I will thenceforth importune no one, but wait for the judgment of God. He is my witness that it is not the loss of honour which gives me this concern, but I fear the scandal that would follow, and lest many of the simple-minded folk, and especially the converted heretics, should regard me as heretical, when

A. D. 449.
CH. XLIV.

XLIV.
Theodoret writes to St. Leo.
1 Ep. 113. [t. iii. p. 985.] (et ap. S. Leon. Opp. t. i. p. 531.)
2 c. 2.
3 c. 3.
4 c. 4.
5 οὐδένα
6 ἑξακτον
7 c. 5.
8 ἱκετεῖαν
9 c. 6.

A. D. 449. " they see the authority of those who have condemned me,
 CH. XLIV. " and not being themselves qualified to understand the point
 " of doctrine, nor to take into consideration that during
 " my long episcopate I have acquired neither house nor land
 [¹ ὀβολόν] " nor sepulchre, nay, not a single penny¹, but have embraced
 " a voluntary poverty, having given away my patrimony im-
 " mediately after the death of my parents, as is known to all
² c. 7. " the East. I write this to you² by the Priests Hypatius and
 " Abraham, who are Chorepiscopi, and Alypius, who is Ex-
 " arch of my monks; the Emperor's orders, by which I and
 " some others are detained, prevent me from coming to you
 " in person."

He gave the same deputies three other letters. The first
³ Ep. 116. is to Renatus³, Priest of the Roman Church and one of the
 envoys to the Council of Ephesus. Theodoret had not been
 informed of his death, but supposes that he had assisted at
 the Council. He here acknowledges the primacy of the holy

[⁴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκου-
 μένην ἐκ-
 κλησιῶν
 τὴν ἡγε-
 μονίαν] see over all the Churches of the world⁴, chiefly on account of
 the purity of its faith, which was never, he says, sullied by
 any heresy. The second letter⁵ is to the Archdeacon of Rome,
 that is, Hilarus; whom, however, Theodoret addresses in a
 way that shews he had not heard of his having been at

⁵ Ep. 118. Ephesus. The third is to a Bishop named Florentius⁶, though,
 as he makes use of the plural number, it would seem to have
 been addressed to the Western Bishops who had assembled
 with St. Leo to consider his case. He wrote at the same time

⁷ Ep. 118. to Anatolius the Patrician⁷, begging him to intercede with the
 Emperor for him, that he might be permitted to go to the
 West to be judged by the Bishops of those parts; or, if not,
 that he might at least be allowed to retire to his monastery,

[⁸ μίλις] which was a hundred and twenty miles⁸ distant from Cyrus,
 seventy-five from Antioch, and three from Apamea; and
 this, because he had heard they intended to eject him from
 Cyrus. The answers sent by St. Leo and the other Western
 Bishops to Theodoret are not extant; but the sequel of the
 history shews that his deputation was well received, and that
 the Pope re-established him in the episcopate, without paying

⁹ C. Calch. any regard to the decision of Dioscorus⁹. The Emperor, too,
 Act. i. p. gave him permission to withdraw to his monastery, where
 102. B. D. he is thought to have written his Ecclesiastical History, and

whence he sent several letters to his friends, defending himself and consoling them¹. A. D. 450.
CH. XLV.

In the mean time St. Leo received an answer from the Princess Pulcheria, testifying her affection for the Catholic Faith. He wrote to thank her for this², and renewed his request that she would support his petition for a Council; "Human affairs," he urges, "cannot remain in security, unless the Faith be supported by both the royal and the sacerdotal authority." His answer is dated on³ the seven- ² Ep. 48.
(al. 31.)

teenth of March, 450. He wrote on the same day to Martin and Faustus⁴, Abbots of Constantinople, in answer to a letter which they had sent him dated on the very day on which he and the Council of Rome had written to them. He exhorts ³ 16. Kal.
April. Val-
entiniano
VII. et
Avieno
Coss.
⁴ Ep. 49.
(al. 32.)

them to confirm their people in the Catholic Faith.

About the same time he received two deputations from Gaul; one from the Bishop of Vienne, complaining that the Bishop of Arles had assumed the prerogative of ordaining to the see of Vaison; the other from the Bishops of the province of Arles, who had sent a Priest named Petronius and a Deacon named Regulus, to present a petition, in their names⁵, XLV.
Arrange-
ment be-
tween
Arles and
Vienne.

to this effect: "It is notorious to all the Gauls and not unknown at Rome, that the city of Arles was the first which received a Bishop sent by the Apostle St. Peter—we speak of St. Trophimus; that from this Church the Faith spread itself into the rest of Gaul, and consequently that it had a Bishop before the city of Vienne, which now aims at the primacy." The name of the Gauls need not here be taken in its widest extent; it is sufficient to understand it of the entire province of Narbonnensis, or the old Roman *Provincia*; and what is said about the commission given to St. Trophimus by St. Peter, means only that he was sent by the holy see. The petition proceeds: "Besides, our predecessors⁶ have always honoured the Church of Arles as their mother; our cities have constantly asked for Bishops from thence, and its Bishop has always consecrated our predecessors and us. Your predecessors confirmed the privileges of this Church by their letters, as appears, we doubt not, in the archives⁷ of the holy see. They wished that it should have authority within the Gauls, in the same way that the Roman Church has the primacy in all the world." They subjoin an ac- [⁵ Post Ep.
49. S. Leon.
[p. 538.
Preces
missæ ab
universis
compro-
vincialibus
Episcopis
Metropolis
Arelaten-
sis.]

A. D. 450. count of the secular advantages enjoyed by Arles; "Con-
 CH. XLVI. stantine gave it his name, Valentinian and Honorius called
 [1 matrem "it the mother of all the Gauls¹. From their time to the
 omnium "present the consulate has been given and received in it,
 (vulg. ma- "and the Præfect of the Prætorium has made it his residence.
 trimonium) "Hence this Church has at all times had the government, not
 Galliarum] "only of the province of Vienne, but of the three provinces,
 "and, by commission from the holy see, of all the Gauls."

² Ep. 50. St. Leo's answer² bears the names of the twelve Bishops to
 (al. 109.) whom it is addressed, and remarks that the Bishop of Vienne
 had been beforehand with them in sending letters and de-
 puties. Both parties stated the grounds of their claims, and
 it appeared that Vienne and Arles had, each of them, at dif-
 ferent periods possessed different privileges. St. Leo there-
 fore confirmed the authority which he had previously awarded
 to the Bishop of Vienne, when he decided against the claims
 of St. Hilary of Arles. He ordained that the Bishop of
 Vienne should preside over the four neighbouring cities,
 Valence, Tarantaise, Geneva, and Grenoble, and that the
 other cities of the same province should be subject to the
 Bishop of Arles. This letter is dated the third of the nones
 of May, in the consulate of Valentinian and Avienus, that is,
 the fifth of May, 450. On the same day he wrote to Raven-
 nius of Arles³, desiring him to acquaint all the Gallic Bishops
 with his letter to Flavian, which he sent to him along with that
 of St. Cyril. He says that he had detained the deputies of
 the Church of Arles, from a wish that they might witness all
 the proceedings relative to the new heresy against the In-
 carnation:—which seems to shew that they had assisted at the
 Council of Rome in the preceding October:—and he leaves
 it to them to relate, by word of mouth, those matters which
 it was not fit to entrust to paper.

XLVI.
 Valen-
 tinian's
 letter to
 Theodo-
 sius.

The Emperor Valentinian came from Ravenna to Rome
 for the feast of St. Peter, which was, probably, at the end

¹ "In hac urbe quicumque intra Gal-
 "lias ex tempore prædictorum [V. et
 "H.] ostentare voluit insignia digni-
 "tatis, consulatum suscepit et dedit."
 It would seem that honorary consulates
 were conferred on men of rank, which
 involved no responsibility beyond that
 of giving Circensian games to the people

by way of acknowledgment, (cf. Vales.
 in Socr. ii. 29. τὰς συνήθεις ὑπατείαις
 ἐπετέλεσε): or is the reference to
 usurpers like Constantine, (whose head-
 quarters were at Arles,) who made it
 their policy to be elected consuls, and
 to give the office to their sons or par-
 tisans?

of June in this year (450). His mother Galla Placidia and his wife Licinia Eudoxia accompanied him on this religious journey. On the day following their arrival they went to the church of St. Peter¹, and after the night of the Vigil, (in other words, on the day of the festival,) the Pope St. Leo presented himself to the Emperor along with several Bishops from various provinces of Italy, who usually assembled at Rome for this solemnity. When prayers were over, they remained at the Altar, and addressed themselves to the Emperor and Empresses, conjuring them with tears not to look on unmoved while the Faith was in jeopardy, and representing to them the disorder which prevailed all over the East, and especially the injustice committed by Dioscorus in his resentful deposition of Flavian. They entreated the Emperor and Empresses, therefore, by the holiness of the place where they were, to write on the subject to the Emperor Theodosius and beg him to allow a general Council of the whole world to be assembled in Italy, to remedy these disorders. Acts were drawn up on this occasion, which contain the prayers and acclamations made use of in this meeting.

The Emperor, in consequence, wrote to Theodosius, begging him to preserve the dignity of St. Peter and the primacy which antiquity had granted to the Bishop of Rome over all Churches, insomuch that he had power to give sentence about the Faith and about Bishops. "Hence," he says, "in accordance with the Councils, the Bishop of Constantinople has made an appeal to him. I request, therefore, that all the other Bishops of the world may be assembled in Italy, and that the Pope, taking cognizance with them of the whole matter, may pass a sentence conformable to the Faith and to religion." The two Empresses wrote to the same effect; Placidia wrote, in addition, a private letter to Pulcheria, pressing her to assist in promoting the same design.

St. Leo had received an answer from the Emperor Theodosius² respecting the synodal letter of October, 449. Theodosius allowed that the Council of Nicea was sufficient, and that there was no need to have assembled another; and he desired the Pope to approve the ordination of Anatolius, as Bishop of Constantinople, in the room of Flavian. St. Leo

A. D. 450.
CH. XLVI.

¹ C. Catech.
pl. 1. c. 25,
26, etc. et
post Ep.
S. Leon. 47.
[p. 523.]

² Ep. 52.
(al. 33.)

A. D. 450. suspends his judgment on this point, until he should be better informed of the faith of Anatolius, and he requests that Anatolius would declare his faith in the presence of all the clergy and people, and communicate his profession of it to the holy see, and to all the [Bishops and] Churches¹. He wishes that it should be conformable to St. Cyril's letter to Nestorius and to St. Leo's own letter to Flavian, and that he would exclude from his communion all who think otherwise about the Incarnation. "I send to you," he adds, "my brethren and fellow-Bishops² Abundius and Asterius, as also the Priests Basil and Senator, in order that, if the Bishop of Constantinople confesses the same Faith, we may rejoice in the peace of the Church; but if any dissent from it, then let your clemency grant us a general Council in Italy: in this petition the synod, assembled about this matter at Rome, unites with me."

[¹ apostolicæ sedi et universis Domini sacerdotibus atque Ecclesiis publicandam.]

[² co-episcopos meos]

He wrote at the same time to Faustus, Martin, and other Archimandrites of Constantinople, sixteen in number³, praying them to join his legates in soliciting a profession of faith from Anatolius. These letters to the Emperor and the Archimandrites are dated on the same day⁴,—the seventeenth of July, 450. Three days afterwards, he wrote to the Empress Pulcheria⁵, to the same effect.

Theodosius's answers⁶ to the Emperor Valentinian and the Empresses Placidia and Eudoxia contain only general expressions of civility to them, and of his care for the maintenance of religion. He refers them to what he had written to the Pope on this subject, and states his approval of the decision come to by the Council of Ephesus, and of their condemnation of Flavian.

The eunuch Chrysaphius, who had confirmed the Emperor in this attachment to the schism of Dioscorus, and whose avarice had long been gathering round him a cloud of popular odium, was soon after disgraced, banished to an island, and put to death by the advice of Pulcheria⁷. The Emperor Theodosius died this same year, (450,) on the twenty-ninth of July, aged forty-nine years, of which he had reigned forty-one⁸. The Empress Eudocia, his wife, quitted

XLVII.
Death of Theodosius, Mar-
cian Em-
peror.

⁷ Marellin.
Chr. a. 450.
[Rone. t. ii.
p. 289.]
Niceph.
t. 4. 49.
Proser.
Chr. integr.

h. a. [t. i. p. 670.]

Idat. Chr. Olymp. 307. [t. ii. p. 34.]

⁸ Marc. Chr. u. s. Chr. Pasch. p. 319. [ed. Par., p. 254. ed. Ven.]

Constantinople, and, under pretence of a vow, returned to Jerusalem, where she ended her days¹; and whence she sent to Pulcheria a picture of the Virgin, which passed as a work of St. Luke²^a. Pulcheria, the sister of the late Emperor, was thus left mistress of the East. By her influence, Marcian, a native of Illyricum and a distinguished captain, was elected Emperor, and was recognised as such by the concurrent votes of the senate, the army, and all the orders. They did not wait for the consent of Valentinian, the Emperor of the West, though he afterwards signified his approval of the election³. Pulcheria, to increase Marcian's authority and to reign jointly with him, married him, but with the stipulation that she should remain a virgin; she was at this time fifty-one years of age, and he was considerably advanced in years. By a former marriage he had a daughter named Euphemia, who married Anthemius, afterwards Emperor of the West⁴. Marcian was very zealous for the Catholic religion, and very charitable towards the poor. He was proclaimed Emperor at Hebdomon, on Thursday the twenty-fourth of August, A.D. 450.⁵

In the beginning of his reign, he passed a law⁶ inflicting the heaviest penalties on the heretics, Clerks, and monks, who should forsake the Catholic religion to follow the heresy of Apollinarius or of Eutyches. On the twelfth of November in the following year, 451, he made a stringent enactment against idolatry⁷: it prohibits the re-opening of the temples, which had been long closed; their gates were not to be decorated with festoons, no fires were to burn on the altars, no incense to be offered on them, no libations to be poured out or victims to be sacrificed; and this on pain of suffering the extreme penalty of the law, with confiscation of all their property.

The legates of the Pope St. Leo, setting out from Rome about the end of July, 450, did not arrive at Constantinople until after the death of the Emperor Theodosius; they met with a favourable reception from Marcian and Pulcheria. Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, assembled a Council of

A. D. 450.
CH. XLVIII.

¹ Evagr. 1.
21, 22.
Niceph.
14. 49.

² Theod.
Lect. 1. 1, 2.

³ Evag. 2. 1.

⁴ 2. 43.
3. 26.

⁵ Chr.
Pasch. n. s.
[⁶ Cod.
Just. l. i.
tit. 5. sive]
de Apost.
leg. ult.

⁷ tit. ii. sive
de Paganis.
leg. 7.

XLVIII.
Council of
Constanti-
nople un-
der Anato-
lius.

^a Also mentioned by the Patriarch Germanus in vit. S. Stephani, Anal. Gr. t. i. p. 413. cf. infr. xxviii. 42. Du Fresne, CP. Lib. iv. p. 88. 181. ed. Paris.

A. D. 450. the Bishops who happened to be in the city, with the Archimandrites, Priests, and Deacons¹. St. Leo's letter to Flavian
 CH. XLVIII.
¹ Acta
 S. Abund.
 ap. Baron.
 a. 450. § 29.
 was presented by Abundius, Bishop of Como, one of the legates, and, having been read publicly, was found conformable to the authorities of the Greek and Latin Fathers and to the Catholic Faith. Anatolius, therefore, gave his consent to it, and subscribed before the rest, saying, "Anathema to Eutyches and to Nestorius, to their doctrine and their followers." All the Bishops, Priests, Archimandrites, and Deacons present, did the same.

This done, the four legates of the Pope, Abundius and Asterius, Bishops, and Basil and Senator, Priests, gave thanks to God for the harmony which prevailed, and then pronounced anathema on Eutyches and on all who, following his error, said that there were two natures in CHRIST our LORD before the Incarnation, and after it only one. They also anathematized Nestorius and his followers; and it was decreed in this Council, that the Bishops who had consented, through fear, to sign the condemnation of Flavian, should have communion with none but their own Churches.

The Emperor Marcian ordered the body of St. Flavian to be brought to Constantinople², and had it interred with the usual honours in the Basilica of the Apostles, where his predecessors reposed. He also made a special order for the recall of those Bishops who had been banished for assisting St. Flavian to maintain the Catholic Faith. In this number Theodoret was included, as appears from his letters of thanks to the influential persons who had brought about his restoration, the Patricians Anatolius and Vincomalus³. He begs them to procure the convocation of a synod, at which, to prevent disturbance, the Emperor and Empress should attend in person. He also sent a letter⁴ to Abundius the Pope's legate, in which he certifies that he had subscribed St. Leo's letter to Flavian, and that Ibas of Edessa and Aquilinus of Byblus had done the same.

² Ep. Pulch.
 ap. C. Calch.
 pt. I. c. 35.
³ Epist. 138,
 140.
⁴ ap. Baron.
 a. 450. § 32.
⁵ C. Calch.
 pt. I. c. 33.
 [⁶ ἐπισκο-
 πεύουσιν
 καὶ ἄρχου-
 σιν τῆς
 πίστεως.]
⁷ c. 35.
 The Emperor Marcian, immediately on his election, wrote⁵ to the Pope St. Leo, as the head of the Faith⁶, commending himself to his prayers, and proposing in general terms that a Council should be convened. The Empress Pulcheria sent him an account of all that had occurred at Constantinople⁷;—

the subscription of Anatolius, the translation of St. Flavian's remains, and the recall of the exiled Bishops;—and she entreated him to contribute, as far as lay in his power, to the assembling of a Council. Lastly, Anatolius himself wrote to St. Leo giving him a confession of his Faith; he also sent three envoys, the Priest Casterius and the Deacons Patricius and Asclepiades, who took with them the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, the report of the proceedings drawn up by the Pope's legates, and the letters of Marcian and Pulcheria.

The Pope St. Leo despatched the deputies of Anatolius homeward, after the feast of Easter, (which this year fell on the eighth of April,) and gave them answers to the letters they had brought, all written on the same day¹,—the ides of April, in the consulate of Adelphius, that is, April 13, 451. To Pulcheria² he acknowledges the services she had done the Church in opposing both the heresy of Nestorius and that of Eutyches. He recommends to her patronage Eusebius of Dorykeum, who was then at Rome; for, having been ejected from his see and another Bishop being appointed in his stead, he had come to present himself to the Pope, and in order to clear himself from the charge brought against him by his calumniators, that he was a Nestorian, had made a profession of his faith in the presence of the deputies from Constantinople, declaring that he received the decrees of the three Councils-general of Nicaea, Constantinople, and Ephesus. St. Leo also begs the Empress to extend her favour to Julian of Cos, (who was still at Constantinople,) and to the clergy of Constantinople who had remained faithful to St. Flavian. He congratulates Anatolius³ on the purity of his faith and on the peace enjoyed by the Church of Constantinople. As to the Bishops who had signed the condemnation of Flavian in a moment of weakness, St. Leo approves of the regulation made by the Council of Constantinople, that they should be confined, provisionally⁴, to the communion of their several Churches; “but,” he adds, “I wish that, in conjunction with our legates, you would arrange that such as thoroughly condemn those irregular proceedings may be admitted to our communion. As to omitting the names of Dioseorus, Juvenal, and Eustathius at the Altar⁵, you will do what-
XLIX. Letters of St. Leo to Marcian, and others. Ep. 58, 59, 60. (al. 38, 39, 40.) Ep. 59. Ep. 60.

A. D. 451. "alienate the minds of your people." He also commends
 CH. XLIX. to the affection of Anatolius both Julian of Cos and all the
 clergy who had been faithful to Flavian; he asks him to take
 charge of the Church of Dorylæum, during the absence of
 Eusebius, and in conclusion, expresses a wish that his letter
 should be read publicly.

Tatian, Præfect of Rome, delivered to St. Leo a second
 letter from the Emperor Marcian¹, dated the twenty-second
 of November in the preceding year, 450. It assured him
 that his legates had met with a sincere welcome, and invited
 him to come into the East, to hold the Council there. "If
 "this be inconvenient," he adds, "let us be informed by
 "letter, that we may send our summons through all the
 "East, Thrace, and Illyricum, convoking all the Bishops to
 "some such place as may approve itself to our² choice, where
 "they may adopt measures in support of the peace of the
 "Church and of the Catholic Faith, in the way you have
 "defined³ in accordance with the canons." St. Leo returned
 an answer⁴ on the twenty-third of April. He begs the Em-
 peror not to permit the mystery of salvation to be examined,
 as if the matter of our belief were in any degree doubtful.
 "It is unlawful for us," he continues, "to vary the least
 "word from the doctrine of the Evangelists and Apostles;
 "we are not to understand the Divine Scriptures otherwise
 "than as our fathers received and taught them, and, conse-
 "quently, we must not re-open any impious questions, which
 "the HOLY GHOST has heretofore decided as soon as the
 "Devil suggested them. It would be highly unjust to allow
 "a few inconsiderate persons again to raise a question as to
 "whether the opinions of Eutyches were impious and Dio-
 "scorus's judgment wrong. The doubtful point is not what
 "faith we are to hold by, but which of those who acknowledge
 "their error should be pardoned." For further explanations
 about the Council he refers to the legates whom it was his
 intention to send.

Accordingly, after the return of the first legates, he sent
 two others to Constantinople,—Lucentius, Bishop of Ascoli,
 and the Priest Basil,—to labour with Anatolius⁵ for effecting
 the re-union of those who evinced sincere repentance for
 having suffered themselves to be drawn into the faction of

¹ C. Catech.
 pt. I. c. 34.

² ἡμῶν.
 Fl. rous.]

³ διετέ-
 πωσε]
⁴ Ep. 62.
 (al. 42.)

⁵ Ep. 63.
 (al. 44.)

Dioscorus; they were to receive such only after a judicious A. D. 451
 examination, without, however, subjecting them to too long CH. L.
 delay or treating them with undue rigour. He gave his
 legates three letters, all of the same date, the seventh of
 June, 451; the first for the Emperor Marcian, the second
 for Pulcheria, the third for Anatolius. In the letter to the
 Emperor¹, he says, "As to the Council, your clemency may
 " remember that I myself requested it; but the pressure of
 " the times will not in any way allow the Bishops of all the
 " provinces to assemble; since those provinces from which
 " they should chiefly be summoned," that is, those of the
 West, "are so unsettled by the wars, that the Bishops can-
 " not be spared from their Churches. Defer it therefore,"
 he proceeds, "to a more opportune season, when, by God's
 " mercy, the public security shall have been more firmly
 " established." He prays the Empress Pulcheria² to order
 the removal of Eutyches to a greater distance from Con-
 stantinople, as his monastery was too near the city; and to
 promote a Catholic Abbot in his stead. He recommends
 Anatolius³ to decide nothing as yet respecting the heads of
 the party who presided at the false Council, even though
 they should profess repentance; but without refusing their
 offer of amendment, to reserve it to be maturely examined
 by the holy see, and in the mean time not to recite their
 names at the Altar of the Church of Constantinople.

The wars, which at that time disturbed the Roman Em-
 pire, and which St. Leo considered to be an obstacle in the
 way of a Council, were caused mainly by the invasion of the
 Huns⁴. Having formerly passed the Palus Mœotis, they had
 spread themselves as far as the Danube and levied a tribute
 on the Emperors of the East. Under the younger Theodosius,
 they had pillaged Thrace and Illyria and afterwards Achaia
 and the rest of Greece. At last, their King Attila, having
 subjected many other barbarian Kings to his sway, and
 having got together an army of five hundred thousand men,
 crossed, this year, (451,) from Pannonia into Gaul, under
 the plea of waging war with Theodoric, King of the Visi-
 goths. He passed the Rhine, and reached Metz on Easter-
 Eve⁵; the city was set fire to, the whole population butchered,
 and the Priests massacred at the foot of the Altars; nothing

L.
 Attila's
 ravages in
 Gaul.

¹ Jornandes
 de Reb.
 Geticis.
 Cassiod.
 Chr. [Rome,
 t. ii. p. 230.]
 Prosper.
 Chr. [t. i.
 p. 671.]
 Marcellin.
 [t. ii. p. 290.]

⁵ Greg. Tur.
 Hist. 2. 6.

A. D. 451. remained entire but the oratory of St. Stephen. Attila also
 CH. L. ravaged Rheims, Cambay, Besançon, Langres, and Auxerre.

¹ Vit. S. At Paris the alarm was so great¹ that the inhabitants
 Genov. ap. thought of retiring with their wives and children to places
 Boll. 3. Jan. of greater strength; but St. Genevieve exhorted the women
 [p. 144.] to put their trust in God, and, along with their husbands, to
 give themselves to fasting and prayer. Many virtuous women
 confided in her advice, and passed some days watching and
 praying in the baptistery. The Saint moreover advised the
 husbands not to remove their goods elsewhere, for she assured
 them that the cities, in which they were desirous of taking
 refuge, would be attacked, and that Paris would be unharmed.
 On this occasion some of the citizens began to conspire
 against her, and to hold assemblies, in which it was de-
 liberated whether she should be stoned or drowned in the
 river. Meanwhile the Archdeacon of Auxerre came to Paris,
 and having discovered the plot, said to them, "Take good
 heed how you venture on so wicked a resolve. I have many
 times heard the holy Bishop Germain praise this damsel
 and proclaim her virtues." The Huns did not, in fact,
 come near Paris.

Orleans on the other hand was besieged, and furiously
² Greg. Tur. assaulted with battering rams². St. Agnan, who was at that
 2. 7. time its Bishop, seeing the city menaced by the Huns, went
 to Arles to gain an interview with the Patrician Aëtius, and
 urged him to come with succours; he then returned to the
 city and exhorted his people to put up prayers to God. At
 length Aëtius came accompanied by Theodoric, King of the
 Visigoths, and they raised the siege just as the enemy had
 forced an entrance and were prepared to pillage the city³.
³ Sidon. St. Agnan died two years afterwards. He was a native of
 Epist. viii. 15. Vienne, and of a noble family⁴; and having forsaken the
⁴ Vit. S. world in his younger days, he built a cell outside the city
 Aniani ap. Sur. 17 Nov. and there spent many years in the service of God. He was
 [t. vi. p. 378, then attracted to Orleans by the reputation of St. Euverte, or
 ed. 1575.] Evurtius, whom he afterwards succeeded. Attila retreated
 to the plains of Champagne⁵, where Aëtius, with his auxiliary
⁵ Mauriacum Cam- Goths and Franks, gave him battle, defeated him, and forced
 pum. v. him to evacuate Gaul⁶. The city of Troyes, exposed in those
 Vales. Notit. Gall.]
⁶ Greg. u. s. vast plains, without arms or fortification, looked forward with

fear to the approach of the barbarians¹; but St. Lupus, its Bishop, gained the respect of Attila to such a degree that the barbarian obliged him to accompany him as far as the Rhine, as a protection to his person and army, undertaking to send him back in safety: which he accordingly did, after further commending himself to his prayers.

The Emperor Marcian persisted in his resolution of forthwith convening a Council in the East. His letters were addressed² to Anatolius and the other Bishops of the great sees, enjoining them to meet at Nicea in Bithynia, on the first day of September, with such a number of Bishops belonging to their jurisdiction as they should think convenient. The Emperor promised to be there in person. They are dated from Constantinople, on the sixteenth of the calends of June in the consulate of Marcian, or May 17, 451.

When St. Leo heard that the summons was issued, he chose two new legates to represent him in the Council; Paschasius, Bishop of Lilybæum in Sicily, and Boniface, Priest of the Roman Church. The latter was sent from Rome, but Paschasius set out from Sicily, in order that he might arrive the sooner at Constantinople; for the term allowed for the assembling of the Bishops was only short. Besides, this province enjoyed greater tranquillity than any in the West, and was least exposed to the ravages of the barbarians. St. Leo's first step was to send Paschasius a copy of his letter to Flavian³, with some select passages from the Fathers about the mystery of the Incarnation, which his first legates had already made use of at Constantinople. In a letter which accompanied these, (dated June 24, 451,) he sent him the news from the East. "Know," he says, "that the whole Church of Constantinople has given its consent, and has anathematized, by its subscriptions, Nestorius and Eutyches, together with their doctrines. Know, too, that I have just received a letter from the Bishop of Constantinople, informing me that the Bishop of Antioch has written circular letters⁴ to all the Bishops, in which he gives his assent to my letter and subscribes equally to the condemnation of Nestorius and of Eutyches." Lastly, St. Leo desires Paschasius to get some persons of skill to calculate Easter for the year 455, because there were some difficulties in the cal-

A. D. 451.
Cil. l. l.
Vita S.
Lupi ap.
Sur. 29. lnl.
[t. iv. p. 391.
Boll. t.
xxxii. p. 77.]

II.
Prelimi-
naries of
the Council
of Chalce-
don.

² C. Calch.
pt. 1. c. 36,
37.

³ Epist. 68.
[p. 567.]

[⁴ trac-
toris]

A. D. 451. culation of Theophilus of Alexandria¹, which the whole Church
CH. LI. at that time followed.

[¹ v. infr.
28. 50.]

The Priest Boniface was charged with the letters of the legation, as being the only one who went direct from Rome. They are dated² on the twenty-sixth of June, 451. Two of them were directed to the Emperor Marcian³, one to Anatolius⁴, and one to the Council⁵. In these letters St. Leo gives us to understand that he would have preferred that the Council should have been put off to a more convenient time and have been held in Italy; that, at the same time, he is ready to conform to the Emperor's wishes; and that although the time was so short, he sends the Bishop Paschasinus and the Priest Boniface to preside in his name at the Council along with Lucentius and Basil, (whom he had sent a little before,) and Julian of Cos, who was thoroughly acquainted with the whole affair, as he had long resided in the East and had taken part in the Council of Ephesus. St. Leo sent him also a separate letter⁶. He still maintains, in these letters, that the Faith is certain, and therefore not to be controverted, and demands the restoration of the Bishops who had been ejected from their sees for having maintained the Catholic Faith, without prejudice to the first Council of Ephesus and the condemnation of Nestorius. This last clause is added because the most zealous opponents of Eutyches were accused of Nestorianism.

² Ep. 74, 75. In some further letters to Marcian and Pulcheria⁷, of the
(al. 50, 51.) nineteenth and twentieth of July, he says that his only reason for wishing the Council to be held in Italy had been that the Bishops of the West might attend it; that he was disposed

³ Ep. 75.c.3. to deal leniently⁸ with those who sincerely returned to the truth, and that he had given sufficient proof of this by his actions, since a large number had been already received, and the heads of the party, although notorious, were allowed to retain their sees till the decision of the Council was known. "In a word," he says, "you will perceive that our sole intention is to extinguish the heresy, which we detest, and "to procure the conversion of the heretics."

When the Bishops, in fulfilment of the Emperor's order, had assembled at Nicaea, that Prince wrote to them, first of all⁹, desiring them to wait for his arrival. After some time,

⁹ C. Catech.
pt. I. c. 38.

they sent to inform him that many were seriously inconvenienced by their long stay, both from sickness and other causes; to which he answered¹, “The legates of the Pope Leo¹ c. 41. judge my presence in the Council to be so necessary, that they will not attend it in my absence. I desire you, therefore, to repair to Chalcedon, as it will be easier for me to cross over to that place from Constantinople, where the urgency of public business detains me.” The Bishops sent Attiens, Archdeacon of Constantinople, to him from Nicaea to represent that, as Chalcedon was so near the city, they were apprehensive that the partizans of Eutyches might raise a disturbance there. The Emperor wrote to them a third time², telling them that their fears were groundless,² c. 42. and bidding them repair immediately to Chalcedon; for otherwise the session of the Council might be indefinitely delayed, since the affairs of Illyricum would not permit him to quit the city. This refers to the movements of the Huns, who, after their defeat by the Gauls, attempted to force their way into Illyricum, but were prevented by the Emperor.

We must not omit to mention the precautionary orders which the Emperor issued against any who should seditiously disturb the Council. This was especially provided for by a law which bears date this year the thirteenth of July³; it³ Tertio Idus. Cod. Just. 1. i. tit. 12. leg. 5. De his qui ad Eccles. conf. enacts that the peace of churches should not be broken into by acclamations, or expressions of concurrence with the speaker; and, generally, that no meetings and conventicles should be held in Constantinople [and its suburbs] or elsewhere; on pain of capital punishment on the movers of the sedition. The Empress Pulcheria, too, after the Bishops had assembled at Nicaea, wrote to Strategius⁴, the Consular of Bithynia, to expel all Clerks, monks, and laymen, who came to raise a disturbance, having neither been summoned by the Emperor, nor received permission from their Bishops.¹ c. Cath. pt. 1. c. 39.

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ECCESTASTICAL HISTORY.

BOOK XXVIII.

THE Bishops having arrived at Chalcedon from Nicea, and the Emperor's great officers having crossed over from Constantinople, the Council assembled in the church of St. Euphemia the Martyr, situate outside the city near the sea coast, being only two stadia, or two hundred and fifty paces, distant from the Bosphorus¹. It was built on a gently rising

A. D. 451.
CH. I.
I.
Opening of
the Council
of Chalce-
don.

¹ EVANG. 2.3.

ground, and [though its elevation was considerable,] the ascent was so easy as to be scarcely perceived. It commanded a prospect of great beauty; beneath it were fair tracts of meadow and cornfield, with trees of every foliage; above it, mountains clothed with woods: on one side you saw the sea playing calmly against the shore², on another swelling with surge: in the foreground stood the city of Constantinople, which of itself was a magnificent spectacle.

[² τῇ γὰρ
λήνῃ πορ-
φυροῦσεν
καὶ ταῖς ἀκ-
ταῖς πρὸς
πείσαντα
ἡδὺ τε καὶ
ἡμερον.]

You first entered into a large [open] court, ornamented with pillars on every side, or peristyle; thence you passed to the Basilica, which was almost as spacious, and similarly decorated with pillars [but roofed in.] Beyond this was a circular building running up into a dome³ which was supported by columns, with a gallery running round it for the people to pray and hear the service in. Under this dome, on the east side, stood the tomb of the Saint, whose relics were enclosed in a silver shrine. Men perceived a fragrant perfume ever issuing from it, and it was held that many miracles had been wrought there. Sometimes the Bishop of Constantinople came to visit it with the Emperor, the magistrates, and all the people. On these occasions the Bishop went within the chancel⁴, and through a small open-
ing on the left side of the sepulchre thrust in an iron rod,

[³ περιφερῆς
ἐς θόλῳ]

[⁴ εἰσω τῶν
ἀνακτόρων]

A. D. 451. with a sponge at the end of it, which he drew back full of
 —————
 en. I. blood, and this blood he distributed to all the people; so
 that drops of it were carried to all parts of the world. Near
 [1 in sin- the tomb of the Saint hung a painting on cloth¹, executed by
 done] the hand of a great master, in which all the circumstances of
 her martyrdom were represented; St. Asterius of Amasea
 [2 ap. has preserved us a description of it². Such was the church of
 Ruinart. St. Euphemia near Chalcedon.
 Act. Mart.
 49. p. 490.]

The Council met in it for the first time on the eighth of the
 ides of October in the consulate of Marcian and in the fourth
 8. Octob. indiction; i. e. the eighth of October, A.D. 451. There were
 present nineteen of the chief officers of the Empire; namely,
 Anatolius, Master of the Soldiery, (who had been Consul in
 440,) Palladius, Præfect of the Prætorium, Tatian, Præfect
 of Constantinople, Vincomalus, Master of the Offices, and
 Sporatius, Count of the Domestics, or Captain of the Guards,
 who was Consul the next year (452), besides many more,
 who had borne the highest offices in the state and were now
 only senators. The Bishops mentioned in the Acts are three
 hundred and sixty in number^a. The Pope's legates, Pascha-
 sinus and Lucentius, Bishops, and Boniface, Priest, are men-
 tioned first; after them come Anatolius, Bishop of Constan-
 tinople, Dioscorus of Alexandria, Maximus of Antioch, and
 Juvenal of Jerusalem. They were ranged in the following
 order³: The officers and senators sat in the middle, before
 the altar-screen; at their left were the Pope's legates, then
 Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius
 of Cæsarea, Stephen of Ephesus, and the other Bishops be-
 longing to the dioceses of the East⁴, of Pontus, Asia, and
 Thrace: at their right Dioscorus of Alexandria, Juvenal of
 Jerusalem, Quintillus of Heraclea in Macedonia, (represent-
 ing Anastasius of Thessalonica,) Peter of Corinth, and the
 other Bishops of the dioceses of Egypt and Illyricum, with

³ Act. 1.
p. 94.

[¹ τῆς ἀνα-
τολικῆς]

^a The whole number of Bishops pre-
 sent is variously stated. The writer of
 the Breviculus says, "500 and up-
 wards," (Labb., iv. p. 1080): the
 letter of the Council to St. Leo (Opp.
 Leon. ed. Baller. t. i. p. 1089) says 520,
 —the number given in the Latin copy
 of Marcian's law, (C. Calch. pt. 3. c.
 12): Zacharias (Assem. B. O. ii. p. 55)

564: while Liberatus (c. 13), Marce-
 linus (Chr. Roncal. ii. p. 289), Theo-
 phanes (Chronogr. p. 91), and Nice-
 phorus (xv. 26) all agree in the num-
 ber 630. St. Leo (Ep. 102. Baller. 77.
 Quesn.) says, "*about* 600." See Tilke-
 mont., t. xv. p. 914. Walch., th. vi.
 p. 402.

those of Palestine; so that all Dioscorus's party was on the side which was the less honourable. The Gospel was placed in the centre.

The Bishop Pасhasinus, the Pope's legate, spoke first. Addressing himself to the magistrates, he said, "We have orders from the blessed Bishop of Rome, who is head of all the Churches, that Dioscorus should not sit in the Council; therefore, so please your greatness, let him go out, or we must go out." As he spoke in Latin his speech was explained in Greek by Beronician, Secretary to the Emperor's Consistory. The magistrates and senators said¹; [¹ p. 96.] "What is the specific charge against the most reverend Bishop Dioscorus?" Lucentius, the other episcopal legate, replied, "He must assign a reason for the sentence he passed; for he has assumed the person of judge, which does not belong to him, and presumed to hold a Council without the authority² of the holy see; a thing which was never done nor can be done lawfully." Pасhasinus added, "We cannot act contrary to the Pope's orders or to the canons of the Church." On this Dioscorus, by order of the magistrates, left his place and took his seat in the midst of the assembly.

Eusebius, Bishop of Dorykeum, then advanced, and standing in the middle, said, "I conjure you by the life of the sovereigns of the world to order my petition to be read. I have been wronged by Dioscorus; the Faith has been wronged: the Bishop Flavian was murdered; along with me he was unjustly deposed; order my petition to be read." The magistrates ordered it to be read accordingly; Eusebius being in the mean time obliged to take his seat in the middle with Dioscorus. The secretary Beronician read the petition addressed to the Emperor Marcian by Eusebius, in behalf of himself, of the Catholic Faith, and of the memory of Flavian. It charged Dioscorus with having violated the Faith in order to set up the heresy of Eutyches, and with having unjustly condemned Eusebius; in proof of which charges it desired that the Acts of the pretended Council of Ephesus might be read. The magistrates having ordered Dioscorus to defend himself³, he too desired that the Acts should be read; but when the magistrates had directed this

A. D. 451.
8. Octob.
civ. II.

H.
Dioscorus
accused.

[² ἐκτετακτοῦ.
πῶς]

³ p. 98. D.

A. D. 451. to be done, he changed his mind, and demanded that the
 CH. III. question of the Faith should be discussed first. The magistrates said, "You must first reply to the accusation; wait, therefore, till the Acts be read as you yourself desired." Constantine, Secretary to the Consistory, commenced reading the letter from Theodosius the younger to Dioscorus¹, which summoned the Council of Ephesus. As it expressly¹ p. 99. Supr. 27.34. forbade Theodoret to be present there, the magistrates said²,
² p. 101. B. "Let the most reverend Bishop Theodoret enter, that he too may take part in the Council, since the most holy Archbishop Leo has restored him to the episcopal office, and the most pious Emperor has ordered that he should assist at the holy Council."

III. Theodoret therefore came in; but the moment he appeared the Bishops of Illyricum, Egypt, and Palestine cried out, "Mercy upon us; the Faith is lost; the canons expel him; turn him out." On the other side, the Bishops of the East, of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace cried out, "We subscribed to a blank paper; our subscriptions were wrung from us by blows; drive out the Manichees, drive out the enemies of Flavian, drive out the enemies of the Faith." Dioscorus said, "Why is Cyril, whom this man has anathematized, to be driven out?" He meant to infer, that by receiving Theodoret they censured the memory of St. Cyril. The Easterns and their party cried out, "Drive out the murderer Dioscorus; who does not know the deeds of Dioscorus?" The Egyptians cried out, "The Empress ejected Nestorius; long life to the orthodox Princess: the Council receives not Theodoret;" intimating that he was a Nestorian.

Theodoret came forward, and said, "I have presented a petition to the Emperor, in which I set forth the cruelties I have endured³; I beg that it may be examined." The magistrates said, "The Bishop Theodoret, having recovered his rank from the Archbishop of Rome, has now entered as a prosecutor; wherefore, to avoid confusion, let us finish what we had begun. The presence of Theodoret shall not prejudice any one's cause; all the claims you may have against him or he against you shall stand good, especially since the Bishop of Antioch testifies to his orthodoxy."

[³ τὰς εἰς
 ἐμὲ γενο-
 μένας σφα-
 γὰς]

Theodoret therefore had to take his seat in the middle as A. D. 451.
Eusebius of Dorykeum had done before him. CH. IV.

On this the Easterns shouted, "He is worthy;" whilst the Egyptians cried, "Do not call him Bishop, he is no Bishop; drive out the enemy of God¹, drive out the Jew." The Easterns proceeded, "The orthodox to the Council; drive out the rioters², drive out the murderers." Both parties continued to shout in this way for some time; at last the magistrates said, "These tumultuous clamours but ill befit Bishops, and are of no benefit to either party; let all the evidence therefore be read." The Egyptians said, "Expel this one man and we will all listen; our shouts are for the Catholic Faith." The magistrates answered, "Nay, but give ear, and let the whole be read in order."

The secretaries, Constantine and Beronician, proceeded with the reading of the letters, which summoned the Council of Ephesus; and Beronician having said that the Emperor Theodosius had written to Juvenal of Jerusalem as well as to Dioscorus of Alexandria, Dioscorus said³, "You see that I was not the only person whom the Emperor commissioned to try this cause; he gave the Bishops Juvenal and Thalassius also authority in the Council⁴. The sentence that was given we gave jointly; and the whole Council approved of it by word of mouth, and in writing; after which a report was drawn up and sent to the Emperor Theodosius, of happy memory, and he confirmed it by a general law." The Easterns exclaimed, "Nobody consented to it; it was extorted by violence; by violence with blows; we put our names to a blank paper, we were threatened with exile; soldiers stood over us with clubs and swords. What kind of a synod was that, surrounded by swords and clubs? Dioscorus had got soldiers on purpose. Drive out the murderer. The soldiers deposed Flavian." The Egyptians cried, "They subscribed first. Why are the clergy suffered to raise these clamours? Turn out all who have no business here; let those who subscribed come forward; we subscribed after you."

Stephen, Bishop of Ephesus, said, "When I had received the Bishop Eusebius and some others, as Elpidius and Eulogius, to my communion, the soldiers and the monks

IV.
Charges
against
Dioscorus.

[¹ τὸν αὐ-
θεντίαν τῆς
συνόδου]

[³ p. 112.]

A. D. 451. CH. IV. “ of Eutyches came to the Episcopal palace, being in number

“ about three hundred, and sought to kill me, saying, ‘ You

“ ‘ have harboured the Emperor’s enemies, you are his

“ ‘ enemy.’ I replied, ‘ I only shew a host’s courtesy, I

“ ‘ take no part in the matter, I could not refuse commu-

“ ‘ nion to those who had never been excluded from it.’

“ Thus every thing was done by force and violence.” The

magistrates said, “ Did Dioscorus offer you any violence?”

Stephen replied, “ I was not suffered to stir out of the

“ church¹ till I had subscribed the sentence passed by Dio-

scorus, Juvenal, Thalassius, and the other Bishops to whom

“ the Emperor’s letters were directed.”

Thalassius, Bishop of Caesarea, said, “ It is true that I

“ was of the number mentioned in the Emperor’s letter; I

“ cannot tell how it came to pass: however, as to taking

“ part in this business, I tried to put a stop to it, and to

“ defer judgment; I have witnesses to prove this.” Theo-

dotus, Bishop of Claudopolis in Isauria, said, “ Dioscorus,

“ Juvenal, and the rest who subscribed first, whom the Em-

“ peror commissioned to decide about the Faith, these, having

“ concerted a malicious scheme among themselves, drew us

“ in to act as judges, though we were there simply as as-

“ sessors² and knew nothing of the case. The Acts were

“ read; they eulogized Flavian of happy memory, and we,

“ finding that things went on well, said nothing. After this,

“ to intimidate us, they cried out, ‘ Cut in two those who

“ ‘ talk of two natures; divide those who divide; away with

“ ‘ them; turn them out;’ taxing us with Nestorianism. We

“ were all afraid that we should be ejected as heretics and thus

“ destroy³ those whom we had baptized. Were we not con-

“ strained, therefore, to keep silence? They went yet further.

“ The Emperor had ordered the Council to decide first of all

“ on Flavian’s case. These men, having several times as-

“ sembled, never subscribed any document, put none of

“ their resolutions forward in writing, and never read them

“ to any one, but without any body’s knowing aught of the

“ matter, put into our hands blank papers; Dioscorus and

“ Juvenal, I say, did this, followed by a rabble of men,

“ entire strangers to us, who by their shouts and riotous

“ proceedings threw the Council into confusion. We were

¹ p. 113.

[ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ σηκρή-
του: out
of the ves-
try.]

² τοὺς ἐπ’ ἀκεραίῳ κα-
θημένους]

³ ἀπαλέ-
σαι]

“in all a hundred and thirty-five. Of these there were A. D. 451.
 “forty-two silenced; the others were Dioscorus, Juvenal, and CH. V.
 “the crowd that followed. There were only fifteen of us
 “remaining; what could we do? They were sporting with
 “our blood; *those heretics!* they all cried as with one voice;
 “they intimidated us, they made us out to be heretics, and
 “as heretics we were ejected.”

The Easterns cried out, “We all affirm the same.” The Egyptians cried out, “A Christian fears no one; let fire be brought and we shall see. There had never been martyrs, if they had feared men.” Dioscorus said, “Since they maintain that they did not know what decision had been come to and that they subscribed a *carte-blanche*, they certainly ought not to have signed their names at all, until they were well assured as to what the Council had said, since the subject was nothing less than the Faith itself: but who drew up their declarations? Pray, order them to state this.” The magistrates gave orders to proceed with the reading of the Acts¹, and the secretary Constantine began p. 115. to read those of the Council of Ephesus, from the copy furnished by Aëtius, Archdeacon of Constantinople.

As soon as Julius, the Pope’s legate, was named, the Easterns exclaimed, “He was expelled; no one admitted the name of Leo.” Again, at Flavian’s name, they exclaimed, “Flavian entered as condemned; this is a manifest perversion of right². Why was not Flavian seated in his [² *συκοφαντία*] proper place? Why did they put the Bishop of Constantinople fifth?” The legate Paschasius said, “We, you see, (as is God’s will³), have put the lord Anatolius first; [³ *θεοῦ θέλοντος*] these placed the blessed Flavian fifth.” Diogenes, Bishop of Cyzicus, said, “Yes, because you know the canons.” The Egyptians cried out, “We entreat you, turn out these people who have no concern here; the Emperor summoned the Bishops, the Bishops compose the Council; Why are these busy-bodies suffered to scream?” Theodorus of Claudopolis said, “The screaming comes from Dioscorus’s notaries;” Dioscorus said, “Two notaries are all I have; how can two men raise a tumult?”

They came to the place in the Acts⁴, where it was said that the legates of the Pope St. Leo presented his letter to V
other
charge &c.

A. D. 451. the Council of Ephesus, and that Dioscorus ordered it to be
CH. V. received, but that the Priest John, Promoter of the Council,
 immediately proposed to read a letter from the Emperor,
¹ Supr. 27. which, under the direction of Juvenal, was accordingly done¹.
 39. When this passage was read at Chalcedon, Aëtius, Archdeacon
 of Constantinople, said, "The letter of the most holy Arch-
 bishop Leo was neither read nor received." The Easterns
 shouted, "It was never read to us; had it been, it would also
 have been inserted in the Acts." Eusebius of Dorylæum
 said, "He," meaning Dioscorus, "kept the synodical letter
 [² παρακά- "by him², and it was never read." The Archdeacon Aëtius
 τεισχε] added³, "He swore seven times, before all of us, that he would
³ p. 124. "have it read, and is perjured." Theodorus of Claudiopolis
 said, "That he swore, we all know; that the letter was never
 read, all admit."

The magistrates said, "The Bishops, to whom the Emperor
 gave authority in this matter, ought to declare why the letter
 of the most holy Archbishop Leo was not read, especially
 when an order had been made to have it read." Dioscorus
 said, "The Acts shew that I twice ordered it to be read."
 The magistrates said, "Why then was it not done?" Dio-
 scorus said, "Let the other commissioners be asked as well."
 The magistrates said, "Say plainly; whom would you have us
 ask?" "Juvenal and Thalassius," said Dioscorus. "Do you
 answer first then," said the magistrates, "and they shall be
 examined in their order." Dioscorus replied, "Once for all
 I say, I twice ordered it to be read." Eusebius of Dory-
 læum said, "That is false." The magistrates interrogated
 Juvenal, who said, "John, Priest and chief notary, said at
 that instant, that he had in his hands a letter from the
 Emperor, and I answered that it should be read." The
 magistrates said, "Then, after the Emperor's letter, did they
 also read that from the Archbishop Leo?" Juvenal replied,
 "Neither the chief-notary nor any other person after that
 said that he held in his hands the letter of the Archbishop
 of Rome." Similarly, Thalassius when interrogated by the
 magistrates, answered, "I know but one thing, which is,
 that I placed no obstacle in the way, and that, by myself,
 I had not sufficient authority to order it to be read."

¹ p. 127. E. At another place in the Acts⁴, the Easterns cried out,

“ We did not say that.” Theodorus of Claudiopolis said, A. D. 451.
 “ Let him,” meaning Dioscorus, “ produce his notaries, for CH. VI.
 “ he drove out all the rest and made his own write.” The
 magistrates asked, “ In whose hand-writing are the Acts?”
 Dioscorus said¹, “ Each of us had notaries of his own; I had 1 p. 130.
 “ some writing for me, Juvenal some for him, Thalassius
 “ others for him; several other Bishops beside had notaries
 “ writing.” Juvenal said, “ I had a notary who wrote along
 “ with the others.” Thalassius, too, said that he had one.
 Dioscorus said, “ You see mine were not by themselves.”
 Eusebius of Dorylæum said, “ I desire that Stephen, Bishop
 “ of Ephesus, may be asked what treatment his notaries met
 “ with from those of Dioscorus.” Stephen was accordingly
 asked by the magistrates, and said, “ My notaries Julian, now
 “ Bishop of Lebedus, and the Deacon Crispinus were writing;
 “ Dioscorus’s notaries came, effaced what they had written,
 “ and nearly broke their fingers by forcing their inkstands² [² καλα-
μάρια. Lat.
theas]
 “ from them. I never had any copy of the Acts and do not
 “ know what became of them. But further, on the very day
 “ on which the examination took place, we subscribed a
 “ paper, and the Bishops, who did not subscribe then, did so,
 “ on my becoming voucher³, on the following day.” Eusebius [³ ἐμοῦ
ἐγγησσα-
μένου]
 demanded that Stephen should say what kind of a paper it
 was that they had put their names to. Stephen said, “ A
 “ blank paper; for in the very hour in which the condemna-
 “ tion was passed, the subscription also was made.” Acacius,
 Bishop of Ariarathia, added, “ We subscribed a blank paper,
 “ having been subjected to force and violence and ten
 “ thousand forms of injury. They kept us shut up in the
 “ church till evening, and, sick as we were, they would not
 “ allow us to breathe the fresh air, but sent monks and
 “ soldiers armed with clubs and swords.”

When they came to the confession of faith read by Eutyches and inserted in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, there were several interruptions; among others, the following. Eutyches had anathematized all heretics who said that the flesh of JESUS CHRIST came down from heaven. On this Eusebius observed⁴, “ He has certainly declined saying that VI.
The error
of Euty-
ches.
 “ it came from heaven; but he has not added whence it did 1 p. 138.
 “ come.” Diogenes of Cyzicus said, “ By your greatness, we

A. D. 451. "challenged him, saying, 'Whence, then, Sir Eutyches¹, did
CH. VI. " 'it come? say;' to which he vouchsafed no answer."

[¹ Κύρι' Εὐτυχῇ] Basil of Seleucia said, "We pressed him to state the mode
" of the Incarnation,—whether the Word became man by
" taking flesh upon Him,—and they told us not to search into
[² δικαιολογία. Fl. summation.] " that matter, and would not accept our challenge²." Dios-
scorus said, "If Eutyches holds opinions different from those
" of the Church, he deserves to be burnt. My only concern
" is for the Catholic Faith, not for any man; my regards are
" bent only on God and my own soul." Basil of Seleucia

³ p. 139 B. afterwards added³, "When Eutyches was asked by the Bishop
" Eusebius if he acknowledged two natures in CHRIST, he

[⁴ ἐκ δύο φύσεων ἐι-
δένααι τὸν Χ.
πρὸς τῆς
ἐνώσεως] " said that he acknowledged two natures before the union⁴,
" but only one after the union^b. I then said to him, 'Unless

^b Much as this and other expressions employed by Eutyches have been canvassed, it is far from evident what his real meaning was. 1. Some may doubt whether he had any definite meaning at all. But although we allow, that, as St. Leo charitably says, (supr. 27. 36,) he erred more from ignorance than design, yet the tenacity with which he clung to his expressions indicates that he thought he was grasping some truth. 2. Some attribute to him the matured system of the later Monophysites. But, as a matter of fact, these disclaimed Eutyches; and, as a matter of probability, it is hardly supposable that an old man, possessing neither learning, nor eloquence, nor philosophical acumen, should have impressed the theology of nations with so marked and lasting a character. He was only the incidental exponent of a widely-prevalent doctrine; Egypt, not Constantinople was the cradle of the heresy on which almost all the polemics of the next two centuries depended. 3. It may seem more natural to connect his views with the older forms of heresy, and this has been often done, but without leading to a solution of our question. When St. Leo makes Eutyches an Origenist (supr. 27. 36,) a Phantasiast (Ep. 30. ed. Ballerin.), an Arian (Ep. 59. 3), a Photinian (Serm. 96. t. i. p. 373), an Apollinarian and Manichee (Ep. 109. 3); and again, *either* an Apollinarian, *or* a Manichee and Marcionite (Ep. 124. 2), *either* an Apollinarian, *or* a Valentinian *or* Manichee (Ep. 35; Ep. 165), he is clearly not referring to the

avowed opinions of Eutyches, but to the necessary deductions from them; he is assigning not their logical equivalents but their logical consequents. The same will apply to Gelasius, (De duab. Nat., (ap. Bibl. Max. de la Bigne, t. viii. p. 701. E), who makes him virtually *Nestorian*, and Vigil. Taps. l. ii. adv. Eut. c. 5 (Ibid. p. 726. D), who makes him a Deipassian. These passages prove that dreadful errors were involved in the position he maintained, but not that he held these explicitly, or that he was insincere in his repeated avowals that he believed CHRIST to be perfect man, and anathematized Manes, Valentinus, and Apollinarius: (supr. 27. 28, 31, 39.)

If we confine ourselves to the historical origin of his opinions, this is admitted on all hands to have been his opposition to Nestorius. The contrast between the men is striking. The one active, and noisy, and well-versed in the world; the other buried for thirty years in the quiet of a cloister; the one trained in the arts of rhetoric, of which the other knew nothing: the one a bold rationalist, the other avoiding all speculation on the awful doctrine in dispute, (cf. his oft-repeated *οὐ φυσιολογῶ*); the one despising his Fathers in the Faith, and appealing only to Scripture, the other by what he supposed to be an adherence to the letter of the Fathers (c. S. infr.) led to adopt expressions utterly discordant with Scripture. Yet, as was observed, the tenor of his other explanations inclines one to think that he did not hold the heretical words in

“ ‘you admit two natures after the union, undivided and
 “ ‘unconfused¹, you admit a confusion and commixture; but
 “ ‘if instead of saying, one nature simply, you add, Incar-
 “ ‘nate and made man, you think as St. Cyril did, and assert
 “ ‘the same thing as we do, for it is evident that the God-
 “ ‘head, which is from the FATHER, is different from the
 “ ‘manhood, which is from His mother.’ ”

A. D. 451.

CH. VI.

[¹ ἀχωρί-
στους καὶ
ἀσυγχύ-
τους]

the gross heretical sense. The process by which he glided into error might be something like this. “ Nestorius maintains a duality in CHRIST; he makes “ a human son and the Divine Word “ to be connected indeed, but not “ hypostatically united, which the “ economy of our salvation requires. “ I, on the contrary, maintain that “ the natures of the GODHEAD and “ the manhood are united and made “ one (ἡνωσθαι.) But when I say there “ is one nature in CHRIST, I say it “ not in the sense of Manes, which is “ rather akin to the Nestorian theory, “ for Manes said ‘Those ridiculous “ Galileans speak of two natures in “ CHRIST; they do not know that the “ essential light mixes not with other “ matter but is incontaminate, inca- “ pable of being united (ἐνωθῆναι) “ with any other substance, though “ they may appear to be connected “ (συννήφθαι) *.’ I say not merely “ that they are *one* but that they are “ *united*, for prior to the union there “ were two distinct natures. Not that “ they ever *physically* existed apart, “ for a single moment, but *in idea* “ things must be distinct in order to “ their being united. In the abstract “ you may conceive the human nature “ separate from the Divine, but in the “ concrete they are inseparably parts “ of one Divine nature.” This account is not gratuitous, though the proofs are too long to be here detailed. We will only remark that the opponent of Theodoret in the Eranistes (t. iv. p. 66) after having said, “ Before the union “ the natures were two; but, since “ they coalesced, they make but one “ nature;” on being asked when the union took place, answers, “ at the “ time of the conception,” and then goes on to admit that not a moment intervened between the creation of the human nature and the union of natures (p. 67). The account given by Vasquez agrees substantially with the above; (in

tert. pt. Thomæ, t. i. Disp. xiv.) Combelis, as quoted and approved by Le Quien (in Damascen de Her. c. 82. t. i. p. 100), says, “ The Eutychians “ said, ‘one nature,’ not meaning that “ the humanity was wanting in Him as “ having been either changed or ab- “ sorbed; but because that is properly “ the nature which is pre-eminent, not “ the smaller,—that which possesses “ another, not that which is possessed “ by a higher.”

Whether these be true representations of Eutyches’s meaning, no one can say, till “*the day shall declare it.*” Meanwhile it is certain that he did not guard his meaning in the way that St. Cyril and the orthodox did, and at a time when a large mass of Apollinarianism did exist, and, what is more, took Eutyches under its tutelage, the pastors of CHRIST’s flock were not to look out whether one who refused to retract plainly erroneous expressions, *might* have a correct meaning. When people complain of Leo (as does Griesbach, Loc. Theol. p. 62) for deducing from his words consequences which he never granted, it is enough to say that he was responsible for these conclusions until he could shew that they did not legitimately flow from his statement. Again, the moderns think it easy to dispose of such questions by asking if the whole is not a mere contest of words. It is “a contest *about* words” undoubtedly, “but no logomachy for “all that;” (*ein streit über Worte, aber kein Wortstreit*: Walch, Ketzerrh. Th. vi. § 110). The humanity—the Deity of Christ,—the union of natures—these are not mere words, but realities designated by words;—the very highest objects of our contemplative powers; and mysterious, or even inexplicable as the full truth may be, we are not the less bound to drive away all forms of expression that would lead to results contrary to what *is* revealed.

* This remarkable passage is given by Fabric. Bibl. Græc. lib. v. c. 1. p. 285

A. D. 451.
CH. VII.

The magistrates said, "After you had maintained so orthodox a doctrine, what led you to subscribe the deposition of Flavian?" Basil of Seleucia replied, "I was delivered over to the judgment of a hundred and twenty or thirty Bishops; I could not but follow their decision." As Dioscorus taunted him for this [confession], he added, "If it had been before magistrates, I would have suffered martyrdom; but a son that is judged by his father is not to justify himself." The Easterns and the Bishops who sat on their side, cried out, "We all erred, we all ask for pardon;" this they repeated three times².

[¹ παρὰ
παιτρὸς ὁ
δικαίους οὐ
κέχρηται
πᾶσι γὰρ
πατρὶ δι-
καία λέγων
τεθνάτω]

² p. 141.
³ p. 146.

Eusebius of Dorylæum next complained³, that he had not been admitted to the Council of Ephesus, although Flavian had demanded it. The magistrates inquired the reason. Dioscorus and Juvenal tried to exculpate themselves on the ground that Count Elpidius had prevented it by an order from the Emperor. The magistrates said, "This is no sufficient excuse, when a question of the Faith is pending." Dioscorus said, "Since you accuse me of violating the canons, in what way are the canons now observed, when Theodoret is admitted?" The magistrates answered, "Theodoret is admitted as an accuser; you have heard so from his own mouth." "Why then," said Dioscorus, "does he sit in the rank of Bishop?" The magistrates said, "The Bishops Eusebius and Theodoret sit here in the rank of accusers, as you are present in the rank of accused. Let them proceed with the reading." They then read the Acts of the Council of Constantinople under Flavian, which were inserted

⁴ p. 150. E. in those of Ephesus⁴.

VII.
St. Cyril's
doctrine.
⁵ p. 171.

When St. Cyril's letter to John of Antioch was read, the Bishops of Illyricum cried out⁵, "We believe as did Cyril. The memory of Cyril is eternal." Theodoret said, "Anathema to him who speaks of two sons. We adore but one Son, our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the only begotten." All the Bishops cried out, "We believe as Cyril, anathema to him who believes not so." The Easterns cried out, "Flavian believed thus, this is what he advocated; for this he was deposed. Eusebius deposed Nestorius; Dioscorus wounded the Faith." They meant to say that Eusebius was the first who accused Nestorius. The Egyptians cried out, "God de-

“posed Nestorius.” The Easterns cried out, “Leo believes A. D. 451.
 “thus, Anatolius thinks thus.” The Egyptians cried out, CH. VIII.
 “We all of us think thus; [let not Satan have any place.]”
 After many similar acclamations on both sides, the magistrates said, “And why then did you receive Eutyches, who
 “affirmed the contrary, and depose Flavian and Eusebius¹, p. 174.
 “who maintained this truth?” Dioscorus replied, “The
 “Acts will shew.”

They now read a remonstrance of Eustathius, Bishop of Berytus, who, to shew that St. Cyril had explained himself in his other writings, quoted the letters to Acacius of Melitene, to Valerian of Iconium, and to Successus of Diocæsarea in Isauria, in which he says that in CHRIST there is but the one incarnate nature of the Word². When this was read, [² Supr. 26. 29.]
 the Eastern Bishops cried out, “This is what Eutyches says,
 “this is what Dioscorus says,” meaning that Eutyches and Dioscorus attributed their errors to St. Cyril. Dioscorus said, “We neither say confusion nor division nor change;
 “anathema to him who speaks of confusion or change or
 “mixture.” The magistrates desired the holy Council to declare whether Eustathius’s remonstrance accorded with the canonical letters of Cyril.

But before the Council made answer, Eustathius advanced into the middle, and threw down a book, saying, “If I have
 “said amiss, there is Cyril’s book, let them anathematize it,
 “and me too.” The Egyptians cried out, “Eustathius has
 “well spoken; he is orthodox.” Eustathius recited from memory this passage of St. Cyril, “We are not to under-
 “stand two natures, but one incarnate nature of the Word.”
 He added³, “Anathema to him who speaks of one nature to p. 175.
 “the denial of the flesh of CHRIST as consubstantial with us,
 “and anathema to him who speaks of two natures to the
 “division of the Sox of God. I wish also to speak on the
 “behalf of the blessed Flavian. He took these words simply
 “as they stand⁴, and presented them to the Emperor. Let [¹ αὐτὰ ἑμὶς
ἔλαβεν]
 “his autograph copy be read, that all the Council may see
 “that there was good reason for receiving it.” The magistrates said, “Why then did you depose Flavian?” Eustathius replied, “I was in the wrong.”

The declaration which Flavian had made in the Council of VIII
Justification
of
Flavian.

A. D. 451.
CH. VIII.

Constantinople of his faith respecting the Incarnation was now read. After which the magistrates said, "What is the opinion of the Bishops of the present Council? Did Flavian, in thus expounding the Faith, preserve the Catholic religion¹, or did he err?" The legate Paschasinus said², "He expounded the Faith in its purity and entirety, and this exposition is in unison with the letter of the Bishop of Rome." Anatolius of Constantinople said much the same; so too, after him, Lucentius, the other Bishop-legate; then Maximus of Antioch, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus, all declared Flavian's doctrine to be orthodox and in harmony with that of St. Cyril. The Easterns exclaimed, "The Martyr Flavian rightly explained the Faith." Dioscorus said, "Let the rest of his words be read and then I will reply; for you will find that he is at variance with himself and speaks of two natures after the union." Juvenal of Jerusalem said, "Flavian spoke in accordance with the words of Cyril, we beg that what follows may be read, in order that his meaning may be more clear." The Bishops of Palestine seconded this request. After which Juvenal rose along with them, and crossed over to the other side, thus intimating that he abandoned the party of Dioscorus. The Easterns cried out, "It is well that God brings you to us, O orthodox Bishop, you are welcome."

Peter, Bishop of Corinth, said, "I was not present at the Council of Ephesus, for I had not then been ordained Bishop, but, from what has just been read, I find Flavian's doctrine conformable to that of Cyril." He then rose, and went to the side of the Easterns, who cried out³, "Peter thinks as does Peter; orthodox Bishop, you are welcome." Irenæus, Bishop of Naupactus, with the other Bishops of Hellas and Quintillus, Sozon, and the rest from Macedonia and Crete, with many more, including even some Egyptians, declared themselves for the memory of Flavian, and went over to the side of the Easterns. Dioscorus, seeing himself forsaken, said, "It is plain that Flavian was deposed for maintaining two natures after the union⁴. I have various passages from the Fathers Athanasius, Gregory, and Cyril, in which they say that we are not to speak of two natures after the union,

[¹ *ορθοσκεῖ-
αν*]
² p. 170.

³ p. 179.

⁴ p. 182.

"but of one Incarnate nature of the Word. I am ejected
"with the Fathers."

They proceeded to read the Acts of the Council of Constantinople¹, and those of the revision made at the request of Eutyches; then they went on with the Acts of the pseudo-

A. D. 451.
CH. IX.
IX.
The violent
acts of Dio-
scorus.

¹ Supr. 27-
33.
C. Calch.
p. 233.

¹ Eutyches appealed to "Julius, "Felix, Athanasius, and Gregory," (sup. 27. 31), to "Cyril, the two Gregories, Basil, Athanasius, Atticus, "and Proclus" (Baluz. Synodie. c. 223); his monks to "Athanasius, "Cyril, and Gregory" (Labbe, t. iv. p. 280, 1), as Dioscorus does in the text. In answer to these St. Leo gave his deputies a collection of passages from the Fathers: (supr. 27. 51. v. infr. c. 11.)

At the conference held in A.D. 533 (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1766), the Accephali quoted the authorities of Julius and Felix, of Athanasius, Cyril, Gregory, and Dionysius; but the orthodox answered that most of them were forgeries of Apollinarius. Previously to this the monks of Palestine had said in their letter to Alkison, (A.D. 511; Evagr. iii. 31.) that some treatises by Apollinarius were ascribed to Athanasius, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Julius. Leontius (A.D. 610) wrote a tract specially against the Apollinarian frauds, (Galland. VV. PP. t. xii. p. 701:) see also his book de Sectis, Act. viii. (Ibid. p. 651.) and the Collectanea adv. Severianos (ap. Canis. Lect. Ant. t. ii. p. 255. ed. Basnag.). Eulogius (Phot. Cod. 230. p. 272. Bekker.) assigns the passage in St. Gregory to Apollinarius, it is from the "Expos. Fid. κατὰ μέρος." The passage of St. Athanasius (from the De Incarn.) is acknowledged both by Eulogius and Ephrem of Antioch (Phot. Cod. 229) as genuine. It is quoted as such by St. Cyril, De recta Fide (t. v. pt. 2. p. 18); and we can scarcely suppose with Le Quien (Diss. ii. in Damascen.) that he erred from ignorance as to the works of his great predecessor. Montfaucon suggests (pref. in l. De Inc. t. ii. p. 1) that the passage may have been foisted into St. Cyril's works; but this is inconsistent with what Eustathius of Berytus says, Labbe, t. iv. p. 171.

The orthodoxy of St. Cyril on the Incarnation, as ascertained by his other writings, is, we know, unquestionable; it is vindicated by Theodoret himself. (Eranist. t. iv. p. 110, 111.) The seem-

ing faultiness of the particular phrase in question arises from its using the abstract word (*φύσις*) instead of the concrete. But St. Cyril himself frequently employed the word *not* in an abstract sense:—Thus, especially, ad Anath. 2. contr. Theod. t. vi. p. 209. B. *ἡ τοῦ λόγου φύσις ἡγουν ἡ ὑπόστασις, ὅ ἐστιν αὐτοῦς ὁ λόγος*;—and frequently as equivalent to *ὑπόστασις*: and hence in t. vi. p. 172. B. he says, *ὑποστάσει μίᾳ τῇ τοῦ λόγου σσαρκωμένη*. Other passages are adduced by Ephrem, *u. s.* p. 259, 260, and Petavins, De Inc. ii. 3. § 5, and iv. 7. § 2. (Dogm. Theol. t. iv. p. 121. 333.) Justinian, in his edict against the three Capitula, (Labbe, t. v. p. 689,) says that St. Cyril in this expression understood *ὑπόστασις* by *φύσις*. Ephrem points out that *φύσις* was used in two ways—of the *οὐσία* or of the *ὑπόστασις*; and he describes the error of Eutyches thus (p. 252. b): "he did not deny the hypostatic union, "nor that our LORD JESUS CHRIST "was Incarnate of the Virgin Mother "of God, (though this was an after- "thought and maugre his inclination;) "he even anathematized those whom "he formerly had an affection for, "those who say that He brought His "body from heaven; but the being of "the same substance as we (*τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμοούσιον*), this although repeatedly pressed upon him, he could "never be brought to admit, but, "preaching one substance (*μίαν οὐσίαν*) "instead of owning His flesh to be of "the same substance with ours, he was "placed under anathema."

The truth is, that in the contest with diverse forms of error the words became more fixed and definite in their application. "Had Eutyches never appeared," says Leontius to the Accephalus, "you and I had perchance been "using the same terms in common," (Galland. t. x. p. 711.) For Eutyches to appeal to the phraseology of St. Cyril in one or two isolated passages, apart from the context, without his qualifying additions, and uninterpreted by the rest of his writings, was of course a mere equivocation.

A. D. 451. Council of Ephesus¹, in which those of Constantinople had been inserted. First came the declaration made by Basil of

CH. IX.
¹ p. 249. E.

Seleucia against those who admit two natures after the union, in which he retracts his previous admission at the Council of Constantinople. When they were reading these words at

² p. 252.

[³ i. e. I
will myself
confess all:
τὰ μὲν μὴ ἔ-
ξῆλλον πύ-
θη. (Ed.
Col. 1266.)]

Chalcedon, he said², "I call no other witnesses³. When I de-

sired the Bishop John to correct my declaration, I was

overawed by you, most reverend Dioscorus, for you at

that time imposed on us a strong necessity. Soldiers

came running into the Church with arms, whilst Barsumas

with his monks, the Parabolani too, and many others stood

by. Let all the Bishops be put on their oaths; let Auxo-

nus, the Egyptian, be asked, let Athanasius be asked,

[⁴ κύρι]

"whether they did not say, 'Nay, Sir⁴, do not abolish the

'belief of the whole earth.' " Dioscorus said, "What? did

"I force you?" Basil replied, "Yes, you forced us to this

"abomination by the menaces of that great crowd after the

"deposition of the blessed Flavian. Judge what violence he

"used then, when he was complete master of all, since he

"now disturbs the whole Council, though he has only six

"adherents left. I demand that all the Metropolitans of

"Lycaonia, Phrygia, Perga, and the rest, may declare on

"the holy Gospels if it be not true, that, after Flavian's de-

"position, as we were all in consternation, not daring even

"to open our mouths, and some even running away, he rose

"and said, 'Do ye see? If any one refuses to sign his name

"'he will have to settle with me.' I desire that Eusebius

"may declare on oath, if he did not run in danger of being

"deposed, because he hesitated a little before he spoke."

Onesiphorus, Bishop of Iconium, said, "After that which

"has been just read, a canon was recited to the effect that no

"one should thereafter raise any question about the Faith,

"on pain of being deposed or excommunicated. I said to

"the Bishops who were sitting near me, 'This canon is read

⁵ p. 253.

"'with a view to depose Flavian⁵.' Epiphanius of Perga

"answered, 'God forbid; if he has any resentment it will

"'fall on Eusebius.' When the canon had been read, Dio-

"scorus immediately said, 'Bid the notaries come in.' They

"brought the form for deposing Flavian, and read it. I got

"up, took some other Bishops with me, and laid hold on his

“knees, saying, ‘Nay, I conjure you, he has not done any A. D. 451.
 “‘thing worthy of deposition.’ Dioscorus rose from his chair, ^{CH. IX.}
 “and standing on his footstool, said, ‘So you rebel against
 “‘me—call the Counts.’ Thus we were forced to sub-
 “scribe.”

Dioscorus answered, “It is false, I demand a fair trial,
 “produce your witnesses.” And when Marinian, Bishop of
 Synnada got up, Dioscorus said to him, “Did I say in a
 “threatening manner, ‘Call the Counts?’” Marinian said,
 “As he was going to pass sentence¹, I rose with Onesiphorus [¹ ἀποφαί-
 “and Nunechius of Laodicea, and others. We held his feet, ^{νέσθαι}
 “saying, ‘You, too, have Priests, and a Bishop ought not to
 “‘be deposed for a Priest.’ He replied, ‘Though my tongue
 “‘were to be cut out, I cannot speak otherwise.’ The crowd
 “now rushed in. We remained holding him by the knees,
 “and entreating him: he then gave vent to these words,
 “‘Where are the Counts?’ The Counts entered, and
 “brought in the Proconsul, with chains² and a great multi- [² κλοιῶν]
 “tude. At last we each of us subscribed.” Dioscorus re-
 “plied, “There were not ten, or twenty, or thirty, or a
 “hundred persons in all. I will produce witnesses to shew
 “that there is not a word of truth in what has been said.
 “But your greatness is fatigued; if you think fit, let this
 “business be adjourned.”

The magistrates, without noticing this interested suggestion
 of Dioscorus, proceeded with the reading, in the course of
 which they were obliged to light tapers³; which shews that ³ p. 300. E.
 it was about six o’clock in the evening; for at Chalcedon,
 on the eighth day of October, the sun sets at thirty-eight
 minutes after five. When they came to the condemnation
 of Flavian, the Easterns cried out⁴, “Anathema to Dioscorus. ⁴ p. 305. B.
 “He then deposed, let him now be himself deposed. O Lord,
 “avenge thyself. Long life to Leo; many years to the Pa-
 “triarch.” When all the Acts of the Council of Ephesus,
 and the subscriptions, had been read, the magistrates said⁵, ⁵ p. 322. E.
 “The Faith shall be more fully examined in to-morrow’s
 “assembly. But since it appears from the Acts which have
 “been read, as well as from the confession of some who
 “were of most note in the Council, that Flavian of holy
 “memory, and the most pious Bishop Eusebius were un-

A. D. 451. "justly condemned, it seems to us but just, (so please it
 CII. X. "God and the Emperor,) that the Bishop of Alexandria,
 "Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of
 "Ancyra, Eustathius of Berytus, and Basil of Selencia, who
 "presided at the Council, should undergo the same punish-
 "ment, and be deprived by the holy Council of the episcopal
 "dignity, as provided by the canons; and be it understood
 "that a report will be made to the Emperor of all that passes
 "here." The Easterns exclaimed, "This is a just decision."
 The Illyrians said, "We all of us erred; may we all obtain
 "forgiveness." The magistrates informed the Bishops that
 they were each of them to draw up in writing a confession
 of their faith, without any fear of man. Thus ended the
 first *Actio* or session of the Council of Chalcedon.

X. The second was held¹ on the sixth of the ides of October,
 The second session. that is, on the tenth of that month. The magistrates said²,
¹ p. 325. "In the preceding session, we inquired on what grounds
² p. 337. "Flavian and Eusebius had been deposed, and it appeared
 "that their deposition had been cruel and irregular. Your
 "object now must be to establish the true Faith, which in-
 "deed was the chief reason why the Council was assembled.
 "Let it be your serious endeavour then to expound it in
 "all its purity, without fear or favour, as you must give an
 "account to God of your own souls and ours, that so those
 "who seem to hold private opinions may be restored to
 "unity. For we would have you know, that the Emperor
 "and we follow the Faith handed down by the three hun-
 "dred and eighteen Fathers of Nicæa, the hundred and
 "fifty of Constantinople, and all the other Fathers." The
 Bishops cried out, "No one makes any other exposition, we
 "dare not expound the Faith; the Fathers have taught us,
 "their expositions are preserved in writing, we can say
 "nothing beyond them³."

[³ παρ
 ἐκείνῃ]

Cecropius, Bishop of Sebastopolis, said, "The affair of
 "Eutyches sprang into sudden importance; the Archbishop
 [τῦπος] "of Rome gave a decision⁴ about it, and we follow him; we
 "have all subscribed to his letter." The Bishops cried out,
 "That say we all; the expositions that have been given are
 "sufficient, it is not lawful that another exposition should
 "be made." The magistrates said, "If you think proper,

“ each Patriarch shall choose one or two of his dependent
 “ Bishops; these shall come into the middle of the assembly,
 “ and having consulted together about the Faith¹, shall declare¹ p. 310.
 “ it before all the Council. If they all agree, as we hope they
 “ will, there will be no farther difficulty; if some hold con-
 “ trary opinions, then these will be clearly elicited.” Flo-
 “ rentius of Sardis said, “ It is impossible for us to give off-
 “ hand an exposition of faith², we therefore beg that we may
 “ have time for reflection, though certainly we, who have
 “ subscribed St. Leo’s letter, have no need of correction.”
 Cecropius of Sebastopolis said, “ The Faith has been well
 “ explained by the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and
 “ by the holy Fathers Athanasius, Cyril, Celestine, Hilary,
 “ Basil, and Gregory, and now by the most holy Leo; we
 “ therefore desire that their writings may be read.” The
 magistrates ordered this to be done.

Eunomius, Bishop of Nicomedia, read from a book the
 Creed of Nicæa, with this date affixed: “ In the consulate
 “ of Paulinus and Julian, in the year 636 of Alexander, the
 “ nineteenth of the month Desius, which is, the thirteenth of
 “ the calends of July,” that is, June 19, 325. Next, Aëtius,
 Archdeacon of Constantinople, read from a book³ the Creed³ p. 341.
 of the second general Council of Constantinople. After that
 he read St. Cyril’s [second] letter to Nestorius, and that to
 John of Antioch. After each of these readings, the Bishops
 testified by their acclamations that this was their faith.
 Last of all, the secretary Beronician read from a book which
 Aëtius presented to him, a Greek translation of St. Leo’s
 letter to Flavian.

While this was being read⁴, the Bishops of Illyricum and
 Palestine raised some difficulties about three places where the
 distinction of two natures is strongly expressed; but on the
 two first the Archdeacon Aëtius shewed them exactly similar
 passages from St. Cyril, and Theodoret did the same office
 for the third⁵. When the reading was ended⁶, the Bishops⁵ p. 369.
 cried out, “ This is the Faith of the Fathers, this is the Faith⁶ p. 368. B.
 “ of the Apostles; we all believe thus, the orthodox believe
 “ thus, anathema to him who does not believe thus. Peter
 “ has thus spoken through Leo; the Apostles taught thus.
 “ Leo’s doctrine is pious and true; Cyril taught thus; he

A. D. 451.

CH. XI.

[² σχεδιδ-
σται περὶ τῆς
πίστεως]XI.
Approval
of St. Leo’s
letter.
⁴ p. 368. C.

A. D. 451. "the memory of Cyril eternal. Leo and Cyril teach the
 CH. XI. " same. Why was not this read at Ephesus? This is what
 " Dioscorus concealed." After St. Leo's letter, they read the

¹ p. 357. C. passages which he had selected from the Fathers¹, namely,
 from St. Hilary, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Ambrose,

² p. 361, sqq. St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustine, and St. Cyril² ^d.

³ p. 369. B. The magistrates said³, "After this is there any one still in
 " doubt?" The Bishops exclaimed, "No one is in doubt." Atticus of Nicopolis desired a few days for examining more
 at leisure the passages of the Fathers, especially the letter
 of St. Cyril, which contains his twelve anathemas. All the
 Bishops seconded this request. The magistrates said, "The
 " hearing shall be deferred for five days. In the mean time,
 " you shall assemble with Anatolius, to consult in common
 " about the Faith, that those who are in doubt may be in-
 " structed." The Bishops all exclaimed, "We believe thus;
 " none of us is in doubt; we have already subscribed." The
 magistrates said, "There is no need that you should all
 " assemble, but since it is fitting that all who are in doubt
 " should be enlightened, the Archbishop Anatolius shall
 " select from among the Bishops who have subscribed, such
 " as shall seem to him qualified to explain the doubtful
 " points." The Bishops cried out, "We pray for our
 " Fathers; let the Fathers be present at the Council; carry
 " our prayers to the Emperor, our prayers to the Empress.
 " We all sinned, let all receive pardon." It was, probably,
 Dioscorus's party who said this, their wish being to get him
 restored to the Council along with Juvenal and the others
 who had presided at the false Council of Ephesus. The
 clergy of Constantinople said, "The shouts come from only
 " a small number, it is not the Council that speaks thus."

⁴ p. 372. The Easterns cried out, "Banish the Egyptian⁴." The Illy-
 rians said, "We all transgressed; let all be forgiven. Restore
 " Dioscorus to the Council, restore him to the Churches." After more exclamations of the same kind the magistrates
 said, "The things we have discussed shall be executed." Thus ended the second session.

^d This collection is attributed by Garnier, in *Mar. Mercat.* pt. 2. p. 218. to Theodoret, but on insufficient grounds, as is shewn at length by Quesnel, in *Leon.* t. ii. p. 1425, sqq. ed. Baller.

The third was held three days after, on the thirteenth of A. D. 451. October¹. The magistrates were not in attendance, and the trial of Dioscorus was conducted in canonical form. Aëtius, Archdeacon of Constantinople and chief Notary, discharged the duties of Promoter². He represented, that Eusebius of Dorykeum had placed before the Council³ another petition, besides the one to the Emperor, which had been read at the first session. Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum, who presided at the Council in place of St. Leo, ordered it to be read. The burden of it was⁴, that all the proceedings against Eusebius and Flavian ought to be cancelled, the heresy of Eutyches anathematized, and Dioscorus punished so as to be made an example.

Eusebius then said, "I desire that my adversary be summoned to confront me." Aëtius said, "Before the Council had assembled, the Deacons Domnus and Cyriacus went as you ordered, to inform Dioscorus that he would be expected to attend along with the other Bishops, and his reply was that he was quite willing, but that his guards would not suffer him." Paschasinus ordered that they should examine if he were not at the door of the Council. The Priests Epiphanius and Elpidius, who were commissioned to do this, being interrogated on their return by Anatolius, stated that they had gone round the church and not found him⁵. Three Bishops, Constantine, Metropolitan of Bostra in Arabia⁶, Acacius of Ariarathia, and Atticus of Zela, attended by Himerius, Reader and Notary, were deputed to go to his hotel.

On their arrival, Constantine told Dioscorus that the holy Council desired his attendance in the church of St. Euphemia, in which they had met. Dioscorus answered, "I am under guard; ask the magistrians if I am at liberty to go." Acacius, Bishop of Ariarathia, said, "We are not sent to the magistrians, but to you." Dioscorus still persisted in urging this excuse: but when the deputies were gone, he called them back, and said, "On reflection, my answer is that in the last meeting of the Synod the magistrates came to a decision which the Council, by summoning me now, wishes to undo. I demand that the magistrates and

¹ See Reland. Palæst. p. 666, and Asseman, B. O. t. iii. pt. 2. pp. 595, 730.

² CH. III.

³ XII. The third session. Dioscorus cited.

⁴ Tertio Idus.

⁵ p. 377. E.

⁶ p. 380.

⁷ p. 381. C.

⁸ p. 381.

A. D. 451. "senate may again be present at the Council." Acacius of
 CH. XII. Ariarathia declared that the Council had no intention of re-
 voking the orders of the magistrates; but Dioscorus replied,
 "You tell me that Eusebius has presented a petition against
 "me, I desire that it may be examined in the presence of
 "the magistrates and senate." Constantine said, "You told
 "us at first, that if your guards would permit you, you would
 "come to the Council; the aide-de-camp of the Master of
¹ p. 386. "Offices¹ has now given his consent; let us have an answer
 "on this point, if you please." Dioscorus said, "I have now
 "learned that the magistrates are not there, and this is the
 "reason why I answer you thus." The Reader Himerius
 drew up an account of what passed at this interview, and on
 the return of the deputies he read it in the Council.

They now deputed for the second time three other Bishops,
 Pergamius, Metropolitan of Antioch in Pisidia, Cecropius of
 Sebastopolis, and Rufinus of Samosata, with Hypatius, Reader
 and Notary; they had a written citation entrusted to them.
² p. 389. D. On reaching his lodgings, Pergamius² informed him of the
 citation; Dioscorus said, "I have already explained that I
 "am both detained by sickness, and desire that the magis-
 "trates may be present at this hearing; as my illness has
 "increased, I am obliged to delay the matter." Cecropius
 said, "A short time ago you never spoke of sickness, you
 "only requested that the magistrates should be present; act
 "in a way that becomes you, and obey the Council." Dio-
 scorus, on being similarly pressed by Rufinus, asked whether
 Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil, and Eustathius were at
 the Council. These were the persons who had been excluded
 along with him. Pergamius said, "We are not commissioned
 "by the Council to answer that question." Dioscorus said,
 "I desired the Emperor that the magistrates who previously
 "attended the Council, might be present at the examination
 "of my cause, and that the Bishops who are equally im-
 "plicated with me might also attend." Cecropius replied,
 "Eusebius accuses you only, and when a cause is to be
 "examined according to the canons, there is no need that
 "either magistrates, or any other laymen, should be present."
 Dioscorus refused to give any other answer. The Reader
 Hypatius drew up a formal account of this second citation,

which was read in the Council, after which Eusebins declared that he accused no one except Dioscorus; and demanded that a third summons should be issued¹.

A. D. 451.
CH. XIII.

¹ p. 393.

In the mean time the Archdeacon Aëtius said that some Clerks and laymen from Alexandria were standing at the door of the Council, and that they had presented petitions against Dioscorus, and prayed for admission. The Council ordered them to come in. They were the Priest Athanasius, the Deacons Ischyriion and Theodorus, and a layman named Sophronius. The legate Lucentius ordered Aëtius to read their petitions, which were all addressed to St. Leo and the Council of Chalcedon. They began with that of Theodorus, of which the substance was as follows². “I have served nearly “ twenty-two years in the Company of Magistrians; Cyril, of “ happy memory, had me for his deputy, especially at the “ time of the Council of Ephesus. To shew his approval of “ my services, he placed me among the clergy of Alexandria, “ and there I remained fifteen years, preferring the service “ of the Church to the advantages which I might have expected from my office. But when Dioscorus came to the “ see, he immediately expelled me from my clerical post, not “ bringing any charge or complaint against me, but merely “ because I had enjoyed the affection of Cyril; for he made “ it his aim to expel from the city, (if not to send out of “ the world,) not only the relatives, but the friends of “ Cyril, as opposed to his own doctrine; for he is a heretic, “ —an Origenist,—and blasphemes the holy Trinity. He “ has committed murders, cut down trees, burnt and pulled “ down houses³. He has always led an infamous life, as I “ am prepared to prove. Lastly, when he was at Nicea, “ he presumed to pass sentence of excommunication on “ the holy see of Rome in company with only about ten “ Bishops who followed him from Egypt, and who put their “ names to it only on compulsion.” The petition then mentions four witnesses, whose persons, it advises, should be secured.

XIII.
Petitions
against
Dioscorus.

² p. 396.

³ p. 397.

Ischyriion's petition⁴ contained the same general charges, and, on coming to particulars, set forth that “the soil of

“ Libya being too arid to grow wheat⁵, the Emperors were “ accustomed to send supplies to the Churches there, mainly

[⁵ σιτον.
Lat. *tritium*.]

A. D. 451. "to provide for the bloodless sacrifice^f, but also for the
 CH. XIII. "foreigners¹ and the poor of the country. These supplies
 [¹ παρεπι- "Dioscorus had prevented the Bishops from receiving, and
 δημιούντας] "bought it up himself, selling it in the season of scarcity
 [² φρικτὴν "at a high price; so that from that time the awful unbloody²
 καὶ ἀναί- "sacrifice was never celebrated, and the poor of the country
 μακτον] "and strangers were deprived of their comforts. Peristeria,
³ p. 401. "of illustrious memory³, had bequeathed large sums of gold
 "to be distributed among the monasteries, the houses for
 [⁴ τοῖς ξε- "receiving strangers⁴, [the almshouses⁴,] and the other poor
 νεῶσι, τοῖς "of Egypt. Dioscorus got it into his hands, and gave it
 πτωχοῖσις] "to dancing women⁵ and other persons belonging to the
 [⁵ θυμέ- "theatre. His incontinence is notorious throughout the
 λαις] "country. Shameless women were continually seen to fre-
 "quent the Bishop's house and his bath, especially the
 "famous Pansophia, surnamed the Mountaineer, so that she
 "and her paramour have often been openly denounced by
 "the people of Alexandria. He has also been the cause of
 "several murders.

"As to myself I received the honour of the clericate on
 "account of my long services to the Church of Alexandria;
 "I was also employed by St. Cyril on several journeys, par-
 "ticularly to Constantinople; but immediately on Cyril's
 "death, embittered by all the proofs of affection which
 "St. Cyril had shewn me, this man would not suffer me
 "to officiate at the sacred Mysteries; he sent some monks
 "and others on to a small estate which was my only means
 "of subsistence, and set fire to the buildings, cut down the
 "fruit trees, hacked up the land, and made me in very truth
 "a beggar. Not satisfied with this, he sent a band of eccle-
 "⁶ p. 404. "siastics, or rather of banditti, with the Deacon Peter⁶ and
 "the Priests Harpocraton and Menas, with orders to make
 "away with me and bring my dead body back to him.
 "I succeeded in escaping, [but as I imprudently remained]

^f There are many reasons why wheat was used in preference to other grain, in the Holy Communion: it is more nutritious, finer, purer, (whence its Saxon and German names,) and, lastly, more glutinous and cohesive, and so, more strongly typifying the unity of the parts of that εἰς ἅπρος, mentioned

by St. Paul, on which St. Augustine often dilates: (cf. supr. p. 219. marg.) Our own Church directs that the bread shall be "the best and purest Wheat" "Bread that conveniently may be got-ten:" not, perhaps, without a reference to Ps. lxxxi. 16 (in pr. bk. 17). See also John xii. 24.

“ in Alexandria, he ordered Harpocraton to carry me off A. D. 451.
 “ and lodge me in a hospital for the wounded ; there, too, he CH. XIII.
 “ sent after me an assassin, as all in the hospital well know,
 “ since it was only by their assistance that I was saved ; nor
 “ did he deliver me from that unjust imprisonment, until I
 “ had promised, weak as I was, to leave Alexandria.” Is-
 chyrion names six witnesses, who were Dioscorus’s own
 domestics.

The Priest Athanasius set forth in his petition¹ that his ¹ p. 405. D.
 brother Paul and he were nephews to St. Cyril, whose sister
 Isidora was their mother ; that St. Cyril had in his will left
 to his successor, whoever he should be, several large legacies,
 conjuring him by the holy Mysteries, to protect his family,
 and save them from annoyance. “ Dioscorus, however², from ² p. 408.
 “ the moment he entered on his episcopate, threatened my
 “ brother and myself with death, and forced us to leave
 “ Alexandria and come to Constantinople in hopes of finding
 “ redress, but he wrote to Chrysaphius and Nomus, who
 “ then, in fact, swayed the empire, soliciting them to put
 “ us out of the way. We were thrown into prison and sub-
 “ jected to various kinds of ill-treatment, until we had given
 “ up all we had in the way of moveables and were obliged to
 “ borrow several sums at extravagant interest. My brother
 “ died, unable to bear up against his persevering tormenters.
 “ I remained with our aunts, his wife, and his children, over-
 “ whelmed with debt and not daring to shew our heads. In
 “ the mean time, that we might have no home to retire to,
 “ Dioscorus converted our houses into churches; mine, which
 “ is about four stadia distant³ and could not conveniently be [³ τετάρτῃ
 στέγῃ ἐπι-
 κειμένης]
 “ made a church of, he enclosed and blocked up.

“ Not satisfied with this, he without any reason deposed
 “ me from the Priesthood, and for seven years we have now
 “ been wandering from place to place, still pursued as well
 “ by our creditors as by Dioscorus, not being allowed so
 “ much as to lodge in the churches or monasteries. I took
 “ refuge in the monastery of Metancea at Canopus⁴, which ⁴ Supr. 19.
 “ has always been considered an asylum, but he prohibited ^{31.}
 “ me from using the public bath⁵ and from buying bread or ⁵ p. 409.
 “ any other kind of food, resolving at all hazards on my
 “ death, so that I was compelled to beg for my livelihood

A. D. 451. "with the two or three slaves who remained by my side.
CH. XIV.

"The sums of money exacted from us, and derived partly
"from our own estate, partly borrowed on usury, amount
[¹ χρυσίου
λίτρας] "to about fourteen hundred pounds of gold¹. These sums
"were given to Nomus and Chrysaphius, the latter of whom,
"to complete my misery, seized my little remaining all, and
"extorted eighty-five pounds of gold from our aunts, the
"sisters of St. Cyril, and forty from my brother's widow and
"his orphan children."

² p. 412. D. The last petition was that of the layman Sophronius², which
ran thus: "I had obtained orders from the Court, against an
"officer of Alexandria, named Macarius, who had carried off
"my wife; Dioscorus hindered this order from being put

³ p. 413. C. "into execution³, asserting that he had more right to be
"master of that country than the Emperor had; and he sent a
"Deacon named Isidorus, with a troop of peasants, who took
"away from me all my clothes and all the stock of goods on
"which I and my children depended for support, so that I
"was forced to save myself by flight. Further, I allege that
"Dioscorus has often uttered blasphemies against the holy
"Trinity, that he has committed adulteries, and enacted
"treason against our Emperor, pretending that he was the
⁴ p. 416. "master of Egypt⁴; this is proved by Acts made before
"various magistrates. Several other persons have felt his
"fury, but either poverty or fear has hindered them from
"bringing their complaints before you. I desire that Ago-
"rastus, his Syncellus, who is here, may be brought for-
"ward." These four petitions having been read and at-
tested by the parties present, were inserted in the Acts.

XIV. The Council next ordered that Dioscorus should be cited
the third time⁵. They deputed for this purpose, Francion,
Bishop of Philippopolis, Lucian of Byza, and John of Ger-
manicia, with Palladius, Deacon and Notary. They carried

⁵ p. 416. D. a written citation⁶, in which the Council declared that they
⁶ p. 417. could not admit his excuses, and requested him to come and
make his defence on pain of suffering the penalty affixed by

the canons to contumacy. Dioscorus replied⁷ that he had
nothing to say beyond what he had already said, and in spite
of all that could be urged upon him, he still persisted in the
⁷ p. 420. C. same answer⁸, repeating it seven times. After this report had
⁸ p. 422.

been presented to the Council, Paschasinus several times inquired how they were to proceed, and whether the Council thought fit to judge him according to the rigour of the canons; the whole Council declared that they consented to this course. Then the three legates¹, Paschasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface, pronounced the sentence in these terms: "The outrages committed against the canons by Dioscorus, late Bishop of Alexandria, have been plainly proven by the evidence adduced both in the former session and in this. He received to his communion Eutyches, who was condemned by his own Bishop². He persists³ in maintaining that what he did at Ephesus was well done, though he ought to mourn for it, and ask for pardon, as the others have done. He would not permit the Pope Leo's letter to Flavian to be read. He even excommunicated the Pope. Several complaints have been presented against him to the Council. He has been three times cited, and refuses to pay obedience. Wherefore, the most holy Archbishop of Rome, Leo, through us and this present Council, with the Apostle St. Peter, who is the rock and foundation⁴ of the Catholic Church and of the orthodox Faith, deprives him of the episcopal dignity and every sacerdotal ministry. The Council, therefore, will decree concerning him in conformity with the canons." Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Stephen of Ephesus, and the rest of the Bishops, delivered their opinions in succession, all, in various ways, expressing their consent and judgment, and all confirming the legates' sentence and the deposition of Dioscorus; there were a hundred and ninety-one Bishops, whose judgments are thus recorded⁵. They all afterwards subscribed in the same order;—the three legates first, for even the Priest Boniface signed before Anatolius. One Bishop subscribed in Persian⁶.

The Council informed Dioscorus of his sentence in a short note, which says that he had been deposed on the thirteenth of October for contumacy. They also sent information of it to Chamosynus, Priest and Steward, to Eustathius, the

A. D. 451.
CH. XIV.

p. 424. D.

p. 425.

³ πέτρα
καὶ κρηπίς.
cf. Gieseler,
vol. I. § 92.
n. 26.]

p. 426. seqq.

⁶ p. 459. C
[alt. p. 5.]

* It belonged to the very essence of Catholic unity, that he who was excommunicate in one Church should be

held excommunicate in all Churches; Bingham, xvi. 2. § 10; where the canons on this point are brought together.

A. D. 451. Archdeacon, and to the rest of the clergy of Alexandria¹, who
CH. XV.
¹ p. 462. were then at Chalcedon, admonishing them to preserve the revenues of the Church for the future successor. The Council put forth a public notice of their sentence, addressed to all the people of Constantinople and Chalcedon, and declaring that, whereas Dioscorus had given out that he would be restored, he was deluding himself with false hopes. They also sent despatches to the Emperors Valentinian and Marcian, and to the Empress Pulcheria. Such was the third session.

XV.
 Fourth session.
 St. Leo's letter again approved.
² 16 Kal. Novemb.
³ p. 468. C. At the fourth session, held four days after, that is, on the seventeenth of October², the magistrates were again present. It had been resolved, as we have seen, at the end of the first session and beginning of the second, that the examination of the point of Faith should be adjourned for five days³. The magistrates ordered this resolution to be read over, and
⁴ p. 470. E. then inquired of the legates⁴ what decision the Council had come to. Paschasinus replied, "The holy Council follows
⁵ p. 471. "the definition of the Council of Nicæa⁵, and that of the "Council held at Constantinople under the great Theodosius, "with the exposition given at Ephesus by St. Cyril. More- "over, the writings which the Pope Leo has sent, against the "heresy of Nestorius and Eutyches, have expounded the true "Faith, which the holy Council receives, and which they "can neither add to nor take from." When this declaration of Paschasinus was explained in Greek, the Bishops cried out, "We all of us believe thus; thus we were baptized, thus we "baptize; thus we of old believed, thus we still believe." The magistrates said, "In the presence of the holy Gospels "we desire that each of you declare, whether the exposition "of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers of Nicæa, and "that of the hundred and fifty of Constantinople, agree with "the letter of the most reverend Archbishop Leo."

Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople, said, "The letter "of the most holy Archbishop Leo agrees with the Creed of "Nicæa, with that of Constantinople, and with the Acts of "the Council held at Ephesus in St. Cyril's time, which de- "posed Nestorius; wherefore I have given my consent, and "have cheerfully subscribed it." Paschasinus said, in the name of all the legates, "It is clear that the Faith of the "Pope Leo is the same with that of the Fathers of Nicæa

“and Constantinople, and that it agrees with the decisions A. D. 451
 “of the Council of Ephesus in St. Cyril’s time, and this CH. XV.
 “without any variation. Hence the Pope’s letter, which has
 “revived the Faith and was required by the heresy of Eu-
 “tyches, has been received by the Council as indited by the
 “same Spirit.” Maximus of Antioch said¹, “The letter of” p. 474.
 “the most holy Archbishop Leo agrees with the exposition
 “of Nicea, that of Constantinople, and that of Ephesus,
 “and I have subscribed it.” Similarly, Stephen of Ephesus,
 Diogenes of Cyzicus, Cyrus of Anazarbus, Constantine of
 Bostra, and all the other Bishops, to the number of about
 a hundred and sixty, approved of St. Leo’s letter, and testi-
 fied that they had subscribed it, because they had found it
 conformable to the Faith of the Fathers^h.

The Bishops of Epirus, Macedonia, Thessaly, Hellas and
 Crete², that is, of all Eastern Illyricum, made their declara- p. 490.
 tion in writing, which was dictated in the name of all, by
 Sozon, Bishop of Philippi, and ran thus³: “We preserve the” p. 491. c
 “Faith of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, which is
 “our salvation, and we wish to die in it. That of the hundred
 “and fifty in no wise differs from it. We moreover retain
 “the decisions made by the Council of Ephesus, at which
 “the blessed Celestine and the blessed Cyril presided, and
 “we are persuaded that the most holy Archbishop Leo is
 “most orthodox; we have been instructed concerning his
 “letter by his legates Paschasinus and Lucentius, and they
 “have cleared up the seeming differences⁴ which arose from [¹ & ἡ φρό-
 σις δι᾿ ὁμοσταῶν
 ἡνίπττετο]
 “the mode of expression. For when we met, by your order,
 “at the Archbishop Anatolius’s house, they, in the presence
 “of the assembly, [at once] anathematized all such as make
 “a separation⁵ between the Divinity and the flesh of our [⁵ δι᾿ ὁμοσταῶν]
 “LORD JESUS CHRIST⁶, which He united with Himself of the [⁶ τοῦ
 Κυρίου καὶ
 Θεοῦ καὶ
 σωτηρίου
 ἡμῶν] I. X.;
 cf. Bp. Mid-
 dleton on
 2 Pet. i. 1.]
 “holy Virgin, and who do not ascribe to Him the several

^h The letter was received, not as a final, judicial, decision, but as evidence that was to be weighed, and scrutinized, and accepted only if found to agree with that which was from the beginning. And this is precisely what we meet with in every part of the history of Christian doctrine; it is not new truth that is discovered, but old truth

that receives a new expression adapted to the present exigency. In this very letter St. Leo says that the Creed was sufficient to refute all heresies (supr. 27. 35). The above consideration is put prominently forward and repeated with studious solicitude in the definition of Faith (infr. c. 21). Cf. note p at p. 49, vol. viii. ‘Libr. of the Fathers.’

A. D. 451. " attributes of the GODHEAD and the manhood¹, without
CH. XVI. " confusion, change, or division. Being persuaded, therefore,
[¹ τὰ θεο-
 πρεπή καὶ
 ἀνθρώπο-
 πρεπή.] " that the letter is perfectly agreeable to the Faith of the
 " Fathers, we gave our consent to it, and subscribed it." All the Bishops of Illyricum confirmed this declaration *vivâ voce*. In the same way, the Bishops of Palestine made a
² p. 494. C. common declaration in writing², acknowledging that they had thought some expressions in St. Leo's letter implied division and separation, but that the legates had satisfied them.

XVI.
 Restoration of the five Bishops.
³ p. 507. C. When these hundred and sixty Bishops had given their opinions, the magistrates said³, " If all the other Bishops, who have not made a declaration individually, hold the same opinion, let them testify it with their own mouths." The whole Synod exclaimed, " We all give our consent, we are all of the same opinion, we all believe alike. Restore the Fathers to the Council ; they are Catholic, they subscribed. Many years to the Emperors, many years to the Empress. The five subscribed the Faith, they think as Leo does." These five, whose restoration they pleaded for, were Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Basil of Seleucia, and Eustathius of Berytus, who had presided at the false Council of Ephesus along with Dioscorus, and who in the first session of Chalcedon were declared to have deserved deposition no less than he.

When the Bishops had ended these exclamations, the magistrates said, " We made our report of these matters to the Emperor, and await his answer. But you will have to give an account to God for having deposed Dioscorus without consulting either the Emperor or us, and also for your present intercession in behalf of the five, and for all that is done in the Council." All the Bishops cried out, " God deposed Dioscorus, Dioscorus was justly deposed, CHRIST deposed Dioscorus." After waiting some hours for the Emperor's answer, the magistrates said, " Our most pious Emperor leaves it to your discretion to decide about the Bishops Juvenal, Thalassius, Eusebius, Basil, and Eustathius ; consider, therefore, how you are to proceed, and bear in mind that you will give an account to God⁴." Anatolius said, " We request that they may be admitted." All the Bishops cried out, " We beg that they may be ad-

⁴ p. 510.

“mitted. Restore them to the Council for they are one with
 “us in opinion, and subscribed Leo’s letter.” The magis-
 trates said, “Let them come in,” so the Bishops entered
 and took their seats, whilst the rest shouted, “This is God’s
 “doing; many years to the Emperor, many years to the
 “magistrates, many years to the senate. This is perfect
 “union, this is the peace of the Church.”

The magistrates next gave an order for the admittance of
 some Egyptian Bishops who had presented a petition to the
 Emperor. They were thirteen in number, and were unani-
 mously ordered to take their seats in the Council. Their
 petition was in the name of all the Bishops of Egypt, and
 contained nothing more than that they followed the Catholic
 Faith, and condemned all heretics¹, and especially those who
 affirmed that the flesh of our Lord came down from heaven
 and was not taken of the holy Virgin Mary. The Bishops
 shouted, “Why do they not anathematize the doctrine of
 “Eutyches? They have presented this petition insidiously;
 “let them subscribe Leo’s letter. Their object is to trifle
 “with us and then withdraw¹.” Diogenes of Cyzicus said,
 “The Council was convened on account of Eutyches,—for
 “what other reason was there? It was on account of him
 “that the Archbishop of Rome wrote. We all consented to
 “Leo’s letter, as conformable to the exposition of the Fathers;
 “let them, too, give their assent.” Paschasius, in the name
 of the legates, said, “Let them declare whether they consent
 “to the letter of the Apostolic see and anathematize Eu-
 “tyches.”

Hieracius, as spokesman of the Egyptian Bishops, said,
 “If any one holds opinions different from those contained in
 “our petition, be he Eutyches or be he any one else, let him
 “be anathema. As to the letter of the most holy Archbishop
 “Leo, all the Bishops know that we in all cases wait for the
 “advice of our own most holy Archbishop. The Council of
 “Nicaea decreed² that all Egypt should follow the guidance
 “of the Archbishop of Alexandria, and that none of his

A. D. 451.
 CH. XVII.

XVII.
 Representations of
 the Egyptians.

p. 511.

p. 514.

¹ Liberatus (c. 13) says of them,
 “libellos obtulerunt *cum irrisione*.”
 Tillemont (t. xv. p. 669) thinks that
 they were the Egyptians mentioned by
 Eulogius (Phot. cod. 230) who, “re-

“turning from Chalcedon, filled the
 “land with tumult, saying that the
 “Council had rejected Cyril and re-
 “ceived Nestorius.”

A. D. 451. "Bishops should determine any thing without him." Eusebius of Dorylæum said, "That is false." Florentius of Sardis said, "Let them prove their assertion." All cried aloud, "Distinctly anathematize Eutyches's doctrine. He who does not subscribe the letter, which the Council has approved, is heretical. Anathema to Dioscorus and all who cling to him. If they are not orthodox how will they appoint¹ a Bishop?" Paschasinus said, "Bishops who have seen so many years, and who have grown old in their churches, do not yet know the Catholic Belief, and must wait for the opinion of another^k!"

[¹ ψηφίσασθαι]

² p. 515.

[³ διοικήσεως]

The Egyptians cried out, "Anathema to Eutyches and to those who believe him." But it was still insisted upon, that they must subscribe St. Leo's letter on pain of excommunication. Hieracius said², "The Bishops of our province³ are very numerous; we are too few to do any thing in their persons. We beg your Highness and the holy Council to take pity of us; for if we do any thing without our Archbishop, all the Bishops of Egypt will rise up against us, as violators of the canons; pity our old age." The thirteen Egyptian Bishops then threw themselves on the ground, saying, "Extend your pity and humanity over us." Cecropius of Sebastopolis said, "The Œcumenical Council is more worthy of being trusted to than that of Egypt, nor is it just that ten heretics should be listened to and twelve hundred Bishops set at naught. We do not require them to declare their faith for others, but for themselves personally." By these twelve hundred Bishops we may suppose that Cecropius meant the Bishops of the whole world¹.

^k "The Egyptian Bishops were no doubt very dependent on their Patriarch. . . . But whatever respect is due to the primate Bishops, the others must never forget that they too are Bishops, and hold their authority of CHRIST and the Church, not of those who consecrated them. The Council of Nicæa in no way authorizes any such degradation of the episcopate." Tillemont, p. 668.

¹ Or rather, in the Eastern empire. For it seems probable that the Metropolitans took with them "half" the "Bishops in their dependence," as we saw St. Cyril do to the Council of Ephesus (xxv. 34); and Lucentius

presently after speaks of the Council as numbering 600 (cf. supr. c. 1. note a). Of these only four came from the West, the two Roman legates, and two African Bishops, (which last were rather refugees than deputies, Tillemont, p. 641.) If we add 800 (we are not here pretending to much exactness) for the Bishops in Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, we shall have 2000 for the number of Bishops in the world; or, (as the number of Christians at the close of this century has been conjecturally stated at fifteen millions, Turner's Anglo-S. vol. iii. p. 484. 6th ed.) one Bishop, on an average, to 7500 Christians.

The Egyptians cried out, "We cannot live any longer in the province, have pity on us." Eusebius of Dorykeum said, "They are the deputies of all the Egyptians, and ought to agree with the general Council." The legate Lucentius said to the magistrates, "Inform them, in case they be ignorant of it, that ten men cannot prejudge a cause so as to wrest authority from a Council of six hundred Bishops."

The Egyptians shouted, "We shall be murdered, take pity on us." All the other Bishops said, "You see what a testimony they bear to their Bishops!" The Egyptians said, "They will take our lives, have pity on us. Let us rather die here by your hands. Let an Archbishop be appointed here; Anatolius knows the custom of Egypt. It is not from disobedience to the Council, but we shall be murdered in our own country; have pity on us. You have the power; we would sooner die here by order of the Emperor, and you, and the Council. For God's sake consider our gray hairs, and spare ten men, whose lives are in your hands. They wish for our sees, let them take them; we care not to be Bishops any longer; only save us from death. Give us an Archbishop¹, and, if we resist, ^{p. 518.} punish us; elect an Archbishop, we will wait here until he be ordained."

The magistrates said, "It seems advisable that the Bishops of Egypt should remain at Constantinople for the present, and that no further steps be taken until an Archbishop shall have been ordained to Alexandria." Paschasius said, "Let them give bail, then, not to leave this city until Alexandria has got a Bishop." The magistrates ordered that they should produce securities, or at the least bind themselves by an oath.

The magistrates and Council next issued an order for the admission of Faustus, Martin, Peter, Manuel, and several other Catholic Priests and Archimandrites, numbering in all eighteen. When they had entered and taken their seats, the magistrates ordered a paper to be read containing the names of eighteen persons who styled themselves Archimandrites, and who had presented a petition to the Emperor; the Catholic Archimandrites were to state whether

A. D. 451.
CH. XVIII.

XVIII.
Petition of
the schis-
matic
Archiman-
drites.

A. D. 451. they recognised them all as Archimandrites. Faustus answered in their name, that Carosus and Dorotheus, who headed the list, were so^m, that others of them were only guardians of Martyrs' Churches¹, and that some had only two or three persons² under their care, whilst several were entire strangers to them. "We request," they add, "that the Council would send to their monasteries, to know whether they really have the authority they claim, or only assume the title of Archimandrites. As to those who call themselves monks and are unknown to us and you, let them be sent away from the city as scandalous persons and impostors."

¹ p. 521.
[² δὺο ἡ τετρα-
ὄν ὁμᾶται:
cf. Apoc.
iii. 4.]

The magistrates, however, proceeded to admit Carosus and Dorotheus with their followers, among whom were Barsumas the Syrian and the eunuch Calopodius. They made them acknowledge their petition, and then gave orders for its recital; but Anatolius said, "The Priests Calopodius and Gerontius, who are among them, were deposed long ago, and cannot lawfully enter." "No one ever told us so until now," they replied. The Archdeacon Aëtius walked up to Calopodius, and said, "The Archbishop tells you by my mouth that you are deposed; depart." "On what grounds?" said Calopodius. "As a heretic," replied the Archdeacon. The petition presented in the name of the eighteen (so called) Archimandrites, and their partizans³, both lay and clerical, was now read. Its chief object was, to desire the Emperor's protection against the persecution of some of the clergy, who attempted to procure subscriptions from them by force, and drove them out of the monasteries and other churches where they lived.

³ p. 524.

Diogenes, Bishop of Cyzicus, then said, "Barsumas, who came in with them, murdered the blessed Flavian. He was there, and said, *Stab*: he is not included in the petitions; why did he come in?" The Bishops cried out as with one voice, "Barsumas turned all Syria upside down⁴; he brought a thousand monks against us." The magistrates said to the monks⁵, "The Emperor has convened this Council according to your desire, and has ordered that you should be admitted. You must therefore listen patiently

[⁴ ἡφάνισεν
σεν]

⁵ p. 525.

^m They also recognise Maximus, the teacher (διδάσκαλος) of Eutyches, p. 517.

“to the regulations which the Council has made respecting A. D. 451.
 “the Faith.” Carosus, Dorotheus, and the other monks, (II. XVIII.)
 said, “We demand that the petition which we here present
 “may be read.” This was a second petition addressed to the
 Council. The Bishops shouted, “Drive out the murderer
 “Barsumas, send him to the amphitheatre; anathema to
 “Barsumas; banish Barsumas.” By ‘sending him to the
 ‘amphitheatre,’ they meant that he should be exposed to
 the wild beasts. The petition addressed to the Council in
 the name of the Archimandrites and all the brethren in
 CHRIST, was recited; it prayed that Dioscorus and the
 Bishops who were with him, might be present at the Council.

While this was being read, all the Bishops exclaimed, “Ana-
 “thema to Dioscorus, CHRIST deposed him. Drive these people
 “away; remove the opprobrium of the Council.” Faustus
 and the Catholic Archimandrites said, “Away with them,
 “they are a reproach to the monasteries.” The magistrates
 proceeded with the reading of the petition¹; it turned entirely¹ p. 528.
 on the restoration of Dioscorus, whom they represented as
 the champion of the Faith of Nicæa; and they protested that
 if they met with a refusal, they must renounce communion
 with the Council. The Archdeacon Aëtius then read from a
 book the fifth canon of Antioch², to the effect that the Priest² Fleury,
 or Deacon, who leaves the communion of his Bishop to hold 12. 12.
 separate assemblies, is to be deposed, and, if he continues in
 his schism, ought to be ejected by the secular power as a
 seditious person. The Bishops cried out, “This canon is
 “just, this is a canon of the holy Fathers.” The magis-
 trates asked the schismatic monks if they consented to the
 decisions of the Council. Carosus said³, “I know the Faith³ p. 529.
 “of Nicæa, in which I was baptized: I know no other. They
 “are Bishops; it is in their power to excommunicate and
 “depose us. When St. Theotimus⁴ baptized me at Tomi, [⁴ Supr.
 “he enjoined me never to admit any other belief.” Doro- 21. 5.]
 theus said, “I hold the Faith of Nicæa, in which I was
 “baptized, and the definition of the Council of Ephesus
 “against Nestorius; I know no other faith.” Barsumas
 said by an interpreter, (for he spoke in Syriac,) “I believe
 “as the three hundred and eighteen Fathers did; I was
 “thus baptized, in the name of the FATHER, and of the

A. D. 451. "SON, and of the HOLY GHOST, even as our LORD taught
CH. XVIII. "His Apostles themselves". The rest said the same.

The Archdeacon Aëtius went up to them and said, "The
"holy Council believes as did the Fathers of Nicæa; but
"since in the mean time various disputes have arisen, the
"holy Fathers Cyril and Cælestine, and now the most
"holy Pope Leo, have published letters explanatory of the
"Creed, [not as formulæ of faith or doctrine,¹] and these
"the Œcumenical Council receives with respect. Do you
"defer to the judgment of the Council, and anathematize
"Nestorius and Eutyches, or not?" Carosus replied, "I
"have frequently anathematized Nestorius." Aëtius said to
him, "Then do you anathematize Eutyches, as the Council

[¹ ἑρμηνευ-
ούσας τὸ
σύμβολον,
οὐδὲ πιστὴν ἢ
δόγμα ἐκτι-
θεμένοι]

* Mat. vii. 1. "does, or not?" Carosus said, "Do you not find it written²,
" 'Judge not, lest ye be judged'? The Bishops are seated
"here, why do you speak?" Aëtius said, "Answer the ques-
"tion which the Council puts to you by me; Do you obey
"the general Council or not?" Carosus again took refuge
in the Council of Nicæa, and concluded³; "If Eutyches be-
"lieves not as the Catholic Church believes, let him be
"anathema."

³ p. 532.

An order was given by the magistrates for reading a peti-
tion which had been presented to the Emperor by Faustus
and the other Catholic Abbots, against Eutyches's followers,
who, though frequently admonished by Anatolius and others,
refused to subscribe the confession of Faith. It concluded
by praying that these renegades should be punished accord-
ing to the monastic rule, and be ejected from the monastery⁴
in which they lived and held their meetings. Dorotheus
attempted⁵ to maintain the orthodoxy of Eutyches, and
thought it sufficient to say, that He who suffered was of
the Trinity⁶. All the Bishops cried out, "Do you subscribe
"the letter or not?" meaning St. Leo's. Dorotheus replied,
"I believe according to the baptismal form⁷; but for the
"letter—I do not subscribe it." The magistrates said,
"When the Emperor sent officers to you, you promised to
"obey the decisions of the Council; why then do you now

[⁴ σπη-
λαίου:
supr. 25.
43. p., yet
perhaps re-
ferring to
Luke xix.
46.]

⁵ p. 533.
[⁶ ἐκ τῆς
Τριάδος ἐί-
ναι]
[⁷ εἰς τὸ
βάπτισμα
πιστεύω]

ⁿ This is the last notice, in the Acts, of that zealot-agitator: nor is any thing certain known of the sequel

of his history. The Syrian legends about him are given by Asseman, B. O. t. ii. pp. 1—10.

“withhold your consent?” Dorotheus answered, “Our petition to the Emperor was, that the Council might confirm the Faith of Nicæa.” The magistrates offered to intercede with the Council to grant them a delay of two or three days, but Carosus and Dorotheus assured them that they could not change their opinions. Thus ended the fourth session of the Council of Chalcedon, according to the oldest copies. The modern ones have an appendix containing the sequel of the affair of Carosus and Dorotheus, as also that of Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus. We will here give an account of these.

Alexander, Priest and Visitor¹°, whom the Council had sent to the Emperor about the schismatic monks, made his report in these terms: “I told the Emperor, that Dorotheus and Carosus asserted that he had promised to assemble the monasteries, and us with them, and to hear our statements in the presence of the holy Gospel. The Emperor charged the decurion John and myself to return them this answer; ‘If I had myself intended to hear between you, I should not have put the general Council to the trouble of assembling here. The Bishops assembled for this purpose, and I directed you to go to them, and receive instruction on the points about which you were ignorant, for you may be assured of this, that, whatever the general Council shall decree and present to me in writing, that I will follow, embrace, and believe. Understand this therefore, for you shall receive no other answer from me.’”

When the report was ended, the Council cried out, “Long life to the Emperor, long life to the Empress.” The petition which Carosus and his followers had presented to the Emperor, praying for the restoration of Dioscorus, was then read

A. D. 451.
CH. XVIII.

p. 546.
[περιοδεύτης,
της, Lat.
circuitor]

¹ Or, as we should say, Inspector. De Marca (De Concord. ii. c. 13. § 6) makes the offices of *περιοδεύτης* and *χωρεπίσκοπος* identical. It would seem, however, that the very object why the first was instituted was to supersede the latter: v. Justel, ad Can. 57 Laodiceen. (t. i. p. 90), and Ebed-Jesu, ap. Assem. B. O. t. iii. pt. 2. p. 830. Asseman remarks that among the later Nestorian lawyers the two titles are used as equivalent: which may easily be, since the *χωρεπίσκοπος* of later

times was deprived of the *power of ordination*,—the very point in which, it is presumed, the original institution was found to be inconvenient.

The office is thus described by Balsamon, in Can. 57 Laod. (Bevereg. Synodic. t. i. p. 480): “The *Periodeutes* ‘is the same with our modern *Bishop’s Exarch*, whose duty it is to itinerate and take note of spiritual faults, and to stablish the faithful.” See also Suicer. s. v. and Neander, Gesch. d. Kirche, B. 2. S. 342.

A. D. 451. a second time; after which¹ the Archdeacon Aëtius proposed
CH. XIX.
1 p. 537. that the canons against schismatics should be read. The
 Council ordered it, and he read from a book the canons
 eighty-three and eighty-four, which are the fourth and fifth
 of the Council of Antioch². We thus see that the Church at
 that time used the collection entitled, "Code of the Canons
 of the Universal Church," in the same form that it still exists
[* Labbe, t. ii. p. 563. Cf. Can. Apost. 27. 30.]
3 v. Bibl. Justel. t. i. p. 44. in³. When the canons had been read, the Council, approving
 of the indulgence shewn by the Emperor and magistrates to
 the refractory monks, granted them a delay of thirty days,
 from the fifteenth of October to the fifteenth of November.
 "On that day," says the Council, "some of the clergy shall
 " be sent to inform them that they must either submit to
 " the decisions of the Council, or forfeit all their degrees and
 " dignities, resigning the headship of their monasteries, and
 " being excluded from communion. If they leave the city, the
 " forfeiture shall still take its course; the secular power will,
 " in accordance with the canons, aid in enforcing the decree
 " against the contumacious." The fifteenth of October, from
 which the term allowed them dates, was two days before
 the fourth session, in which they had been heard; and this
 special session is dated three days after, or October the 20th.

XIX. We must now notice the dispute between Photius of Tyre
 and Eustathius of Berytus, which was this. Photius claimed
 to be sole Metropolitan of the first Phœnicia⁴, and complained
 that Eustathius had availed himself of the credit he had en-
 joyed under Theodosius the younger to get Berytus erected
 into a metropolis, and had assumed to himself the jurisdiction
 and right of ordination to the six churches of Byblus, Botrys,
 Tripolis, Orthosias, Arcas, and Antaradus⁵. Eustathius at-
 tempted to evade the trial, by representing that the defini-
 tion of Faith ought first to be subscribed before any other
5 p. 544. E. business was entered upon⁶; but the magistrates, notwith-
 standing, ordered Photius's petition to be read. They next
7 p. 544. C. said⁷ that the Emperor wished the affairs of Bishops to be
 regulated not according to the Imperial letters, or the Prag-
 matic Sanction⁸ p, but according to the canons. They asked
[8 τοὺς πραγματικὸν τὸν πρῶτον]

^p The formal decision given by the Emperor in consistory. So *Pragmaticum rescriptum* and *Sanctio* in Collat.

iii. Carthag. c. 38, 39. (Labbe, t. ii. p. 1456.)

the Council how they wished the affair to be decided, according to the canons, or according to the Emperor's mandate? A. D. 451.
CH. XIX.
The Council said, "According to the canons. The Pragmatic Sanction shall have no force [against the canons]; let the canons prevail."

Eustathius pleaded in his favour a Council of Constantinople¹; on which the magistrates asked if it was right to call¹ the assembly of Bishops who were on a visit² to Constantinople a *Council*. Tryphon, Bishop of Chios, said, "It is called a Council, and justice is there administered to all who bring their grievances before it." Anatolius of Constantinople said³, "A custom has long prevailed, that Bishops who are³ residing⁴ at Constantinople should assemble, when occasion⁴ requires, for such ecclesiastical affairs as accidentally occur; that they determine them, and answer those questions which are put to them." This sort of Council is called in Greek, *συνδοὸς ἐνδημοῦσα*⁵.

They read the fourth canon of the Council of Nicæa, which assigns the power of ordination to the Metropolitan with his provincial Bishops. The magistrates asked if one province could have two Metropolitans. The Council answered, that there could never be more than one. The magistrates then said⁶, "In accordance with the canons of Nicæa and the judgment of the Council, Photius of Tyre shall have the whole power of ordaining in all the cities of the first Phœnicia; and the Bishop Eustathius shall not, in virtue of the Imperial Pragmatic Sanction, have more than the other Bishops of the province. Let the Council declare if they agree to this." The Council said, "This is just judgment, this is God's judgment; long live the Emperor, long live the Empress, long live the magistrates."

The magistrates asked what the Council would decree relative to the Bishops who, after being ordained by Photius, had been deposed by Eustathius and reduced to the rank of Priests. The Council said, "We think it right that they should be Bishops; it is but fitting that they should be reinstated in the cities to which they were ordained by their Metropolitan." The Pope's legates said, "It is sacrilege to degrade a Bishop to the rank of Priest; if there be any legitimate grounds for depriving him of episcopal

A. D. 451. "functions, he ought not to retain even the rank of Priest."
 CH. XX. Anatolius of Constantinople, Maximus of Antioch, Juvenal of Jerusalem, and the rest, expressed the same opinion. Cœcropsius of Sebastopolis proposed that this rule should be made general for all the provinces, and that the Pragmatic Sanction should have no weight in opposition to the canons; and an injunction was issued by the advice of the Council to that effect. This, as well as the preceding special session, is dated the twentieth of October.

XX. The fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon was held on the eleventh of the calends of November, or October 22. The magistrates asked what decision had been come to respecting the Faith¹. Asclepiades, Deacon of Constantinople, read a definition, which it was not thought proper to insert in the Acts. Some persons raised difficulties, and John, Bishop of Germanicia, said, "This definition is not right; another must be made." Anatolius of Constantinople said to the Council, "Are you satisfied with the definition?" All the Bishops, except the Romans and some Easterns, cried out, "We are all satisfied with the definition. It is the faith of the Fathers; he who thinks otherwise is heretical; anathema to him who thinks otherwise: drive out the Nestorians." Anatolius said, "Did not every one yesterday consent to the definition of faith?" The Bishops said, "Every one consented. We do not believe otherwise; it is the faith of the Fathers: let it be set down, that holy Mary is the Mother of God; let this be added to the Creed."

The Pope's legates said, "If they do not consent to the letter of the blessed Bishop Leo, let copies² be given to us, that we may return, and that the Council may be assembled in the West." The magistrates answered, "If you think proper, let us assemble with six Bishops of the East³, three of Asia, three of Pontus, three of Illyricum, and three of Thrace, the Archbishop Anatolius, and the Romans, in the oratory of the church; and when we have thoroughly examined every thing, a report shall be made to you of what we determine about our holy Faith⁴." The Bishops exclaimed, "Every one approved the definition;" and seeing John of Germanicia go up to the magistrates, they shouted,

[² ἀντί-
γραφα]

[³ ἀνατολι-
κῶν]

⁴ p. 558.

"Away with the Nestorians; away with the God-opposers¹: A. D. 451.
 "every one yesterday agreed to the definition; let it be sub-
 "scribed. He who refuses to subscribe is a heretic; the
 "HOLY GHOST dictated it; let it be forthwith subscribed."

After many similar outbreaks of feeling on the part of the Bishops, the magistrates said, "Dioscorus stated that the
 "reason of his deposing Flavian was, because he said there
 "are two natures; the definition says 'of two natures².'" <sup>[¹ θεομά-
χους]</sup>
 Anatolius replied, "Dioscorus was not deposed on the score
 "of his Faith, but because he excommunicated the Arch-
 "bishop Leo; and because he was summoned three times
 "and would not appear³." The magistrates asked whether
 they received the Archbishop Leo's letter. The Bishops said,
 "Yes, we have received it, and subscribed it." "Then let
 "the contents," rejoined the magistrates, "be inserted in
 "the definition." The Bishops cried out, "We are for no
 "other definition; nothing is wanting in this, it sanctions
 "the letter; the Archbishop Leo believes as we do. He has
 "spoken as Cyril did. Cælestine and Sixtus confirmed what
 "Cyril said; let the definition be without fraud." The
 magistrates said, "Your acclamations shall be carried to the
 "Emperor;" and they despatched the Secretary Beronician
 to the palace.

In a short time he returned and said³, "The Emperor³ p. 560.
 "orders that, according to the suggestion of the magis-
 "trates, six Bishops of the East, three of Pontus, three of
 "Asia, three of Thrace, and three of Illyricum, with the
 "Archbishop Anatolius and the Romans, shall assemble in
 "the oratory of the church and determine⁴ the Faith, so that
 "all doubt and disagreement may be removed. If you ob-
 "ject to this plan, let each of you declare his faith by his
 "Metropolitan; if you still object, then you must know that
 "the Council will be held in the West, since you will not

¹ It appears from Facundus, lib. v. c. 3 (p. 200, ed. 1629), that the Nestorians appealed to this statement as a proof that the Council favoured Eutychianism. Leontius, on the other hand, mentions that the Acephali of his day inferred that since Dioscorus was not convicted of heresy, his deposition was unjust. Leontius rightly

says, that had Dioscorus made his appearance he would have been deposed on the ground of heresy: de Sectis, act. vi. (Galland, Bibl. t. xii. p. 643); see also his Apol. C. Calch. (*ibid.* p. 722, and Mansi, t. vii. p. 807). Tillemont, t. xv. p. 679. Welch, Ketzher., Th. vi. § 65.

A. D. 451. "here come to any agreement concerning the Faith." There
 CH. XXI. was still some opposition, but at last all the Bishops consented
 to have the affair transacted by commissioners. The magis-
 trates therefore went into the oratory of St. Euphemia, with
 Anatolius of Constantinople, the four legates, Paschasinus,
 Lucentius, Boniface, and Julian of Cos; Maximus of An-
 tioch, Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cæsarea [in Cap-
 padocia], Eusebius of Ancyra; Quintillus, Atticus, and Sozon,
¹ p. 561. Bishops of Illyricum¹; Diogenes of Cyzicus, Leontius of Mag-
 nesia, Florentius of Sardis, Eusebius of Dorylæum, Theodorus
 of Tarsus, Cyrus of Anazarbus, Constantine of Bostra, Theo-
 dorus of Claudiopoli in Isauria; and Francion, Sebastian,
 and Basil, Bishops of Thrace: in all twenty-two.

XXI.
 The De-
 finition of
 Faith ap-
 proved.

After they had examined the Faith, they came out of the
 oratory, and when all had taken their seats, the magistrates
 said, "If the holy Council pleases to be silent, they shall hear
 " what has been determined in our presence." Aëtius, Arch-
 deacon of Constantinople, then read the definition of faith
 drawn up in the name of the Council. The Creed of Nicæa
 and that of Constantinople are recited in it at full length²;
² p. 564. after which they add³, "This Creed were sufficient for the
³ p. 565. " perfect knowledge of religion; but the enemies of the
 " truth have invented novel expressions, some presuming to
 " corrupt the mystery of the Incarnation, and refusing the
 " title of Mother of God to the Virgin, others introducing a
 " confusion and mixture, and forging a wild and monstrous
 " opinion that there is but one nature of the flesh and the
 " Divinity, and that the Divine nature of the Son of God is
 " passible. Wherefore the holy Council, wishing to close
 " every avenue against their devices and to shew that the
 " doctrine of the Church is still immoveably the same, has
 " defined first of all, that the faith of the three hundred and
 " eighteen Fathers remains inviolable. Moreover, it con-
 " firms the doctrine which the hundred and fifty Fathers
 " assembled at Constantinople taught concerning the sub-
 " stance of the HOLY GHOST; not because they thought the
 " former exposition incomplete, but to leave on record their
 " opposition to all gainsayers. And for the conviction of all
 " who would corrupt the mystery of the Incarnation, the
 " Council receives the synodical letters of the blessed Cyril,

"both to Nestorius and to the Easterns; as being well adapted to refute the error of Nestorius and to explain the sense of the Creed. To these the Council with good reason joins the letter sent by the most holy Archbishop Leo to Flavian, against the error of Eutyches, both as agreeing with the confession of St. Peter, and as calculated not more to destroy error than to establish the truth'.

"Following therefore the holy Fathers^s, we all with one voice declare¹, that we ought to acknowledge one and the same [SON] our LORD JESUS CHRIST, the same perfect in GODHEAD and perfect in manhood, truly GOD and truly man; the same composed of a reasonable soul and body; consubstantial with the FATHER in respect of the GODHEAD, and consubstantial with us in respect of the manhood, like unto us in all things, yet without sin; begotten of the FATHER before all worlds, in respect of the GODHEAD, and the same in these last days born of Mary the Virgin, Mother of GOD in respect of the manhood, for our sake and our salvation; one and the same CHRIST, SON, LORD, only-begotten, in two natures² t; without confusion, change, division, separation³; the difference of the natures being in nowise taken away by the union: on the contrary, the property of each is preserved, and concurs into one person

A. D. 451.
CH. XXI.

¹ p. 608.

² v. Evagr.
2. 4 in fine.
[ἐκ δύο φύσεων. Lat. in duabus naturis]

[³ ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαφύτως, ἀχωρίστως.]

^r St. Leo's letter thus became a symbolical book of the Church Catholic. There is probably no ancient writing of which more copies have descended to us than of this. Besides occurring twice in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (pt. i. c. 7, and Act ii.), it was publicly read in the Italian and other Western Churches during Advent (Baron. a. 449. § 43), and inserted in the Lectionaria; Walch. u. s. § 29. Ann. 2.

^s "Then Theorian, taking up the definition of Chalcedon, shewed him, article by article, that it was all composed of piled on the words of the most ancient Fathers, especially of Cyril;" Fleury, l. lxxii. c. 20.

^t That the Latin copies give the true reading (they all have *in duabus naturis*) seems clear from the context. The very object of the Bishops and legates in resisting the first definition was, that the ἐκ δύο φύσεων might be altered into ἐν δύο φύσεσιν. The copy

of the definition given by Evagrius (ii. 4) contains ἐν δύο φύσεσι, which was also the reading of the copy brought by Elpidius and Gerontius to St. Euthymius, (Anal. Græc. pp. 56—58, where the phrase recurs four times.) Cassiodore (t. ii. p. 194) has an important passage bearing on this subject, in which *in duabus n.* is read. Indeed, the history of the conferences between the orthodox and the Severians in A. D. 533 (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1768. E., sqq.), shews that it was agreed on both sides that the Council had written *in d. n.* Leontius positively assures us that this was the case (de Sectis, act. vi. § 3), and that they had purposely avoided the other expression for the following reason:—they could not reject it, since it expressed partial truth, nor yet could they be content with it, since it did not express the whole truth against Eutyches: v. Tillemont, t. xv. pp. 681 and 919. Cf. Mansi, Coll. Max. t. vii. p. 775.

A. D. 451.
CH. XXII.

[¹ μεριζόμενον ἢ διαιρούμενον]

“and one hypostasis; so that He is not parted nor divided¹ into two persons, but He, one and the same, is Son and only-begotten, God the Word, our Lord JESUS CHRIST.” The Council states that it shall not be lawful for any one to teach or think otherwise on pain, if Bishops or Clerks, of being deposed; if monks or laymen, of being anathematized.

When this Definition of Faith had been read, the Bishops all exclaimed, “This is the Faith of the Fathers; let the Metropolitans subscribe forthwith; let them subscribe in presence of the magistrates; what has been rightly defined should not meet with any delay; this is the faith of the Apostles: we all follow it.” The magistrates said, “That which the Fathers have decreed, and which has satisfied all, shall be reported to the Emperor.” Thus ended the fifth session.

XXII.
The sixth
session.
Marcian
present.
² p. 574.

The sixth was held three days afterwards, on the eighth of the calends of November, or October 25. There was a large attendance of Bishops and the Emperor Marcian came to the Council in person², accompanied by the magistrates who had previously assisted at it, with some others, amounting in all to four and thirty^u. He made a speech, which was delivered in Latin (as the language of the empire) and was interpreted in Greek. He pointed out what his intention had been in convening the Council, namely, to preserve the purity of the Faith, which had for some time been impaired by the avarice and misdirected zeal of certain persons, (meaning, beyond doubt, Chrysaphius.) He said that they ought not to hold any other belief concerning the mystery of the Incarnation than what had been taught by the Fathers of Nicæa, and by St. Leo in his letter to Flavian. He declared that, after the example of Constantine, his only object in attending the Council was to establish the Faith, not to display his power, and he exhorts the Fathers sincerely to expound the Faith, agreeably to what they had received by tradition. All the Bishops cried out, “Long life to the King, long life to Au-

^u The presence of the Empress Pulcheria at the Council, which had been denied by Baluze (ap. Mansi, Coll. Max., t. vii. p. 127), and after him by

Tillemont (t. xv. p. 920), is established beyond a doubt by the letter from Anatolius to St. Leo, first published by the Ballerini, t. i. p. 1127.

“gusta, long life to the Catholic Princes.” The Archdeacon A. D. 451.
 Aëtius then said¹ that he held in his hands the definition ^{CH. XXII.}
 of Faith made by the Council; the Emperor ordered him to ^{1 p. 580.}
 read it. It was that of the preceding day, which had been
 subscribed by all the Bishops, to the number of three hundred
 and fifty-six, beginning with the legates. Diogenes, Metro-
 politan of Cyzicus, subscribed for himself and six of his
 suffragans² who were absent; so too Theodorus of Tarsus, ^{2 p. 601. E.}
 and twelve other Metropolitans.

The Emperor asked³ if all the Council agreed to this ^{3 p. 605. D.}
 definition of Faith. All the Bishops cried out, “We all
 “believe thus; we all voluntarily subscribed; we are all
 “orthodox;” adding various acclamations laudatory of the
 Emperor and Empress, and praying for their welfare; styling
 him the new Constantine and her the new Helena.

The Emperor said⁴, “The Catholic Faith having been de- ^{4 p. 608. D.}
 “clared, we think it both just and expedient to take away
 “all pretext of division for the future. Wherefore, whoso-
 “ever shall collect a tumultuous assembly and publicly
 “harangue it about the Faith, if he be a private person,
 “shall be expelled the imperial city; if an officer, discharged;
 “if a Clerk, deposed and subjected to other penalties.” All
 the Bishops shouted, “Long live the King, long live the
 “pious King; you have raised the prostrate Churches, you
 “have confirmed the Faith; long live the Queen. God
 “preserve your kingdom⁵; you have driven out the heretics. ^{5 p. 609.}
 “Anathema to Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus.”

The Emperor said, “There are certain Articles which, out
 “of respect to you, we have reserved, thinking it more
 “suitable that they should be canonically ordained by the
 “Council, than commanded by our laws⁶.” The Secretary ^[6 v. inf. c. 29.]
 Beronician read them, by the Emperor’s order. There were
 three of them; the first was expressed thus: “We deservedly
 “honour all who sincerely embrace a monastic life; but in-
 “asmuch as some persons under the pretext of monachism
 “disturb the Church and state, it is ordained, that no one
 “shall build a monastery without the consent of the Bishop
 “of the city and the proprietor of the land; and that the
 “monks, as well in the city as in the country, be subject
 “to the Bishop and live in quiet, applying themselves only

A. D. 451. "to fasting and prayer, without mixing themselves up in
 CH. XXII. "ecclesiastical or secular affairs, except in cases of necessity,
 "when they are employed by their Bishop; neither shall
 "they receive slaves into their monasteries without the con-
 "sent of their masters."

The substance of the second article is this: "Whereas
 "certain of the clergy and monks are led by avarice to
 "engage in secular affairs, it seems good to the Council,
 "that no Clerk shall farm any land or undertake the office
 "of steward, unless he happens to be entrusted by his Bishop
 "with the care of the Church lands. If after this prohibition
 "any one shall dare to farm land, either himself or by means
 "of another, he shall be subject to an ecclesiastical fine; and
 "if he contumaciously persists, he shall be deprived of his
 "dignity." The third is to this effect: "The Clerk who has
 "one church to serve, shall not be appointed to a church in
 "another city; but shall be content with that to which he
 "was first appointed; those only excepted who, being driven
 "out of their own country, have through necessity come to
 "another church. If any one, after this decree, receive a
 "Clerk who belongs to another Bishop, both the Bishop who
 "receives him, and the Clerk so received, shall be excom-
 "municate until the Clerk returns to his own church."

¹ p. 612. These three articles having been read¹, the Emperor handed
 them to the Bishop Anatolius, who, after some acclamations
 from the Council, said:

"In honour of St. Euphemia and your holiness, we order
 "that the city of Chalcedon, in which the holy Council has
 "been assembled, shall have the privileges² of a metropolis,
 "but only nominally, that so the proper dignity of the
 "Mother-Church of Nicomedia may not be interfered with."
 The Council signified their approval of this by acclamations,
 adding at the end; "We beseech you to release us." The
 Emperor replied, "I know you are fatigued with so long a
 "stay, but remain three or four days longer, and discuss the
 "affairs you wish, in presence of the magistrates, and be
 "assured that you shall receive every requisite assistance;
 "and let no one depart till the whole be finished." Thus
 ended the sixth session.

The last words of the Bishops, praying for their dismissal,

[² πρεσ-
 βεία]

shew, that they thought the Council was ended, because they had agreed about the definition of Faith and had authenticated it by their subscriptions. Having moreover approved the three canons proposed by the Emperor, they thought that nothing more remained to be done for the general interest of the Church. It also appears from the Emperor's answer, that he retained them at Chalcedon, only for special business. Hence the ancients drew a wide line of demarcation between these six first sessions and the following, in which the question was no longer about the Faith. This is the way that the Pope Pelagius II. afterwards spoke of them in his letter to the Bishops of Istria¹, (about A.D. 586.) And Evagrius the historian, who was nearly his contemporary, when giving an analysis of the Council of Chalcedon, dwells at length on the six first sessions, but gives a very brief summary of the proceedings which followed². They both refer the twenty-seven canons to the seventh session, though they are now attached to the fifteenth at the conclusion of the Council; but some old copies are still to be found, which place them at the end of the sixth³: and Pope Pelagius says that, rightly considered, they form a part of it, since they have no particular date and the names of the Bishops present are not mentioned⁴. Having made this observation, of which the importance will be seen afterwards, we shall proceed with our account of the sessions of the Chalcedonian Council, according to the common editions.

There are three dated on the twenty-sixth of October, which are reckoned as the seventh, eighth, and ninth. In the seventh session the magistrates said, "The Emperor, in compliance with the prayer of the Bishops Maximus and Juvenal, has ordered us to take cognizance of the matters in dispute between them. They have had an interview, and have made certain oral agreements with each other, which they have communicated to us, and which we think reasonable. We have thought it necessary that they should inform the Council of them, in order that the whole may be confirmed by your consent." Maximus of Antioch said, "The most reverend Bishop Juvenal and I, after a long dispute, have agreed, that St. Peter's see of Antioch shall have the two Phœnicias and Arabia, while that of Jeru-

A. D. 451.
CH. XXIII.

¹ Ep. 3.
tom. v.
Conc. p.
629. D.

² Evagr.
lib. 2. c.
ult.

³ ap. Baluz.
Nov. Coll.
p. 1282.
[v. Ballerin.
in Leon.
Op. t. ii.
p. 503.]

⁴ tom. v.
Conc. p.
630. B.

XXIII.
Seventh
session.
Agree-
ment be-
tween
Maximus
and Juve-
nal.

A. D. 451.
CH. XXIV.
[¹ v. Biogh.
ix. 2. § 7-9.
Assen. t. iii.
pt. 2. p.
594.]

² p. 616.

³ p. 617.

⁴ Supr.
25. 58.

XXIV.
Eighth
session.
Theodoret
restored.
⁵ p. 620.

⁶ p. 622.

“salem shall have the three Palestines¹. We desire that this agreement may be confirmed in writing by the decree of your Highness and of the holy Council.” Juvenal of Jerusalem said, “I also agree that the holy Resurrection of CHRIST shall have the three Palestines, and the see of Antioch the two Phœnicias and Arabia; and I desire that you will confirm this arrangement.” The legates, Anatolius of Constantinople², and seven other Metropolitans, spoke in favour of this arrangement, the rest of the Bishops expressed their consent by acclamations, and the magistrates added their sanction³. The origin of this dispute was the attempt formerly made by Juvenal at the Council of Ephesus; which failed, as we before narrated⁴, because St. Cyril opposed it.

The eighth session relates to Theodoret. The Bishops cried out⁵, “Let Theodoret forthwith anathematize Nestorius.” Theodoret said, “I have presented some petitions to the Emperor, and certain papers to the legates of Archbishop Leo. If it is your pleasure, they shall be read to you, and you will then learn what my opinions are.” The Bishops cried out, “We do not want any thing to be read; anathematize Nestorius.” Theodoret said, “By God’s grace I was brought up among the orthodox, was taught the orthodox doctrines, and have preached them; I reject not only Nestorius and Eutyches, but every man who holds what is heterodox⁶.” The Bishops interrupted him with the exclamation, “Say plainly, Anathema to Nestorius and his doctrines, anathema to Nestorius and his followers.” Theodoret said, “Of a truth I say nothing but what I think is pleasing to God. Be assured, first of all, that I feel no anxiety to be restored to my city, or recover my dignity; no! that is not what has brought me hither; but having been aspersed, I am come to convince you that I am orthodox, and that I anathematize Nestorius, Eutyches, and all who affirm that there are two sons.” The Bishops again interrupted him, shouting, “Say plainly, Anathema to Nestorius and his followers.” Theodoret replied, “I will not say it, until I have explained my belief. I believe—” The Bishops again interrupted him with, “He is a heretic, he is a Nestorian; away with the heretic.” Theodoret

said, "Anathema to Nestorius, to all who refuse to call the Virgin Mary 'Mother of God,' and all such as divide the only-begotten Son into two sons. As for me, I have subscribed the definition of Faith, and the most holy Archbishop Leo's letter, and so I believe. Now I have said this, God bless you."

The magistrates said, "There is no further difficulty in reference to Theodoret. He has in our presence anathematized Nestorius; he was received by the Archbishop Leo; he has cheerfully accepted your definition of faith; and lastly, subscribes Leo's letter. Nothing remains except to decree that he be restored to his church, as Leo decided." All the Bishops cried out, "Theodoret is worthy of his see; let him be restored to his Church: let the Church receive its pastor, its orthodox doctor. Long live the Archbishop Leo." The legates then expressed their opinion that Theodoret should be restored to his Church, as having fully vindicated himself. Anatolius of Constantinople said the same¹. Maximus of Antioch added, "I was persuaded from the first that he was orthodox, for I had frequently heard him teach in the church." Juvenal of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Cesarea, Eusebius of Ancyra, Photius of Tyre, and Constantine of Bostra, were all of the same opinion. All the Bishops shouted, "This is a just decision; this is Christ's decision: we all approve it." The magistrates said, "In accordance with the decision of the Council, Theodoret shall again be put in possession of his church at Cyrus." The Council compelled three other Bishops to anathematize Nestorius; namely, Sophronius of Constantia, John of Germanicia, and Amphilochius of Sida; and so ended the eighth session.

In the ninth, which was held on the same day, Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, came into the Council, and said², "Having been persecuted by Eutyches, and deposed, whilst I was at a distance of forty day's-journeys, I addressed myself to the Emperor, who has given orders that your Highness and the holy Council should examine my cause. I beg therefore that you will order the sentence passed by Photius and Eustathius to be read. For Uranius, Bishop of Himeria, being a devoted partizan of Eutyches, prevailed on some

A. D. 451.

CH. XXV.

XXV.
The ninth
and tenth
sessions.
The affair
of Ibas.
² p. 625.

A. D. 451.
CH. XXV.

¹ p. 628.

“ Clerks to accuse me, and managed to get himself nominated as judge along with the Bishops whom I mentioned; yet I was found innocent. I desire, therefore, that what took place at Ephesus in my absence may be declared void, and that I may be restored to my church¹.” The magistrates asked the Council what they thought of his statement, and the Pope’s legates proposed to read the Acts of the trial, in which Ibas, as he himself asserted, had been acquitted.

² Supr.
27. 20.

³ p. 632.

First of all, therefore, they read the sentence of arbitration given at Tyre² by Photius of Tyre and Eustathius of Berytus, on the twenty-fifth of February, A.D. 448; from which it appeared that Ibas had explained his faith, and become reconciled to the clergy who had accused him. When this had been read, the judges adjourned the case to the next day³; probably because they saw there were several more documents to be read, and that it was now late.

⁴ 6 Kal.
Nov.
⁵ p. 633.

On the following day therefore, being the twenty-seventh of October⁴, a tenth session was held⁵ for determining the affair of Ibas. Ibas appeared in person, and renewed his complaints against Eutyches, who had got him conveyed away through forty successive stages, in the course of which he passed into the hands of twenty different guards, and all on the pretence that he had been deposed at the Council of Ephesus, though in fact he was absent at the time, and his cause had never been heard. The magistrates asked the Bishops their opinion; they declared that no one was ever condemned in his absence. Ibas said, “I beg your favour, I was not there; I made no defence, I was not suffered to speak.” The Bishops cried out, “They did wrong to condemn him thus uncanonically. The proceedings against an absent person are to be annulled; this is the opinion we all hold.” Patricius, Bishop of Tyana, said, “Yesterday we heard the sentence of the arbitrators, who recognised him as a Bishop; we all approve of that sentence.” The Easterns exclaimed, “This is a just decision.” But some of the Bishops cried out, “We protest against it; there are some persons desirous of accusing the Bishop Ibas.”

These were ordered to come in; they were four in number, Theophilus, a Deacon, Euphrasius, Antiochus, and Abraham. Theophilus said, “We desire that the proceedings against

“ Ibas at Berytus may be read, you will then see that he was A. D. 451.
 “ justly deposed.” After some discussion, the magistrates — CH. XXV.
 ordered them to be read. The first document was the com-
 mission given by the Emperor Theodosius to the Tribune
 Damascius¹, then the Acts of the trial held at Berytus², on the ¹ p. 637.
 first of September, 448, in which Ibas had been acquitted. ² *Supr.*
 After this, the magistrates proposed to read that part of the _{27. 21.}
 Acts of the false Council of Ephesus which related to Ibas ;
 but this the legates opposed, saying³ that no regard ought to ³ p. 673.
 be paid to what was done in that Council, and that the Em-
 peror ought to be petitioned to pass a law, depriving it even
 of the name of Council. The only exception, they said, was
 in the case of Maximus, Bishop of Antioch,—implying that
 his ordination was really independent of this so-called Council.
 Anatolius of Constantinople gave his opinion in the same
 way against the Council of Ephesus, with the reservation
 of what related to Maximus: “The more so,” he adds, “be-
 “ cause the most holy Bishop Leo, by receiving him to his
 “ communion, judged that he ought to govern the Church of
 “ Antioch.” [The reason of the doubts intimated by this way
 of speaking was that] although the ordination of Maximus
 was not made by the authority of the Council, still it pre-
 supposed the validity of the deposition of Domnus, which
was one of the Acts of that Council. Juvenal of Jerusalem,
 Thalassius of Cæsarea, and eleven other Metropolitans⁴, gave ⁴ p. 676.
 their opinions to the same effect, and the Bishops cried out,
 “ We all say the same.”

Then, without reading the Acts of Ephesus, the magistrates
 invited the Council to state their opinion about the affair of
 Ibas. Paschasius, in the name of the legates, said, “ On
 “ the shewing of the papers which have been read, we
 “ acknowledge him to be orthodox ; it is therefore our
 “ opinion that the honour of the episcopate should be re-
 “ stored to him, as also the church from which he was so
 “ unjustly ejected. As to the Bishop Domnus, who was a
 “ short time ago appointed in his stead, it is for the Bishop
 “ of Antioch to consider what should be determined con-
 “ cerning him.” Anatolius of Constantinople spoke to the
 same purpose⁵, and declared Ibas free from all suspicion, ⁵ p. 677.
 because he had subscribed St. Leo’s letter. Maximus of

A. D. 451. Antioch declared the letter of Ibas to be orthodox, and with regard to Nonnus, he said, "He shall continue in the episcopal dignity until I have examined his case in company with the Bishops of the province." The other Bishops concurred in this opinion, only demanding that Ibas should

¹ p. 681. B. anathematize Nestorius and Eutyches. Ibas said¹, "I have already anathematized Nestorius and his doctrine in writing, and I now anathematize him a thousand times; for one has no difficulty in doing that a thousand times, which can once be done heartily and on conviction. Anathema therefore to Nestorius, to Eutyches, and to all who affirm one nature only. I also anathematize all who do not believe as the holy Council does." The magistrates said, "The decisions of the holy Council about Ibas shall be enforced." Thus ended the tenth session.

We next come to a document which contains the discussion of Domnus's case; the old copies attach it to the seventh session; it is extant only in a Latin version². It relates that Maximus of Antioch desired the magistrates and Council to allow a charge on the revenues of the Church of Antioch, for supplying a pension to Domnus his predecessor; this was accordingly granted him, the amount of the pension being left to his discretion. It is not known how far this permission was carried into effect, for Domnus had resigned the episcopate and retired to his old monastery in order to be near St. Euthymius; and neither he, nor any one on his behalf, appeared at the Council of Chalcedon^x.

^x Most of the difficulties connected with this document will disappear if we suppose that Domnus retired from Ephesus immediately after his deposition, leaving friend and enemy equally ignorant of his destination. This would be only natural in one who was so full of remorse as he was; for he returned to St. Euthymius, we are told, "with his heart full piteously torn and rent, and wailing bitterly," (Coteler. Mon. Eccl. Gr. t. ii. p. 247).

Let us, then, look at a few of the results of this supposition: 1. Buried in the deserts of Judæa, Domnus would leave as real a vacancy in the Church of Antioch as if he were actually dead; and this was probably the ground on

which St. Leo confirmed the ordination of Maximus, to which there were otherwise many objections. 2. Since the sequel of his history, though preserved in the neighbourhood of his Lavra, was for ages unknown even in the neighbouring Greek Churches, we need not be surprised at finding that both Justinian in his Confession (Labbe, t. v. p. 717. D.), and the fifth general Council (*Ib.* p. 546), speak of him as actually dead at the time of the Council of Chalcedon. 3. We can thus account for the *actio* mentioned in the text, which, on the supposition of his death, must be rejected as a forgery. It was not known what had become of him; but the maxim, "De non apparentibus et non

The eleventh session was held on the twenty-ninth of October¹. Bassian, who had been Bishop of Ephesus, came into the Council, attended by the Priest Cassian, and desired that a petition which he had presented to the Emperor, and which the Emperor had referred to the Council, might be read. It complained that he had been violently dispossessed of his see². The magistrates asked Bassian to produce the names of those who were involved in his accusation³. He replied, "There are several of them, but they are headed by Stephen, now Bishop of Ephesus; he detains my see and my estate." The magistrates ordered Stephen to answer for himself, and he said, "The Bishops of the province of Asia are here; let them come and I will defend myself." The magistrates said, "In the mean time, do you make answer." Stephen said, "This man was never ordained at Ephesus, but the Church being vacant, he got together a troop of gladiators and other armed men, with whom he made his entry and took his seat. After he had been canonically ejected and most deservedly expelled, forty Bishops of Asia ordained me upon the suffrages of the nobles, people, clergy, and city. I have now been fifty years among the clergy of Ephesus."

Bassian replied, "From my youth I lived only for the poor; I built an almshouse with seventy beds in it, in which I received all the sick and wounded. The Bishop Memnon was jealous of this because I was beloved by every body, and he did every thing in his power to get me expelled from the city. He laid his hands on me to ordain me Bishop of Evasa; I was unwilling to accept the see: he

"*existentibus eadem est ratio*," though the rule in formal proceedings was not the rule in a case of charity. He had withdrawn for the present; but, for aught that was known, distress might soon drive him back to the city, and it was not fitting that one who had filled so great a see should die in penury. 4. Our supposition falls in with the indeterminate way in which provision is made for him. It is evidently made for a mere contingency: no sum is mentioned as in the case of Bassian and Stephen (*infr.* c. 26); and the whole is referred to the future consideration of Maximus. Hence we may

explain why the *actio* is found in so few copies of the Acts—only in two Latin MSS., while it is absent from all the Greek, and from Liberatus who translated from copies existing at Alexandria. The provision being in itself hypothetical, and being in fact never called into operation by the appearance of Domnus, was omitted from the very first in some copies, and in others allowed to drop through. In such a case its existence in two good MSS. (*v.* Ballerin., t. ii. p. 1218), proves more in its favour than its absence from all the rest does against it.

A. D. 451.
CH. XXVI.
XXVI.
Eleventh
and twelfth
sessions.
Bassian and
Stephen of
Ephesus.
¹ p. 684.
² p. 685.
³ p. 688.

A.D. 451.
CH. XXVI.

" held me before the Altar from the third hour to noon, and
" treated me with such severity, that the Gospel and Altar were
" covered with my blood. I never went to Evasa, nor have
" I ever seen the town. On the death of Memnon, Basil
" was ordained. He assembled the provincial Council, and
" having ascertained the violence I had suffered, they or-
" dained another Bishop to Evasa, and restored me to their
" communion, with the rank of Bishop. At length Basil
" died too, and I, against my inclination, and with great
" violence, was placed in the see of Ephesus by the people,
" clergy, and Bishops, one of whom, Olympius, is here
" present. My election was confirmed by the Emperor¹.
" I came to Constantinople, and communicated with Pro-
" clus, who afterwards sent me his synodical letters. Thus
" I continued for four years, during which I ordained ten
" Bishops and several clerks. The Emperor sent a Silentiary
" with letters speaking of the peace of the Church; on the
" next day, as I came out from Divine Service, they seized
" me, placed me in confinement, disrobed me of the sacerdotal
" habit, and carried off every thing I had about me; they
" then took one of their own body, (this Stephen here,) and
" made him Bishop."

Stephen said, "The Bishops are here, let them come for-
" ward and depose to the truth. He entered the church with
" gladiators, with swords and torches, and placed himself in
" the see; and for this reason he was expelled by the most
" holy Leo of Rome, the most blessed Flavian of Constanti-
" nople, and the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch. Hence
" it was that the Emperor Theodosius sent Eustathius, the
" Chief-Silentiary, to judge between him and the poor, whom
" he had injured. Eustathius came to Ephesus, and remained
" there three months, investigating the matter."

¹ p. 689.

The magistrates said², "Let Bassian shew whether he was
" established Bishop of Ephesus by the Council of Bishops,
" and after the usual form of ordination." Bassian said, "I
" was never Bishop of Evasa, I never went thither; the name
" of Bishop was forced upon me." Stephen demanded that
the canons against translations should be read, which was
accordingly ordered by the magistrates; and Leontius,
Bishop of Magnesia, read the ninety-fifth and ninety-sixth

² p. 692.

canons, which are the sixteenth and seventeenth of the Council of Antioch¹. The first inflicts a penalty on any Bishop without a see, who shall occupy a vacant church, even though he should pretend that he was forced to it [by the people:] the second declares the Bishop to be excommunicated who does not go to the church to which he has been ordained.

A. D. 451.
CH. XXVI.
¹ Fleury,
12. 12.

The magistrates said, "Let Bassian shew who appointed him Bishop." He could only name Olympius, Bishop of Theodosiopolis. Olympius, on being interrogated, said, "After the death of Basil, I was residing in my own city; the clergy of Ephesus wrote to me, to come and ordain a Bishop; I accordingly went thither, supposing that other Bishops had been summoned². After I had waited three days in my hotel, some of the clergy came to me, saying, 'The other Bishops are not here, what is to be done?' I told them, 'It is contrary to the canons that a single Bishop should dispose of a church, especially of so famous a metropolis.' As I said this, an immense crowd surrounded the house; I did not know where I was; they took me by force, and carried me to the church; one of them, an officer named Holoferius, held his naked sword in his hand. In this manner two or three hundred men carried me to the episcopal seat with Bassian, and he was enthroned." Bassian said, "It is false." The magistrates asked the clergy of Constantinople, if Proclus had communicated with Bassian as Bishop of Ephesus. They all said, "Yes; he gave him synodical letters, and placed his name in the diptychs."

² p. 693.

The magistrates then asked Stephen how Bassian was deposed, and if he had been himself ordained by the Council. He repeated what he had said before, that Bassian had been deposed by the authority of the Emperor Theodosius and of the Pope Leo; for the rest, he excused himself for not having the proofs of his ordination ready, on the plea that he had not foreseen the matter would take this turn, since he had supposed it settled once for all [by the Silentiary³].

Lucian, Bishop of Byza, and Meliphthongus, Bishop of Heliopolis, came forward and said, in the name of all the Bishops of the neighbouring sees, that Bassian had been

³ p. 696.

A. D. 451. expelled contrary to the canons, not having been tried or
CH. XXVI.

¹ p. 697. again repeated¹ that the Pope Leo had condemned him, and
² p. 689, C. as he had before alleged, that Flavian had condemned him²,
Cecropius, Bishop of Sebastopolis, said to him, "Sir Stephen,
"how powerful is Flavian, even after death!" meaning to
reproach him with having condemned Flavian at Ephesus.
All the Bishops and clergy of Constantinople said, "It is
"truly so; everlasting remembrance to Flavian. Lo! here
"is retribution: lo! here is truth. Flavian lives after his
"death; the Martyr will pray for us."

The magistrates asked the Council what their opinion
was; the Bishops cried out, "Justice requires Bassian;
"let the canons be observed." The magistrates said, "It
"seems to us, that neither party merits to be Bishop of
"Ephesus: not Bassian, because he intruded by violence;
"not Stephen, because he got in by cabal and artifice: we
"think, therefore, that another Bishop should be elected.
"But we leave the whole matter to the determination of
"the Council." The Council adopted this view of the case,
and cried out, "This is a just decision; this decision is of
"God; you observe the canons and the laws."

³ p. 700. The Bishops of Asia fell prostrate before the Council, and
said³, "Have pity on us and our children. If a Bishop be
"ordained here, our children will be put to death, and the
"city is ruined." We are to understand that the greater
part of these Bishops were married, and that they apprehended
a riot would follow at Ephesus, if a Bishop should be
sent thither who had been elected at Chalcedon. The magis-
trates asked where the Bishop of Ephesus ought to be or-
dained according to the canons. The Bishops said, "In the
[⁴ ἐπαρχίᾳ] "province⁴." Diogenes of Cyzicus said, "It usually takes place
[⁵ τὸ ἐθὺς] "here⁵; if the Bishop had been ordained at Constantinople,
[ὡδὲ ἔχει.] "these untoward events would not have happened. Persons
[⁶ σαλμα-] "of no abilities⁶ are ordained there; and hence arises all this
[γαρίους] "disorder." He considers Chalcedon and Constantinople on
account of their proximity as the same place. Leontius,
Bishop of Magnesia, said, "From the time of St. Timothy to
"this present, there have been twenty-seven Bishops; they
"were all ordained at Ephesus. Basil was the only person

“ordained here, and that was by violence; and occasioned A. D. 451.
 “some bloodshed.” Philip, Priest of Constantinople, said, CH. XXVI.
 “The holy Bishop John deposed fifteen Bishops, when he
 “went into Asia, and ordained others in their place¹. Memnon ¹ *supr.* 21.6.
 “was confirmed here. Heraclides and others were ordained
 “with the consent of our Archbishop. In the same manner
 “the blessed Proclus ordained Basil.” The magistrates seeing that this was a question requiring some examination put it off to the next day.

On the following day², therefore, they held the twelfth² *p.* 701.
 session, in order to decide the case. The magistrates said,
 “Our constant attendance at the Council has made public
 “business accumulate; wishing, then, to arrive at a speedy
 “solution of our difficulties, we beg you to inform us whether
 “you have gained any new light about the affair of Ephesus.”
 Anatolius said, “It is my opinion, that neither of them ought
 “to be Bishop of that city; but that a third should be ap-
 “pointed because these have intruded contrary to the canons.
 “They will of course retain the rank of Bishops, and be
 “maintained at the expense of the Church.” The legates
 gave their support to this opinion. The magistrates ordered
 the Gospel to be brought, and conjured the Bishops to decide
 this affair according to their conscience. Anatolius of Con-
 stantinople repeated his opinion³, as also did the legates; they³ *p.* 704.
 were followed by Maximus of Antioch, Juvenal, Thalassius,
 and eight other Bishops who spoke severally, while the rest
 expressed their consent by general acclamation⁴. Then the⁴ *p.* 705.
 magistrates, in execution of the sentence of the Council, pro-
 nounced that Bassian and Stephen should be deprived of the
 see of Ephesus, retaining however the dignity of Bishops, and
 receiving annually out of the revenues of that Church, for
 their necessary and comfortable subsistence⁵, two hundred
 sols of gold⁶; (amounting to about sixteen hundred livres of
 our money⁷;) and that another Bishop should be ordained
 according to the canons.

[⁵ *τροφῆς*
ἐνεκα καὶ
παραμυ-
θίας]

[⁶ *ἀνα δια-*
κοσίους
χρυσίους]

⁷ As five *aurei* were the legal tender for a pound of silver, we may consider this stipend as equal to forty pounds of silver, or (*supr.* 26. 15. note z) about 119*l.* 5*s.* in current silver. We learn from Novell. Justin., cxxiii. 3, that the

value of bishoprics varied from above thirty pounds of gold to below two pounds; or (one pound of gold being coined into seventy-two *aurei*) from above 1288*l.* to below 85*l.* 17*s.*

A. D. 451.
CH. XXVII.

XXVII.
Thirteenth
session.
Regulation
between
Nicomedia
and Nicæa.

¹ p. 708.
² p. 709. D.
[³ βεγγεδον]

⁴ Fleury,
II. 43.

⁵ C. Calch.
p. 712.

⁶ p. 713.

⁷ p. 716.

On the same day, a thirteenth session was held, in which the petition of Eunomius of Nicomedia was read¹. He complained that Anastasius of Nicæa had encroached on the rights of his metropolis; and that he had excommunicated some of the clergy belonging to the church of Basilinopolis². Anastasius denied both facts, and said, "Basilinopolis is a dependency³ of Nicæa, like many other cities. An Emperor, either Julian or some other, made a city of it, and placed magistrates in it, who were taken from Nicæa." It was in truth the Emperor Julian, who was desirous of paying honour to the city, for the sake of his mother Basilina⁴. Anastasius continued, "Since that time the Bishop of Nicæa has twice ordained Bishops there⁵. Some letters are still preserved, in which the blessed John, Bishop of Constantinople, commissions the Bishop of Nicæa to go and regulate that Church, as belonging to him. I have letters to Proclus." Eunomius answered⁶, "Probably the see of Nicomedia happened to be at that time vacant, and it was necessary to have recourse to the Nicæan. For my part, I can prove that many have been ordained by the Bishop of Nicomedia; I can produce certain decrees of the citizens of Basilinopolis, in which they requested him to send them a Bishop."

The magistrates ordered the canons to be read, and they read the fourth of Nicæa, which provides that the ordinations of each province should be made by the authority of the Metropolitan. Anastasius attempted to shew that he was the Metropolitan, by virtue of a law of the Emperor Valens, which assigned a metropolitical rank to Nicæa, but at the same time expressly states that this was no new grant, since it had possessed the right before; a clause however is added, that the rights of all others should remain intact. Eunomius, on his side, read a law of Valentinian, of later date than the preceding, which enacts⁷ that the honorary title of metropolis, given to Nicæa, should not be any way prejudicial to the privileges of Nicomedia. When these had been recited, the magistrates said, "These laws do not speak of Bishops, but only of the honour of the cities: that of Valens, while it assigns to Nicæa the rights of a metropolis, declares expressly that it takes nothing away from other cities; the canon decrees that there shall be but one Me-

“tropolitan in each province; what does the Council say A. D. 451.
 “concerning all this?” The Council cried out, “Let the CH. XXVIII.
 “canons be observed.”

The Bishops of Pontus said, “The canons recognise only
 “one Metropolitan; it is plain that the ordinations belong to
 “the Bishop of Nicomedia. The laws assign to Nicæa only
 “the name of metropolis and to its Bishop the first rank
 “among his Comprovincials.” The Archdeacon Aëtius de-
 sired that this proceeding might be in no way prejudicial to
 the see of Constantinople, which, he asserted, either imme-
 diately held, or by its authority superintended, ordinations
 in Bithynia. The magistrates gave sentence thus: “The
 “Bishop of Nicomedia shall have the authority of Metro-
 “politan in the Churches of Bithynia, he of Nicæa¹ having p. 717.
 “an honorary precedence only, and being subject, like the
 “other Bishops of the province, to him of Nicomedia; this
 “is the opinion of the Council. As to the right of the see
 “of Constantinople to ordain in the provinces, this shall be
 “inquired into in its own place.”

The fourteenth session was held on the following day, XXVIII.
 October 31. A petition was read, which had been presented Fourteenth
 to the Emperor by Sabinian, Bishop of Perrha in Syria; it Session.
 ran thus: “I lived from my boyhood in a large monastery, Case of Sa-
 “in which I held the office of steward², thinking of any thing brian and
 “rather than of being made Bishop. But the Metropolitan, Athanasius.
 “attended by the Bishops of the province, paid us a sudden
 “visit, and ordained me Bishop of Perrha, from which see
 “Athanasius had been deposed for his crimes. At the
 “Council of Ephesus the Bishop of Alexandria sent him
 “back to my church, and I was ejected, whilst the inha-
 “bitants of the city lamented and bewailed my departure.
 “I demand that justice be done me.” They also read a
 petition³, to the same effect, directed to the Archbishops Leo, p. 720. C.
 Anatolius, Maximus, and the whole Council.

Athanasius said that the case had been heard and decided by
 St. Cyril and Proclus, and that it was not until after St. Cyril's
 death that Domnus of Antioch had made up his mind to renew
 the prosecution. They read two synodical letters⁴ to Domnus, p. 721.
 one from St. Cyril and the other from Proclus, containing
 substantially the same account;—that Athanasius had com-

A. D. 451.
CH. XXVIII.

plained to the Council of Constantinople about some of his clergy, who wished to dismiss the Stewards of the church to make way for others of their own choosing, and who attempted to erase his name out of the Church registers. As Athanasius had objected to being tried by his Metropolitan, St. Cyril and Proclus desired that Domnus would appoint commissioners to judge him on the spot, in case the city were at any great distance from Antioch. They did no more than *recommend* the course to be pursued, because they possessed no jurisdiction in the Patriarchate of Antioch; and they admitted, that on the Metropolitan's being objected to, the cognizance of the matter devolved of course upon the Patriarch; but that, if prevented by distance, he ought to send delegates to the place.

¹ p. 728. D. Sabinian¹, on his side, demanded that they should read the Acts of a Council held at Antioch, in which Domnus, at the head of twenty-eight Bishops, had tried Athanasius's cause. It appeared from these Acts that Domnus had referred the matter to Panolbius², who was at that time Bishop of Hierapolis and Athanasius's Metropolitan. Though Athanasius admitted that Panolbius was a personal friend of his, he could not summon courage to submit his case to him, but resigned the Bishopric in his presence by a deed, of which the original was now produced; he then retired to an estate which he had in the country of Samosata³. The Bishops of the Council of Antioch declared that he had made a false report to Proclus and Cyril. They then read the formal complaints against him, which were full of scandalous facts, and certain papers which proved that, having been summoned by the Council three times, he had refused to come and defend himself. On these grounds, therefore, they divested him of the Priesthood, and directed John, Bishop of Hierapolis, to proceed immediately to the election of a Bishop of Perrha.

When these Acts of the Council of Antioch had been read at Chalcedon, the magistrates said, "If any of those, who assisted Domnus to depose Athanasius, be present in the Council, let them come forward." Theodorus of Damascus and six others presented themselves. The magistrates asked them what reasons they had for deposing Athanasius. Theodorus answered⁴, "Some of the clergy belonging to the Church

⁴ p. 752.

“ of Perrha lodged certain complaints against him ; being A. D. 451.
 “ summoned, he refused to appear, alleging that he feared CH. XXIX.
 “ foul-play. He was again summoned, but still kept aloof.
 “ When after a third summons he was not forthcoming, sen-
 “ tence of deposition was pronounced against him according
 “ to the canons.” The other six Bishops confirmed this
 statement. The magistrates asked Athanasius why he had
 not made his appearance at the Council of Antioch. “ Be-
 “ cause,” said he, “ the Bishop of Antioch, who presided
 “ there, was my enemy.”

The magistrates said¹, “ Our opinion is, that Sabinian ought ^{1 p. 753.}
 “ to remain Bishop of Perrha, since he was ordained by the
 “ provincial Council after Athanasius’s deposition, and that
 “ he ought not to suffer any damage from a sentence which
 “ was passed against him without his being summoned or
 “ heard in his defence. Athanasius, on the other hand, was
 “ deposed for contumacy, and therefore a mere party order² like ^{[² ἐκ μιᾶς}
 “ that of Dioscorus was insufficient to restore him ; he ought, ^{μοίρας κε-}
 “ for the present, to remain quiet. Maximus, Bishop of An- ^{λευσθείς]}
 “ tioch, shall assemble his Council and there take cognizance
 “ of the charges brought against Athanasius, so that his trial
 “ be ended in eight months. If he be found guilty on all
 “ the counts, both criminal and civil, or on any one of them
 “ which be such as deserve deposition, he shall not only be
 “ divested of the episcopate, but shall also incur the penalties
 “ of the laws. If, within this limited period, he neither be
 “ prosecuted nor convicted, he shall be restored to his see by
 “ Maximus of Antioch ; and Sabinian shall retain the epis-
 “ copal dignity, and act as coadjutor³, with a pension which ^{[³ ὑποκατά-}
 “ shall be fixed by Maximus, according to the means of the ^{στατος]}
 “ Church of Perrha.” Maximus, and the whole Council,
 acquiesced in this suggestion offered by the magistrates.

On the same day, being the last of October, the fifteenth XXIX.
 session was held, at which neither the magistrates nor legates Fifteenth
 were present ; for after the formula of Faith had been agreed Session.
 to, and the private business brought before the Council had Canons.
 been despatched, the clergy of Constantinople asked the legates
 to join them in discussing an affair concerning their Church.
 This they refused, saying that they had received no instruc-
 tions about it⁴. They made the same proposal to the magis- ^{4 p. 796. C.}

A. D. 451.
CH. XXIX.

trates, and these referred the matter to the Council. When the magistrates and legates, therefore, had retired, the rest of the Council made a canon respecting the prerogatives of the Church of Constantinople, which is reckoned the twenty-eighth. The Greeks afterwards tacked on to it all the other canons made by this Council; which in the old copies are placed after the sixth session. I will here give an account of the canons as they are found in the common editions.

¹ p. 756.

^{[2} Supr.
21. 6. 1.]

^{[3} χωρεπί-
σκοπος.]

The first¹ ratifies the canons made up to that time in the various Councils². The second is against Simony³ in these terms: "If any Bishop ordain for a sum of money, or make the unpurchaseable grace a matter of sale, so as to ordain Bishop, Rural Bishop³, Priest, Deacon, or other clerk, or if for a sum of money he promote any one to the office of steward, defender, sexton^a, or to any other canonical office, he who ordains shall be liable to the forfeiture of his dignity, and he who is ordained or promoted shall derive no benefit from this intended purchase; and the negotiator of this infamous traffic, if a clerk, shall be deposed, if a layman or monk, anathematized." By the third canon, the Council forbids all Bishops, clerks, or monks, to farm lands or undertake the charge of secular affairs, except when the guardianship of a minor devolves upon them by law, from which they cannot be excused, or when the Bishop commits to them the care of the church or of the afflicted^b. This is

^z i. e. All contained in the Codex above-mentioned (c. 18), comprising the canons of Nicæa, Ancyra, Neoæsarea, Gangra, Antioch (A.D. 341), Laodicea, Constantinople, and Ephesus. Those of Sardica were absent from the Codex of the Eastern Church, as those of Antioch were from that of the Western.

^a Παραινοδρίος, Lat. *mansionarius*. It has been taken to mean a bailiff who looked after the *manse*, glebe, and other Church property. The rendering in the text suits better the duties assigned him of preparing the chrisin for consecration, ringing the bells (v. Dufresne, s. v.), opening the church, and lighting the candles, (Joan. Diae. vit. S. Greg. l. iii. c. 58).

^b The Apostolic rule is "No man that warreth entangleth himself in the affairs of this life," (2 Tim. ii. 4).

"If this be true of all Christians," says St. Cyprian, "how much more of the clergy, whose occupation lies among divine and spiritual things" (Ep. 1, (al. 66) ad Furnit.); and therefore he decides that Victor, who had left the priest Faustinus guardian to his children, should be deprived of the privilege of the faithful—no offering and deprecation were to be made in his name. Elsewhere (De Lapsis, p. 123, ed. Oxon.) St. Cyprian inveighs against the worldliness of many Bishops who "left their Cathedra, abandoned their people, and roamed into foreign provinces in quest of gainful traffic," and to increase their already superabundant wealth. This last circumstance is important as shewing that it was not the mere fact of secular employment, but the motive, that was condemned, as in this canon of Chal-

very nearly the same as the second of the three articles which were read at the sixth session in the Emperor's presence¹. The fourth canon is the first of these articles; it enjoins an entire subjection of the monks in each city to their Bishops, and orders them [to give themselves up to fasting and prayers, and] not to interfere with either ecclesiastical or secular business^c.

" Monasteries once consecrated under the authority of the Bishop, shall remain such for ever after: their revenues shall be secured to them, and it shall not be lawful to convert them into common dwelling-houses². Every cathedral church shall have a steward elected from among the local clergy, to administer its revenues under the direction of the Bishop; that the distribution of them being no longer secret, the church property may not be squandered away,

A. D. 451.
CH. XXIX.
¹ Supr. c. 22.

² can. 21.

cedon (δὲ αἰσχροκερδῖαν, δὲ ἀφιλαργυρίαν). Hence as Bingham observes, there were three cases which did not fall under the censure of the laws: 1. When the Church revenues were inadequate to the maintenance of the clergy. The fourth Council of Carthage even enjoins the clergy to earn food and clothing by some handicraft or by agriculture (can. 51, 52, 53, Labbe, t. ii. p. 1204); and this was so recognised a practice that a special immunity was granted them by law, when obliged to support themselves by trade; (supr. xxiii. 4. b.) 2. If their leisure hours were spent in work, that they might not be burdensome to the Church, or might be able to relieve the indigent; nothing was more common than this, even with Bishops and priests, who had a right "to live of the Gospel;" v. Epiphani. Hær. 80. Constit. Apost. l. ii. c. 63 (Labbe, t. i. p. 304) and the notable instance of Zeno of Majuma, ap. Sozom. vii. 28. 3. When the occupation of earlier years was retained out of humility. Spiridion, one of the most eminent Bishops of the Nicæan Council, remained a shepherd all his life: Socrat. i. 12; Sozom. i. 11. These were all allowable, if not commendable; but the money making clergyman was viewed only with the intense disgust embodied in St. Jerome's "Negotio-rem Clericum quasi quandam pestem fuge." Ep. 34. t. iv. pt. 2. p. 260.

^c This canon contemplated (1.) partly

the large monasteries, which it places under the inspection of the Bishops as the perpetual guardians of the Church; providing in some degree against those declensions in piety, which are apt to creep over flourishing communities when the impulse of early zeal is departed: (2.) but mainly, the irregular monks, who either, like Barsumas and Theodosius, wandered over the country, scattering the sparks of sedition and anarchy, or else, like the self-styled Archimandrites, supr. c. 18, got an oratory or a martyr's chapel built, and settling down on it, free, as they supposed, from episcopal control, became so many foci of schism. Subsequent Councils, as those of Agde (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1387. can. 27), Lerida (p. 1611. can. 3), and, according to Gratian, Arles (p. 1624), renewed this canon, and it was confirmed by Justinian, Cod. l. tit. 3. leg. 10. At what time the system of *exemptions* was introduced is not known. Fleury speaks of the third Council of Arles as exhibiting the first trace of it, (infr. xxix. 19); but the earliest express notices of it are, perhaps, those in the petition of the Abbot Peter, ap. Labbe, t. iv. p. 1616, (cf. p. 1785.) In St. Gregory's time things were so altered that it was necessary to defend the monasteries against the encroachments of the Bishops: v. Greg. M., lib. i. Ep. 12. ii. 41. vi. 29. viii. 13 (ed. Bened.) Conc. Rom. 111. ap. Labbe, t. v. p. 1607. Cf. note c.

A. D. 451. "nor the Priesthood subjected to insult^{d 1}." The clergy are
 CH. XXIX. forbidden, on pain of canonical deposition², to seize on the
¹ can. 26. effects of their Bishop after his decease.
² can. 22.

"The ordination of Bishops shall take place within three
 "months, (unless the Metropolitan is obliged to defer it by
 "some unavoidable necessity,) and the revenues of the vacant
³ can. 25. "church shall be preserved by the steward³. Bishops are
 "prohibited on pain of deposition from applying to men in
 "power, or procuring letters from the Prince, in order to
 "[⁴ ἐπαρ- "divide a province⁴ in two and so have two Metropolitans in
 χ[αν.] "one province. As to the cities which have already been
 "honoured with the title of metropolis, let them enjoy the
 "honour only, without prejudice to the rights of the true
⁵ can. 12. "metropolis⁵." This canon was evidently called forth by the
 disputes between the Bishops of Tyre and Berytus, of Nico-
⁶ Supr. c. media and Nicæa⁶.
 19, 27.

As the holding of Councils has been neglected, to the
 detriment of ecclesiastical affairs, the Council decreed accord-
 ing to the canons⁷, that the Bishops of every province should
 meet twice a year in a place selected by the Metropolitans;
 and that the Bishops who should absent themselves, being in
 their cities, in health, and having no unavoidable hindrance,
 should be brotherly admonished⁸. "The clergy and laity
⁸ can. 19. "shall not be allowed to accuse Bishops or clergy indis-
 "criminately, and without examination first made as to the
 "character of such accusers⁹. Country parishes shall remain
⁹ can. 21. "in the hands of those Bishops who have had peaceable pos-
 [cf. C. Con- "session of them for thirty years¹. If any dispute should
 stant. can. 6.] "arise on this point, it may be discussed before a provincial
 [¹ Supr. 27. "Council; and if any one complains of wrong done to him
 37. u.] "by his Metropolitan, he shall be judged by the Exarch of the
 "diocese, or by the see of Constantinople. If any new city is
 "erected by the authority of the Emperor, the order of the
 "ecclesiastical parishes shall follow the form of the political
² can. 17. "government²."

"If one clerk have a dispute with another, he shall not
 "leave his Bishop and run off to secular tribunals, but he
 "shall first lay his case before the Bishop, or else at the dis-

^d Supr. xxvii. 2. One of the charges brought against St. Chrysostom at The Oak related to this point, xxi. 18.

“erection of the Bishop, before one whom both parties shall agree to, and all this on pain of suffering the canonical penalties. If a clerk have a dispute with his own or any other Bishop, he shall bring his suit before the provincial Council. If a Bishop or clerk be at variance with his Metropolitan, he shall resort either to the Exarch of the diocese, or to the see of Constantinople¹.”

A. D. 451.
CH. XXIX.

¹ can. 9.

No one, either Priest, or Deacon, or possessed of any ecclesiastical rank, shall be ordained without a title², that is, unless he be specially appointed to a church in the city or country, or to a monastery. All ordinations without title shall be void, and those who have received ordination of such a kind shall not be allowed to officiate anywhere in contempt of those who ordained them³. It is not lawful for a clerk to be at the same time on the clergy-rolls of two cities, namely, of that to which he was first ordained, and of another more important one to which from ambition he has removed. Those who attempt to do so shall be returned to their first church. If however any one shall have been already translated to another church, he shall take no part in business relating to the former, or to the oratories and hospitals dependant on it, on pain of deposition⁴. The ancient canons shall be observed with regard to Bishops and clerks who remove from one city to another⁵. Here they insert the third article, read at the sixth session, which is almost the same as the foregoing⁶.

[² ἀπολε-
λυμένως.
cf. supr. 19.
57, r.]

³ can. 6.

⁴ can. 10.
[v. Bingham.
vi. 4. § 8.]

⁵ can. 5.

⁶ can. 20.
supr. c. 22.

“Those who have once been admitted among the clergy or into the monastic profession, can never afterwards be employed in any military or secular capacity, on pain of anathema⁷. We have been informed, that certain of the clergy and monks without authority from their Bishop, and sometimes even after they have been excommunicated, come to Constantinople, and remain there a long time, raising tumults, and disturbing the peace of the Church and of private families; wherefore the Council decrees that they shall be first admonished by the Defender of the Church of Constantinople to withdraw from the city, and if they insolently persist in the same practices, he shall expel them by force, and make them return to their several places of abode⁸.” All these canons against vagrant and

⁷ can. 7.

⁸ can. 23.

A. D. 451. seditious monks were made on account of Barsumas, Carosus, and the other supporters of Eutyches and Dioscorus.
 CH. XXIX.

The same reason may be assigned for the following canons.

- ¹ can. 13. "Foreign or unknown clerks shall not officiate in another city, without letters of recommendation from their Bishop¹.
 "The poor, who need assistance, should travel only with
² can. 11. "pacific² ecclesiastical letters, to be granted after an examination of their case; letters commendatory³ should be given
 [εἰρηνικοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς] "only to persons of distinction⁴. Conspiracies and cabals
 [³ συστατικοῖς] "being crimes prohibited by the secular laws, ought to be
 [⁴ τοῖς ἐν ὑπολήψει Lat. *personis quæ sunt suspectæ.*] "much more so in the Church: if therefore any clerks or
 monks be found conspiring against their Bishops or their
 "brother clerks, let them be deposed⁵. The clergy of
 "hospitals and monasteries^e must submit, according to the
⁵ can. 18. "tradition of the Fathers, to the power of the Bishop in each
 "city, without rebelling against him: those who subvert this
 "ordinance in any manner whatsoever, will do so at the peril
 "of canonical correction if clerks, and of excommunication
⁶ can. 8. "if monks or laymen⁶."
 "As readers and chanters are allowed in some provinces to
⁷ can. 14. "marry⁷," the Council decrees that "they shall not take to
 "wife one who is not orthodox, and [those who have heretofore
 "contracted such an alliance] shall not baptize their children
 "among the heretics, nor marry them to heretics, Jews, or
 "pagans, unless these promise to become converts." It is
 observable that readers were not allowed to marry in all the
 provinces, as they are now. "No Deaconess⁸ shall be ordained
 [⁸ Supr. 26. 51. m.] "under forty years of age, and that only after a strict examination. If, after having received the imposition of
 "hands and waited some time on the ministry, she gives
 "herself away in marriage, since she has done despite to the
 "grace of God, she and her husband shall both be anathematized⁹. Virgins consecrated to God, and monks, shall
⁹ can. 15. "not marry, on pain of excommunication; but the Bishop

^e That is, the chaplains to hospitals and monasteries. Even when any of the monks were in holy orders, the Sacraments were not usually dispensed by them but by a priest ordained to the monastery as a title. The Bishops however claimed jurisdiction not only over these but over all the clerical

monks in their diocese. St. Jerome's peremptory denial of this claim is well known (Ep. 38. t. iv. pt. 2. p. 332, 3): on the other hand the third Council of Arles decided that while the lay monks were subject only to their Abbot, the ordained monks owed obedience to their Bishop as well. (Labbe, t. iv. p. 1024.)

“ [of the place] shall have [a discretionary] power to mitigate their sentence¹. Those who are guilty of abduction, though under the pretext of marriage, together with their aiders and abettors, shall if clerks be deposed, if laymen anathematized².” Such are the twenty-seven canons of the Council of Chalcedon, received by the whole Church.

The twenty-eighth, which afterwards made so much noise, assigns the second rank to the Church of Constantinople in these terms. “The Fathers with good reason granted to the see of ancient Rome its high privileges, because it was the reigning city; by the same consideration the hundred and fifty Bishops were induced to decide³ that new Rome, the honoured seat of empire and the residence of the senate, should possess equal privileges in ecclesiastical matters, and be second in rank: so that only the Metropolitans of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, and the Bishops of those dioceses which lie among the barbarians, shall be ordained by the see of Constantinople, on his receiving a notification that a canonical election has taken place; but it must be understood that each Metropolitan of these dioceses shall along with his Comprovincials ordain the Bishops of the province according to the canons.” Here the word diocese must be taken in its widest sense, as comprehending several provinces⁴.

The twenty-ninth canon provides that a Bishop should never be reduced to the degree of Priest; as the Pope’s legates and Anatolius of Constantinople had said, in the fourth session⁵, in reference to the Bishops who had been ordained by Photius of Tyre and deposed by Eustathius of Berytus. The last canon⁶ allows the Bishops of Egypt to defer their subscription to St. Leo’s letter, until a Bishop of Alexandria should be elected; as had been ruled in the fourth session⁷. These are the thirty canons attributed to the Council of Chalcedon.

The sixteenth and last session was held on the following day⁸, November 1. The Pope’s legates directed Paschasinus to address the following remonstrance to the magistrates⁹: “Yesterday, after you and ourselves had withdrawn, something, we are told, was transacted which we consider to be opposed to the canons; we desire it may be read, that all

A. D. 451.
CH. XXX.
¹ can. 16.

XXX.
Prerogatives of
Constantinople.

³ Conc.
Constant.
can. 3, supr.
18. 7.

⁴ Supr. 18.
7.

⁵ Supr. c.
19.

⁶ can. 30.

⁷ Supr. c.
17.

⁸ p. 792.

⁹ p. 796.

A. D. 451.
CH. XXX.

“our brethren may see whether it be just, or not.” The magistrates ordered it to be read, but Aetius, Archdeacon of Constantinople, interposed and said, “It is acknowledged that what regards the faith was definitively settled, but it is the custom of Councils, after the most important matters have been decided, to examine and decide other points that require to be adjusted. We, that is, the Church of Constantinople, had certain matters that required to be discussed: we asked the Bishops who are come from Rome to take part in the inquiry; they declined, on the plea that they had no directions about it; you then ordered the Council to consider the affair. When you had withdrawn, the Bishops rose and demanded that it should be dealt with as a matter of public concern. An account of what took place is given in this Act, which was not drawn up clandestinely¹ or by stealth, but in due form and canonically.” The magistrates ordered it to be read: Aetius presented the paper, and Beronician the secretary read it. It was the twenty-eighth canon just referred to, and was subscribed by a hundred and eighty-four Bishops.

[¹ ἐν παραβύστῳ]

² p. 809. c. Then Lucentius, one of the legates, said², “observe, first of all, that the Bishops were taken by surprise and forced into subscribing, before the canons here mentioned were written out.” The Bishops shouted “No one was forced.” Lucentius said: “Moreover they have omitted the canons of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers, and mention only those of the hundred and fifty, which are not among the synodical canons, and which they say were made about fourscore years ago. If they have so long enjoyed this privilege, what more do they now require? If they never have enjoyed it, why do they now require it?” Aetius the Archdeacon, speaking of the legates, said; “If they have received any injunctions on this head, let these be produced.” Boniface the Priest read a paper which contained the following order of Pope St. Leo: “Do not suffer the decrees of the Fathers to be infringed or encroached upon by any rash changes; preserve in all things the dignity of our person, which you represent; and if any, as may happen, relying on the splendour of their cities, should attempt any usurpation, do you oppose them with be-

“coming resolution.” The magistrates said, “Let the
“canons be produced by both parties.”

A. D. 451.
CH. XXX.

Paschasius read the sixth canon of Nicea¹, beginning with these words, “The Church of Rome always had the
“primacy,” which words are not in the Greek²; no dispute however was raised on that point, and he proceeded with the sixth canon, which preserves the privileges of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and the rights of the Metropolitans, and the seventh, which preserves to the Bishop of Jerusalem an honorary rank without any jurisdiction. The secretary Constantine also read the sixth canon of Nicea, from a book presented him by Aëtius the Archdeacon, but omitted the seventh. He then read the decree of the Council of Constantinople held under Nectarius, containing first, the definition of Faith³, and next, the canon concerning the hierarchy,⁴ which after confirming the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Alexandria and of Antioch, and of the Councils of the three great dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace⁴ concludes thus; “the Bishop of Constantinople shall have the precedence of
“honour next after the Bishop of Rome.”

¹ p. 812.
Fleury II.
20.

[² i. e. the
Greek of
the Nicæan
Council.]

³ Supr. 18.

⁴ 18. 7.

The magistrates said, “Let the Bishops of the dioceses of
“Asia and Pontus declare whether they subscribed of their
“own free will or compulsorily, to what was above recited.” They advanced into the centre, and Diogenes of Cyzicus said, “I subscribed of my free choice; I say it as in God’s presence.” Florentius of Sardis, and thirteen others, severally made the same declaration, affirming that the canon agreed with the recognised custom. Some of them deposed that they had been ordained by the Bishop of Constantinople. Eusebius of Dorykeum said⁵, “I willingly subscribed; for
“when I was at Rome, I read this canon to the Pope, in the
“presence of the clergy from Constantinople, and he received
“it.” He means the canon of the Council of Constantinople. The rest of the Bishops cried out, “We subscribed voluntarily.” The magistrates asked what those had to say who had not subscribed. Eusebius of Ancyra declared that he wished not to interfere with ordinations, although he had a right to ordain the Bishops of Galatia; but he desired that nothing should be paid for ordinations. Philip a Priest of Constantinople said⁶, “The canon provided against this

⁵ p. 816. B.

⁶ p. 817.

A. D. 451. "abuse," meaning the second canon of Chalcedon. Eusebius
 CH. XXXI. of Ancyra answered, "God be praised, the reputation of
 "Archbishop Anatolius is without spot, but no one is im-
 "mortal."

The magistrates said, "It appears from the depositions,
 [1 τὰ πρῶ- "first of all, that the primacy and precedency of honour¹,
 τεῖα καὶ τῇν "should be preserved, according to the canons, for the Arch-
 ἐξαίρετον "bishop of old Rome, but that the Archbishop of Constanti-
 τιμήν] "nople ought to enjoy the same privileges²; and that he
 [2 τῶν αὐ- "has a right to ordain the Metropolitans of the dioceses of
 τῶν πρεσ- "Asia, Pontus, and Thrace, in the manner following. In
 βείων τῆς "each metropolis, the clergy, the proprietors of lands, and
 τιμῆς] "the gentry, with all the Bishops of the province or the
 "greater part of them, shall issue a decree for the election
 "of one whom they shall deem worthy of being made Bishop
 "of the metropolis. They shall all make a report of it to the
 "Archbishop of Constantinople, and it shall be at his option
 "either to enjoin the Bishop-elect to come thither for ordi-
 "nation, or to allow him to be ordained in the province. As
 "to the Bishops of particular cities, they shall be ordained by
 "all or the greater part of the comprovincial Bishops, under
 "the authority of the Metropolitan, according to the canons,
 "the Archbishop of Constantinople taking no part in such
 "ordination. These are our views, let the Council state
 "theirs." The Bishops shouted, "This is a just proposal:
 "we all say the same, we all assent to it; we pray you dis-
 "miss us;" with other similar acclamations. Lucentius, the
 legate, said, "The Apostolic see ought not to be degraded
 "in our presence; we therefore desire that yesterday's
 "proceedings, which violate the canons, may be rescinded;
 "otherwise let our opposition be inserted in the Acts,
 "that we may know what we are to report to the Pope,
 "and that he may declare his opinion of this contempt of
 "his see and subversion of the canons." The magis-
 trates said³, "The whole Council approves of what we
 "said." Such was the last session of the Council of Chal-
 cedon.

XXXI. The preceding account has been derived from the collection
 of Acts as it now stands. This differs on some points from
 CH. XXXI. that which was followed by Evagrius the historian, and which

³ p. 820.

still survives in some old copies¹. These give the order as follows. The first session is the same as in ours; the second is the condemnation of Dioscorus; the third is that which we put second, in which the letters of St. Cyril and St. Leo were read. The fourth is the same as ours, containing the scrutiny of the definition of the Faith. In the sixth, the definition is again read and subscribed in the presence of the Emperor Marcian, and three canons approved. The seventh, in these old copies, contains the rest of the canons. The eighth, is the approval of the concordat between Maximus and Juvenal. The ninth, which we reckoned seventh, is the Justification of Theodoret: the tenth and eleventh, that of Ibas: and so on of the others; that is, the twelfth and thirteenth contain the affair of Ephesus: the fourteenth, that of Basilinopolis: the fifteenth, the affair of Sabinian of Perrha: the sixteenth and last contains the debate about the prerogatives of Constantinople.

The cause of this diversity lies in the fact that at general Councils, the Bishops of great sees had each their own notaries to take down or copy the Acts, according to the use they had for them. All were anxious to take with them, and publish in their provinces, what related to the Church in general, that is, the definitions of Faith and the canons; on the other hand, the proceedings in reference to private matters would not have much interest except for those who were personally concerned, and so were less exact; some omitted them entirely, others inserted one part and omitted the rest; and when the same pieces were inserted, their arrangement varied, following in one case the order of time, in another the relative importance of the subjects.

The Bishops remained some time at Chalcedon or Constantinople, before they separated; and sent an address to the Emperor Marcian², in which they thank God for the zeal shewn by him and by the Pope, whom they commend for his doctrine and piety. They remark, that the same rule had been observed in this as in former Councils; new errors being confronted by new definitions, without making any change in the creed. They explain at large the mystery of the Incarnation. They vindicate St. Leo's letter to Flavian from the charge of novelty, and prove that it agrees with Scrip-

A. D. 451.
CH. XXXI.

¹ Evagr. 2.
c. ult. v. Ba-
luz. præf. in
C. Cæch. §
11. p. 966.]

² C. Cæch.
pl. 3. c. 1.

A. D. 451. ture, the Nicæan Creed, and also with the Fathers, from
CH. XXXI. whom they quote some select passages¹.

¹ p. 828. E.

² pt. 3. c. 2.

They also sent a synodical letter to St. Leo², in which they acknowledge him as the interpreter of St. Peter, as their head, and their guide, whose letter had ministered to them spiritual nourishment. They state their number at five hundred and twenty^f, and remark that none had been cut off from the Church except Dioscorus, whose crimes and impenitence they detail at large: after which they add³, “We inform you that we have made some other regulations for the better ordering of affairs, and the confirmation of the ecclesiastical laws; persuaded that your holiness, when informed of them, will readily approve and sanction them. For we have by a synodical decree⁴ authorized the custom which obtained of old, that the holy Church of Constantinople should ordain Metropolitans to the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace: and this not so much for the advantage of the see of Constantinople, as for the peace of the metropolitan cities in which disturbances frequently occur on the decease of the Bishops, the clergy and laity having then no one to control them. This your holiness must know well, especially as regards the Church of Ephesus^g, which had often been a source of anxiety to you.

³ p. 836. E.

⁴ p. 837.

“We have also confirmed the canon of the hundred and fifty Fathers assembled at Constantinople under Theodosius the Great, which decrees that the Bishop of Constantinople shall take rank next after your holy see, being convinced that as you ungrudgingly communicate of your own wealth to your brethren, you will also continue to care for the see of Constantinople, and will extend to it the splendour of your Apostolic power. True it is that your legates strenuously opposed this decree, doubtless from a desire that you might have the honour of originating it, and so might be esteemed no less as the upholder of

^f “We seemed,” they say, “to behold the heavenly Bridegroom conversing among us: for if where two or three are gathered together there He promised to be in the midst of them how much more intimately present did this imply He would be with

“520 Bishops, who thought nothing either of country or of fatigue compared with the assurance of their unity of faith in Him.”

^g The metropolis of the Asian diocese, as Cæsarea and Heraclea were of the Pontic and Thracian respectively.

“discipline, than as the defender of the Faith. On this
 “point, however, we deferred to the wishes of the Emperor,
 “the senate, and the whole imperial city. We beg you,
 “therefore, to honour this our decree with your suffrage;
 “and to accomplish the just desires of your children, who
 “have worked with you in attaining so glorious a result.
 “You will also oblige the Emperors who confirmed your
 “decision as a law, and the see of Constantinople will ever
 “manifest to you its lasting gratitude, by its attachment¹
 “and its zeal.” St. Gregory says that the Council of Chal-
 cedon even offered to the Pope the title of œcumenical, or
 universal Bishop², [but that St. Leo and his successors con-
 stantly rejected it as anti-catholic in principle.]

A. D. 452.
 CH. XXXII.
¹ *ῥόμοιαν*
 Lib. iv.
 Ep. [32.]
 36, [38.]
 lib. vii.
 [Ind. I.]
 Ep. 30.
 [=v. 20,
 43, 18.
 viii. 30 ed.
 Bened.]

Before this letter reached St. Leo, he had received letters
 from several Bishops of Gaul; the first, from Ceretius, Salo-
 nius, and Veranus³, who, it is thought, were Bishops in the
 province of the Maritime Alps⁴; the second, from Ravennius
 of Arles and forty-three others⁵. Salonius and Veranus were
 brothers, sons of St. Eucherius, afterwards Bishop of Lyons;
 and Veranus was Bishop of Vence. These three Bishops
 thank the Pope for the instruction he had given them in his
 letter to Flavian, and send him their copy of it, desiring him
 to correct it, that it may be communicated not only to the
 Bishops of Gaul, but also to several laymen, who desired to
 read and transcribe it.

XXXII.
 Letters
 from the
 Gallie
 Bishops to
 St. Leo.
³ v. Quesn.
 ad Ep.
 Ceret. [t.
 ii. p. 863.]
⁴ post
 Ep. 76. t. i.
 p. 577.]
⁵ p. 579.]

The forty-four Bishops who wrote a synodical letter to
 St. Leo, belonged, as has been conjectured, to the seven
 provinces of Gaul⁶. At the head is Ravennius of Arles; then
 follow Rusticus of Narbonne, Venerius of Marseilles, Maxi-
 mus of Riés, (who had been Abbot of Lerins,) Neetarius
 Bishop of Digne, Constantius of Uzés, Ursus of Senés, In-
 genuus of Embrun, who was the bearer of this letter. The
 rest are not so well known. They apologize for being so
 tardy in sending their acknowledgments to St. Leo for his
 letter to Flavian; “We read it,” they continue, “with great
 “joy, which we soon communicated to all in Gaul. Many
 “recognised in it the Faith which they received from their
 “forefathers; some found in it the instruction and authority
 “which they needed for the confirmation of their faith. We
 “should have wished to write to the Emperor also, in-

⁶ v. not.
 Quesn. [p.
 867.]

A. D. 452. "forming him of the anxiety we have suffered; but the
 CH. XXXII. "news we received from the East led us to think that this
 "was unnecessary, and that the error was now laid bare and
 "destroyed." The rest of the letter is taken up with eu-
¹ Ep. 77. logizing St. Leo, who, on his part, returned them an answer¹,
 (al. 52.) praising the faith and doctrine of the Bishops of Gaul.
 "I should have been glad," he says, "to have received your
 "letters at the time you promised, that so our brethren
 "whom we have sent to the Council might have taken your
 "declaration along with them." He observes that, after the
 decision of a Council of about six hundred Bishops, neither
 ignorance nor obscurity can be allowably pleaded respecting
 the Faith of the Incarnation; he proceeds, however, to ex-
 hibit briefly how that doctrine stands opposed to the errors
 of Nestorius and Eutyches. "Our brethren the legates," he
 says, "have acted so well, that not only the Bishops, but
 "also the princes and powers, the clergy, the people, all
 "ranks are fully convinced that it is the Apostolic Faith
 "which we preach, as handed down to us, and which we
 "maintain, having now on our side the consent of the whole
 "world. Give thanks, therefore, to God, and pray for the
 "speedy return of our brethren, that we may be able to
 "instruct you more fully about all that has happened. We
 "were unwilling to detain our brother Ingenuus till their
 "arrival, lest you should be so much longer ignorant of this
 "cheering news, which we desire you to communicate even
 "to our brethren the Bishops of Spain." This letter bears
² Herculano date the first of February, 452². It appears that the Pope
 Cos. knew in general what had been done at the Council of Chal-
 cedon, but had not yet the Acts, which his legates were to
 bring him.

³ Ep. 82. When these arrived, St. Leo wrote again³, briefly, to Rus-
 (al. 94.) ticus, Ravennius, Venerius, and the other Bishops of Gaul,
 telling them that the truth had triumphed, and that heresy,
 with its authors, had been unanimously condemned. A copy
 of the sentence pronounced against Dioscorus by the legates
 accompanied this letter.

He had written in the same manner to the Bishops of the
 province of Milan, as appears from the synodical letter⁴ which
 they sent him in reply. They declare that St. Leo's letter to

⁴ Post
 Ep. 77.

Flavian had been read in their Council; that they had found it agreeable to the Holy Scriptures, to the doctrine of St. Ambrose, and also to universal tradition; and had therefore conformed to it in order to condemn the errors against the Incarnation. This letter is signed by Eusebius, Bishop of Milan, a Greek by birth¹, who is honoured as a Saint by the Church, on the twenty-second of August²; by St. Maximus of Turin, honoured the twenty-fifth of June³, some of whose homilies are still extant; and by ten other Bishops.

Lucian the Bishop, and Basil the Deacon, came soon after to Rome with letters from the Emperor Marcian, the Empress Pulcheria, Anatolius of Constantinople, and Julian of Cos, all having the same end in view—to persuade the Pope to approve the canon of the Council of Chalcedon, touching the prerogatives of the Bishop of Constantinople. We gather this from St. Leo's answers, and from the Emperor's letter, (still extant⁴) dated the fifth of the calends of January, in his own consulate, that is, December 28, 451. Lucian and Basil acquitted themselves faithfully in their commission, and used every effort to induce St. Leo to authorize Anatolius's claims, but without success, as is evident from his answers, all of the same date, the eleventh of the calends of June, in the consulate of Herculanius, or May 22, 452.

"Anatolius," he says⁵, "ought to be content that I have listened to lenity more than to justice, in allowing his ill-grounded ordination, and overlooking his audacious procedure of ordaining the Bishop of Antioch^h." We should remark that Anatolius had been ordained Bishop of Constantinople by Dioscorus, after the unjust deposition of Flavian; and that he had himself ordained Maximus to the see of Antioch as successor to Domnus, who had also been unjustly deposed; and that for the sake of peace St. Leo had consented to both these ordinations. "This indulgence," says St. Leo⁶, "ought to inspire him with modesty rather than with ambition. He ought to imitate the humility of his predecessor Flavian, and not to presume on a concession, which he has wrung from some of his

A. D. 452.
CH. XXXIII.

¹ Euseb.
Epigr. 81.
[ap. Gal-
land. 1. xi.
p. 209.]
² Martyr. R.
Aug. 22.
³ Jun. 25.
XXXIII.
Letters
against
Anatolius's
pretensions.

⁴ Post
Ep. 77, ex
Collect.
Holsten.
[p. 592.]

⁵ Ep. 78.
(al. 54.)
c. 2. 5.
Ep. 80.
(al. 53.)
c. 2.

⁶ Ep. 79.
(al. 55.)
c. 3.

^h Comparing this act of Anatolius with the aggressive movements of his predecessors in the see, one can hardly doubt that, but for this timely inter-

ference of St. Leo, he would have gradually compassed the subjugation both of Antioch and Alexandria: (v. Quesn. in Ep. 80. t. ii. p. 871).

- A. D. 452. "brethren¹, but which can avail nothing against the canons,
CH. XXXIII. "especially those of Nicæa, whose authority is eternal and
¹ c. 2. "inviolable, and can never be abrogated by any other
² Ep. 80. "Council, however numerous².
c. 2. 4. "The city of Constantinople has its privileges, but these
³ Ep. 78. "are only secular³; it is a royal city, but it cannot become
c. 3. "an Apostolic see. No dishonesty can tear away from the
"Churches their just rights as established by the canons,
"nor can the primacy of so many Metropolitans be invaded
⁴ Ep. 79. "to gratify the ambition of a single man⁴. Alexandria ought
c. 2. "not to lose the second rank for the crimes of an individual
⁵ Ep. 80. "like Dioscorus, nor Antioch the third⁵. This encroachment
c. 5. "has been tolerated for about sixty years; but the Bishops
"of Constantinople never sent to the holy see any notice of
"the presumed canon, which is now alleged in its defence¹."

¹ The reference is probably to the third canon of Constantinople, notwithstanding the discrepancy of dates, (Quesn. in Leon. t. ii. p. 873). The Council appears to have sent its Definition of Faith to Rome, as being expository of objective truth, which if binding on one was binding on all; but to have omitted sending the canons, as relating simply to the ecclesiastical arrangements of the East.

At any rate, this is a question of minor value: for (as was observed, *supr.* xxi. 7. n) the canon conferred only a precedence *in rank*, which, however important for the *prestige* it afforded, involved no actual increase of power. This last was the accretion of many years; aided by the necessities of the times, favourable emergencies, imperial edicts, and the natural gravitation of power towards the royal city. The Patriarchal authority, says De Marca, consisted of two parts, *προεδρία*, or priority of honour, and *προστασία*, or administrative power; the latter comprising the right of ordaining Metropolitans, and of adjudicating in a Patriarchal Synod on appeals from the provinces. The Council of Constantinople, by its third canon, gave the Bishop of that city only the first of these (*προεδρία*). Indeed, after enacting the second canon it could do no more: for it had there confirmed the independency of the great dioceses, and assigned the administration of each province to its own several Synod. *Id.* tract. de Instit. Patriarch. CP., (De Conc. t. iv. p. 176.

sqq. ed. 1789). This regulation, however, was soon set aside in practice. There had always been great difficulty in enforcing the old canonical semestral council; in many cases it had fallen into entire desuetude (*can. Calch.* 19). Where it was kept up, cases would still constantly occur, which called for an immediate decision: and a Metropolitan then had only two courses to choose between,—he must either defer the suit or hazard the unpopular experiment of again summoning his Bishops from the country. On the other hand, Constantinople had always a large number of Bishops of every grade residing in it, (sometimes including Patriarchs, *C. Calch. act. iv. p. 545*), who could easily be collected by a message from the Bishop. The consequence was that this *σύνδος ἐνδημούσα* (*supr.* xxvii. 23. note p.) became a recognised part of the ecclesiastical machinery, and, as time ran on, gained a prescriptive authority, (*συνήθεια ἄνωθεν κεκράτηκε*, says Anatholius, *C. Calch. p. 547*). The Bishop of Constantinople, who presided in it, not only as the local Bishop, but by virtue of his right of *προεδρία*, was thus supplied with that necessary element of Patriarchal *προστασία*, a Patriarchal Synod. The other element, the right of ordaining Metropolitans, grew up in an equally (to human eyes) casual manner; (*supr.* xxi. 7. n. De Marca, *u. s.*, p. 189, *sqq.*)

So much indeed seems to have been admitted by all parties,—that the Patriarchal jurisdiction of the Bishop of

For all these reasons the Pope advises the Emperor and Empress to put a curb on the ambition of Anatolius, and he exhorts the Emperor himself to practise humility and charity, declaring that he will never consent to such an attempt, and that Anatolius, by persisting in it, will cut himself off from the peace of the universal Church. The Pope, however, did not execute his threat, nor proceed so far as excommunication. To Julian of Cos he says¹, "You ought to love the constitution of the universal Church more than the interests of any individual, and should not ask of me such things, as neither I can grant, nor you obtain, without involving both of us in guilt."

A. D. 452.
CH. XXXIV.

¹ Ep. 81.
(ad. 105.)

The Council of Chalcedon was not received so peaceably in the East as in the West. The Emperor did every thing on his part, that could be done, to further the execution of it; but he met with resistance in Egypt and Palestine. First, an edict was issued at Constantinople on the seventh of February, A.D. 452², making it illegal to dispute publicly about religion: the clergy were prohibited on pain of deposition; officers, on pain of losing their places; and others, of being expelled from Constantinople and punished according to their deserts. "It is impious and sacrilegious," says the Emperor³, "to allow one's self to examine any thing according to one's private judgment, after the decision of so many Bishops." And afterwards, "It were an insult to the decree of the Council, to raise disputes on what has been decided." This edict is directed to "our citizens of Constantinople." It failed, however, of its intention; for there were many restless spirits, who still continued to dispute publicly on the mysteries, in the presence even of Jews and

XXXIV.
Laws in favour of the Council.

² Sporatio
Cos.

³ C. Chalced.
pt. 3. c. 3.
[p. 840.]
Cod. [Just.
lib. 1. tit. 1.
sive] de
Sum. Trin.
leg. 4.

Constantinople was, when viewed in reference to the canons, an anomaly and a usurpation. But it came before the Fathers of Chalcedon as a *fait accompli*; supported moreover by the whole weight of the existing civil power. The point therefore, which they had to consider, was, whether the boundaries of the respective Exarchates or Patriarchates were things once for all unalterably settled by positive Divine law, or were ecclesiastical arrangements made with a view to the general good and peace of the Church, and liable to vary with the varying dis-

pensations to which the Church was provisionally subjected:—whether, in fact, the Nicæan canons, (made, as St. Leo says, *ad commune bonum, ad perpetuam utilitatem*;) were in their own nature immutable, or whether by confirming the *ἐκ πολλοῦ κράτησαν ἔθος* (Synodic. ad Leon., Labbe, p. 838. A), which assigned the ordination of the Pontic, Thracian, and Asian Metropolitans to the see of Constantinople, they were not acting in the spirit, while violating the letter, of the ever-famous rule of Nicæa, τὰ ἀρχαία ἔθη κρατεῖτω.

A. D. 452.
CH. XXXV.

¹ C. Calch.
pt. 3. c. 4.

heathens; a second prohibition, therefore, was issued, similar to the former¹, enjoining all persons to submit to the Council of Chalcedon. This latter edict is dated the thirteenth of March, in the same year, and like its predecessor was published at Constantinople; it was directed to the Prætorian Præfects of the East and of Illyricum, to the Præfect of Constantinople, and to the Master of the Offices.

On the sixth of July, in the same year, the Emperor Mar-
 cian, in a rescript addressed to the same officers², repealed a law which, at the instigation of Chrysaphius, Theodosius the younger had issued against Flavian³, patronizing Eutyches, and confirming the pseudo-Council of Ephesus. The rescript vindicates the memory of Flavian, and acquits the persons of Theodoret and Eusebius of Dorylæum. On the twenty-eighth of the same month he enacted another law⁴, in which he ordains that the Council of Chalcedon shall be obeyed; the followers of Eutyches are subjected to the same penalties as the Apollinarians, whose errors he had adopted; they are forbidden to call any of their own body Priests, or Clerks, and Eutyches himself is deprived of the title of Priest; if, in the face of this prohibition⁵, they should still ordain Bishops, Priests, and other clergy, both the ordainers and the ordained are to be punished with perpetual exile and confiscation of their estates. They are forbidden to hold assemblies, or build monasteries; in case this provision be infringed, the places or sites are to be confiscated, the proprietors or tenants punished. "They shall not receive any legacies, [they shall be unable to bequeath any property by will,] they shall be disqualified for all posts under government, and shall be excluded from Constantinople and every other metropolitan city. The clergy more especially, and the inmates of Eutyches's monastery, shall be seized and driven out of the Empire. The books belonging to the sect shall be burnt; capital punishment inflicted on the teachers, and those who attend their lectures shall be fined each ten pounds of gold⁶."

[⁶ *λειτουργῶν
χρυσῶν*]
p. 872.

XXXV.
Proterius
Bishop of
Alexan-
dria.

⁷ Liberat.
c. 14.

Dioscorus was banished to Gangra in Paphlagonia⁷; four Bishops who had come with him, but who had taken their seats in the Council of Chalcedon, after having anathematized Eutyches, condemned Dioscorus, and subscribed to

St. Leo's letter, returned to Egypt. They carried letters A. D. 452. from the Emperor, addressed to Theodorus, Governor of ^{CH., XXXVI.} Egypt, authorizing them to proceed to the election of a Bishop of Alexandria, but this was not effected without opposition; for most of the citizens would not hear of another Bishop whilst Dioscorus was alive. At last they elected Proterius, whom Dioscorus had made Arch-priest and left in care of the Church. He was therefore ordained and installed in presence of these four Bishops, whose names were Athanasius of Busiris, Nestorius of Philagona, Auxonius of Seben-nytus, and Macarius of Chabasena.

The people of Alexandria were now broken up into parties, some demanding Dioscorus, others supporting Proterius¹. Dioscorus's party attacked the magistrates, and stoned the soldiers who had come up to prevent a riot. The troops were routed, and, taking refuge in an old temple of Serapis, were besieged in it and at last burnt alive. The Emperor on hearing this sent off two thousand picked men, who, meeting with a fair wind, reached Alexandria in six days. The fresh troops committed great excesses on the wives and daughters of the citizens, who were now in worse plight than before. The lower orders were also made to feel the vengeance of the law, being deprived of their ordinary dole of corn, the use of the baths, and the spectacles. But Florus, who had both the civil and military government, yielding to the persuasions of Priscus the rhetorician, soon restored all to them, and so gained a temporary respite from sedition. Proterius, however, still held a very perilous post², and during the greater part of his Pontificate was obliged to have an escort of soldiers^k.

The agitation extended to Palestine. Stephen Bishop of Jamnia, and John Bishop of the Saracens, both of them disciples of St. Euthymius, had attended the Council of Chalcedon³. Peter Bishop of the Saracens had been sometime dead. His successor Auxolaus, had assisted at the false Council of Ephesus, and sided with Dioscorus; on which account he fell into disgrace with St. Euthymius, and, dying, was succeeded by John. After the Council of Chalcedon,

XXXVI.

Theodosius usurps the see of Jerusalem.

³ vit. S. Euthym. [ap. Anal. Gr.] p. 54.

^k Hence the Egyptians called him contemptuously the Melchite (or, King's) Bishop. Ludolf. Hist. Ethiop. l. iii. c. 8.

A. D. 452. therefore, Stephen and John hastened back to St. Euthymius
 CH. XXXVI. to bring him the definition, from fear of incurring his indignation, as Auxolaus had done. St. Euthymius having read the definition of the Faith propounded by the Council, approved it and received it as Catholic.

On this being noised abroad, all the monks of Palestine were going to receive the Council of Chalcedon, when a sudden diversion was made by Theodosius. He had been a monk, but having been convicted of some crime by his Bishop, had been expelled from his monastery¹. On coming to Alexandria, he attached himself² to Dioscorus; but was seized as a seditious person, severely whipped and led through the city on a camel³. He went to the Council of Chalcedon, apparently with Barsumas, and returning rapidly to Palestine exclaimed, with some few adherents, that the Council had betrayed the Faith. He wrote some letters⁴, slandering the Council as if it had said, there were two SONS, two CHRISTs, and two Persons to be adored; in short, as if it had ratified the heresy of Nestorius. He also circulated a falsified translation of St. Leo's letter to Flavian⁵. By this means he seduced a large number of monks and other simple folk, but especially the Empress Eudocia, (the relict of Theodosius,) who had retired to Jerusalem, and who had been formerly prevailed on by Chrysaphius to patronize Eutyches. She drew the greater part of the monks and people to Theodosius's side. When Juvenal Bishop of Jerusalem returned from the Council, they wished to compel him to retract and anathematize the Catholic doctrine, which he had subscribed; they even sent an assassin to murder him, but he, missing his aim, revenged himself by killing Severian Bishop of Scythopolis. Juvenal fled to Constantinople; while the schismatics assembled in the Church of the Resurrection, and ordained Theodosius Bishop of Jerusalem.

He ordained Bishops for several cities in Palestine, chiefly in the place of those who had not yet returned from the Council⁶. He raised a great persecution at Jerusalem against those who would not embrace his communion. Some were scourged, others were plundered of their property, or had their houses burnt. The gaol was broken open, and the criminals set at liberty⁷. Ladies of high rank were insulted⁸.

¹ Evagr. 2.
 5. Coteler.
 Mon. Gr.
 t. i. p. 415.

[² ἀπελά-
 βετο. Fl.
attauqua.]

[³ Ὑσα κα-
 κούργοις,
 says Evagr.]

⁴ C. Calch.
 pt. 3. c. 15.
 p. 877. D.

⁵ Leo. Ep.
 97. (al. 83.)

⁶ Niceph.
 15. 9.

⁷ Conc. t.
 iv. p. 857.
 B.

⁸ p. 861. B.

They forced people to anathematize, orally and in writing, both the Council of Chalcedon and the Pope St. Leo. A Deacon named Athanasius said one day to Theodosius, in the middle of the church, as he was seated on the throne; “Cease to wage war upon CHRIST and to scatter His flock, and learn to know the affection we bear to our true Pastor. We cannot listen to the voice of the stranger.” As he was thus speaking, he was dragged out by Theodosius’s guards, who, after putting him to every kind of torture, beheaded him; his body was drawn through the streets by one of its feet, and then thrown to the dogs. The Church celebrates his memory as a martyr on the fifth of July¹.

¹ Martyr.
R. 5 Jul.

Dorotheus, governor of Palestine, was at that time employed against the barbarians in the country of the Moabites². On hearing of what had occurred at Jerusalem, he immediately returned at the head of some select troops to restore order; but the partizans of Theodosius and Eudocia closed the gates against him, and would not allow him to enter, until he had promised to join the schism as all the monks and citizens had done. By this means Theodosius retained the see of Jerusalem for twenty months.

² *περὶ πού τῆν Μωαβίτιν*

He attempted to draw even St. Euthymius over to his party³. First of all, he sent for him; but the holy man would not come to Jerusalem. Theodosius sent to him two Abbots, Elpidius the disciple and successor of St. Passarion, and Gerontius, who governed the monastery of St. Melania. St. Euthymius said to them, “God forbid I should ever take part in the bloody deeds of Theodosius or in his error.” Elpidius and Gerontius answered, “We are then to receive the Nestorian dogma, authorized by the Council of Chalcedon in the formula which they put forth, saying that ‘CHRIST is acknowledged in two natures⁴.’” St. Euthymius replied, “I have not read all the Acts of the Council, but, as for the Definition of Faith, I find nothing objectionable in it.” He then explained to them how the Council acknowledged the two natures in CHRIST, without any division of persons, according to the doctrine of St. Cyril⁵. Elpidius approved of his discourse, and owned that it agreed with the Catholic Faith, though he did not immediately leave the communion of Theodosius; but Gerontius continued obsti-

XXXVII.
St. Euthymius opposes Theodosius.

³ vit. S. Euthym. p. 56.

⁴ *ἐν δύο φύσεσι γνωρίζεσθαι τὸν Χρ.*

⁵ p. 59.

A. D. 452.
CH. XXXVIII.

[¹ ἐπὶ τῇ
πανέργειαν]

nate in the error, and they accordingly returned divided. Theodosius, undiscouraged, sent several other parties to endeavour to gain over St. Euthymius; who, seeing his shamelessness, warned the Abbots to take no share in the schism, and withdrew to the most secret part of the desert¹, whither many hermits, on hearing of his resolve, followed him. St. Euthymius remained there until the expulsion of Theodosius.

About that time lived a famous hermit named Gerasimus, a native of Lycia, who, after having long practised a monastic life in his own country, had lately come to live as an anchorite in the desert near Jordan. He, like the other hermits, had been seduced into the error of Theodosius, but, hearing the virtues of St. Euthymius spoken of, he came to visit him at Rubas. After staying some time with him, he gave his consent to the definition of the Council of Chalcedon, and renounced the communion of Theodosius; and in this he was followed by four other hermits, Peter, surnamed Turnites, Mark, Jullo, and Sylvanus. Gerasimus built a lavra and a monastery, a quarter of a league distant from Jordan. The

[² Coteler.,
t. ii. p. 274.]

lavra consisted of seventy cells², separate from each other; in the middle was a cœnobium, in which probationers and young people resided¹. The cells of the lavra were for monks who had reached some measure of perfection. These remained each alone in his cell for five days in the seven, from Monday to Friday; and when they came out, they left their doors open, to shew they had nothing which others were not welcome to take. On Saturdays and Sundays they came to communicate with the monastery. St. Gerasimus died in the year 474, on the fifth of March³; the day on which his memory is honoured by the Church⁴.

³ Vit. S.
Cyriaci p.
107.

⁴ Martyr.
R. 5 Mart.
XXXVIII.
The Abbot
Gelasius
opposes
Theodo-
sius.

⁵ Cotel. t. i.
p. 415.

The Abbot Gelasius, too, supported the Council of Chalcedon against Theodosius⁵. The latter, at the beginning of his schism, visited him in his monastery, and maligned the Council, as having sanctioned the doctrine of Nestorius. Gelasius, knowing the man, brought a young child who was one of his disciples, (who had been killed by an accident, and afterwards restored to life by Gelasius,) and said to Theodosius, "If you wish to dispute about the Faith, here is one

¹ St. Jerome speaks of monasteries as military schools in which the future hermit warrior was to be trained. Ep. 95, al. 4. (t. iv. pt. 2. p. 773.)

“who will answer you, for I have not leisure to hear you.” A. D. 452.
 Theodosius took his departure in confusion. In the course CH. XXXIX.
 of time, after he had usurped the see of Jerusalem¹, he sent ¹ p. 416.
 for the Abbot Gelasius, and with mingled caresses and
 threats led him into the chancel², and said to him, “Anathe- ^{[² ἱερα-}
 “matize Juvenal.” Gelasius, nought dismayed, answered, ^{τέτον]}
 “I know no other Bishop of Jerusalem than Juvenal.”
 Theodosius, fearing that the others might follow this example
 of pious zeal, drove him out of the church. He was seized
 by the schismatics, who piled up wood around him, threaten-
 ing to burn him. But when they saw that he still remained
 undaunted, they feared that the people, who held him in great
 reputation, might raise an insurrection; so they let him go.

The disinterestedness of the Abbot Gelasius is exhibited
 in the following anecdote³. He had a book written in parch- ³ Ibid. p.
 ment, valued at eighteen sols of gold⁴, or a hundred and forty- 410.
 four livres. It contained both the Old and New Testament, ^{[¹ νομισ-}
 and lay in the church, that any of the brethren who chose ^{μάτων;}
 might read it. A foreign friar⁵ stole it, and the aged Saint ^{about}
 did not pursue him, although he perceived the theft. The ^{£10. 15s.]}
 other went into the city, and tried to sell it, and, having ^{[⁵ τὸ ἀδελ-}
 found a purchaser, asked sixteen sols for it. The person who ^{φῶν ξένος]}
 wished to buy it asked permission to examine it, and with
 this view took it to the Abbot Gelasius, who said, “Buy it:
 “it is a fine copy, and well worth the price.” The purchaser
 came back and said to the seller, “I have shewn it to the
 “Abbot Gelasius, who tells me it is too dear, and not worth
 “the price you ask for it.” The seller said, “Did the old
 “man say nothing else to you?” “Nothing,” answered the
 other. “Then,” said he, “I am no longer willing to sell it;”
 and touched with compunction he came to Gelasius, and en-
 treated him to take the book back: but he refused. The
 friar⁶ said, “Unless you take it, I shall have no rest.” Then ^{[⁶ ὁ ἀδελ-}
 he received it. The foreign friar was converted by means ^{φῶν]}
 of this incident, and remained with him to the day of his
 death.

In the mean time the West was infested by the ravages of XXXIX.
 Attila, who had now repaired his losses of the former year, St. Leo
 and entering Italy by Pannonia overran several provinces stops At-
 without opposition⁷. Great fears were entertained for Rome, tilla.
⁷ Chr. Pro-p.
 ann. 452.
 ap. Rome. t. i. p. 671. Chr. Cassiod. cod. a. [t. ii. p. 230.]

A. D. 452.
CH. XXXIX.

[¹ Mambo-
lejo, *Jorn.*]
² Jornand.
[De reb.
Get.] p.
124. ed.
Linden-
brog.

³ Id. p. 116.

which he was on the point of attacking, but his people diverted him from it, by the example of Alaric, who died soon after he had pillaged it. The Emperor Valentinian, and even Aëtius, thought of abandoning Italy, but first of all they deemed it politic at least to offer proposals of peace. They therefore sent to Attila a deputation consisting of the Pope St. Leo, with Avienus, of consular rank, and Trygetius, of præfectorial. They found him in Venetia, at a place named Ambuleio¹, at the passage of the Mincio². Besides the report of his cruelties, his very appearance was terrible³. Though small in stature he had a stately gait, a broad chest, and large head; he had small lively eyes always in motion, a flat nose, thin beard, gray hair, and brown complexion. This description clearly points out his origin; the same features characterize the Tartars of the present day. He was very brave, yet he fought less with his hands than with his head; his plans were projected with great ability. He shewed himself placable enough to those who submitted to him, and was a steady friend when he had once pledged his word. Just as he was hesitating whether to attack Rome or not, this embassy decided him. He was so pleased with the sight of St. Leo, that he listened favourably to his propositions, put a stop to hostilities, and retired beyond the Danube, holding out hopes of a lasting peace.

⁴ 17 Kal.
Majas Her-
culano Cos.
⁵ Novel.
Valent. tit.
12.

[⁶ præeunte
tamen vin-
culo com-
promissi]
[⁷ forum
legibus non
habere]

[⁸ per pro-
curatorem]
[⁹ origina-
rius, inqui-
linus, ser-
vus, vel
colonus]

The Emperor Valentinian was at Rome, where he made a law on the fifteenth of April, in this year⁴, (452,) which limited the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the privileges of the clergy. It sets out⁵ with remarking that frequent complaints were made of the decisions of Bishops; to remedy which, it declares that “the Bishop has no power of trying even Clerks, “except with their consent, and by virtue of a compromise⁶. “For it is certain, that Bishops and Priests are not by law “able to hold a civil court⁷, and that they have cognizance “only in religious causes, according to the enactment of “Arcadius and Honorius, inserted in the code of Theodosius. “The clergy are bound to answer before the Judges, whether “in civil or criminal cases; only Bishops and Priests shall “have the privilege of making their defence by attorney⁸ in “criminal matters. No serf or slave, of what quality soever”, “shall undertake the clerical office, or embrace a monastic

“ life, with a view to escape from the duties of his condition. A. D. 453.
 “ The clergy shall not engage in any traffic, if they wish to CH. XL.
 “ enjoy their privileges, but shall be wholly employed in their
 “ ecclesiastical functions.”

Julian of Cos, the Pope's resident at Constantinople, sent XI.
 him a letter, expressing great sympathy with his misfortunes Ætius
 and lamenting the evils which the incursion of the barbarians Archdeacon of Constantinople
 had inflicted on Italy¹. At the same time he informed him injured.
 of a new enterprise of Anatolius; he had removed the Arch-
 deacon Ætius, who had been always Catholic, having opposed
 both Nestorians and Eutychians, and had ordained him
 Priest of a cemetery church, in order that he might bestow
 the Archidiaconate on a person named Andrew, a friend of
 Eutyches and one of Flavian's accusers. St. Leo wrote about
 it to Marcian and Pulcheria², complaining that Anatolius
 under the pretence of promoting Ætius had degraded him.
 For, having no fault to find either with his faith or his morals,
 he had deprived him of the office of Archdeacon, (which conferred
 great influence, since it comprised the administration of
 all the affairs of the Church,) and condemned him to a sort of
 exile by fixing him to a cemetery outside the city and in an
 obscure place, and this only because Ætius had always been
 attached to St. Flavian and the Catholic faith³. Thus Anatolius
 incurred the suspicion of never having cordially renounced
 the errors of Eutyches. He had even violated the Apostoli-
 cal tradition, by holding the ordination on Friday, instead
 of on Saturday night^m.

St. Leo begs the Emperor and Empress to induce him to
 alter his proceedings: he at the same time recommends to
 them Julian of Cos, whom he says he has appointed his
 legate, to transact at their court all that related to the faith
 and peace of the Church, against the heretics of the time.
 This is the first mention of papal legates resident at Constantinople; they were afterwards called apocrisaries or correspondents,—the name previously given to the persons employed there by the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch to negotiate the affairs of their Churches. But those of the Pope were stationed there for the general interests of the Church¹, to maintain its faith and discipline, to keep a close watch over

Ætius
Archdeacon of Constantinople
injured.

¹ Leo, Ep. 86. (al. 56.)

² Ep. 81. 85
(al. 57, 58.)

³ Supr. 27.
33.

¹ v. Quesn.
not. 6 ad
Ep. 84 (t.
ii. p. 884.)

^m Cf. supr. xxvii. 3. Quesn. in Ep. Leon II. (t. ii. p. 814.) Bing. iv. 6. § 7, 8.

A. D. 453. the Bishops of Constantinople, and to prevent them and the
CH. XLI. other Patriarchs of the East from attempting any thing inju-
 rious to the universal Church. These letters are dated the
 tenth and the eleventh of March, in the consulate of Opilio,
 or A.D. 453.

St. Leo wrote at the same time, and on the same subject,
 to Julian, of whom he further requested information as to
 the origin of the disturbance among the monks of Palestine¹;
 whether it was from affection to Eutyches, or from an in-
 discreet zeal against Juvenal of Jerusalem, who had taken
 his part. He also desires an account of the monks of Egypt,
 and of the Alexandrian Church, observing that he had sent
 a letter to the new Bishop. He asks Julian to get the Acts
 of the Council of Chalcedon translated accurately into Latin,
 and collected into one volume.

XLI.
 Letter of
 Marcian to
 the monks
 of Pales-
 tine.

² Ep. 88.
³ C. Calch.
 pt. 3. c. 9.
 [p. 856.]

A few days only elapsed before he learnt the cause of the
 tumult in Palestine, and the measures which the Emperor
 had adopted for its suppression². The Abbots and monks
 of Jerusalem and its environs addressed a petition to the
 Empress Pulcheria³, pretending to justify their conduct and
 to throw the blame of the excesses, which had been committed,
 upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem and some foreigners. By
 the advice of the Bishop Juvenal, who was at Constantinople,
 the Emperor Marcian wrote a letter to them, saying that
 they ought to maintain peace, and live in submission to the
 Bishops, without setting up to be teachers. He then re-
 marks⁴ that he has received well authenticated accounts of
 all that had occurred at Jerusalem; and after recounting
 their atrocities, "You have not done this," he says, "for the
 " defence of the Faith, but to usurp the preferments, of
 " which you are utterly unworthy. For the rest, we wonder
 " how you can anathematize Eutyches, and yet deliver your-
 " selves over to Theodosius, who treads in his steps, and is
 " the cause of all these disorders. You will have to answer
 " for your impiety and crimes before our LORD and SAVIOUR
 " CHRIST, who will not leave them unpunished; but as to
 " ourself, we wish not to inflict punishment on monks. Only
 " we have ordered that the city of Ælia be kept under, that
 " peace for the future be better secured in it, and that
 " those who shall be found guilty of murder or arson⁵ shall

⁴ p. 857.

⁵ p. 860.

“ be punished. And whereas you take offence at the ex-
 “ pression *two natures*, as if it were a novelty; know that
 “ you ought not to busy yourselves with such questions,
 “ which are too nice for your understanding. We, for our
 “ part, following the doctrine of the Fathers, believe that
 “ our LORD JESUS CHRIST is very God and very man.” He
 then explains the doctrine of the Incarnation, especially as
 contrasted with the error of Nestorius, and he fully vindicates
 the Council of Chalcedon from the charge brought against it
 of being Nestorian. He adds¹, “ We gave orders that no one
 “ should be forced into subscribing or assenting against his
 “ will; for it is not our desire to drag any one into the path
 “ of truth by threats or violence.”

“ And whereas you charge the Samaritans with having
 “ profaned the churches, and committed murders, and other
 “ dreadful deeds; know, that we have ordered the Count
 “ Dorotheus to make a close inquiry into the matter, to re-
 “ store to both Churches and private persons whatever has
 “ been taken from them, and to inflict the penalty of the
 “ law upon the guilty; but you have no right to avenge
 “ yourselves. We have, moreover, enjoined the Count Doro-
 “ theus to remove the quarters of the Ælian garrison from
 “ your monasteries. Live, then, in peace, not forsaking the
 “ Catholic Faith, nor holding separate assemblies², since you
 “ know the heavy penalties imposed by the Christian Princes,
 “ our predecessors, on those who so assemble. We have
 “ written thus much to you at the request of the Bishop
 “ Juvenal, and in the hope that this mark of our clemency
 “ will lead you to repent and change your conduct.”

The Empress Pulcheria wrote a letter to the same monks,
 which was very similar in substance, being chiefly intended
 to justify her faith and that of the Council of Chalcedon
 against the calumnies of schismatics³. She wrote a private
 letter to Bassa⁴, who at that time presided over a nunnery
 at Jerusalem, and who also founded a monastery in honour
 of St. Mena, of which she appointed Andrew, from St. Eu-
 thymius's lavra, to be the Abbot⁵. To this Bassa, then,
 Pulcheria wrote, some time afterwards, and informed her,
 that if any of the nuns had, in their simplicity, been imposed
 on by the calumnies of Theodosius, they ought to undeceive

A. D. 453.
CH. XLII.

¹ p. 861.

² παπα-
συτάξεις

XLII.
Death of St.
Pulcheria.

³ C. Catech.
pt. 3. c. 14.
⁴ Ibid. c. 13.

⁵ Vit. S.
Euthym.
[Anal. Gr.]
p. 67.

A. D. 453. themselves, and acknowledge the sincerity of her faith and
 CH. XLIII. the purity of the Council of Chalcedon.

The Empress Pulcheria died in the course of this very year¹, aged fifty-four years. The Church honours her memory, as a holy virgin, on the tenth of September². A little before her death she had completed the court of the church of St. Laurence in her palace at Constantinople, a work of consummate beauty³. She built various other churches: that of Blachernai, that of Chalcopratia, and that of Hodegoi, all three in honour of the Holy Virgin⁴. In the last she placed the picture which the Empress Eudocia had sent her from Jerusalem, said to have been painted by St. Luke. She founded several hospitals and monasteries, to which she assigned revenues⁵. In her will, which was faithfully executed by Marcian, she left the whole of her property to the poor.

In this same year, 453, the head of St. John Baptist was found at Emesa in Phœnicia⁶, where it had been long hidden under ground, in a cavern near which some monks had taken up their residence. The Superior of the monastery, during Marcian's reign, was the Priest Marcellus, a man of irreproachable life, to whom St. John Baptist appeared twice in a dream, about the beginning of February; and one of his monks, named Isaac, perceived fire at the mouth of the cavern⁷. Marcellus was once more warned, and led by a star of fire to a vault in the cavern, beneath which he found the urn in which the head of St. John was, with the hair still upon it. He lighted a lamp, burnt incense, and worshipped God with joy and fear. He then took with him two of the neighbouring Abbots, Gennadius and Cyriacus, and they three together went to Uranius, Bishop of Emesa, and reported what they had seen. He desired them to keep it secret, and on the morrow he came to the cave with his Priests and Deacons. He raised the urn with the head inside, and carried it into the sacristy of the church, to be kept there till a new one should be built for this relique. This translation was made on Tuesday the twenty-fourth of February, 453. They afterwards built a church at the monastery by the cavern, and the head of St. John was transferred thither in procession on the twenty-sixth of the following October. From this time we hear nothing of the

¹ Vincomalo et Opilione Coss. Chr. Marcellin. [p. 292.] Chr. Pasch. [p. 320. cd. Par.]

² Martyr. R. 10 Sept. ³ Cange.

Const. l. iv. c. 6. § 57.

⁴ Ibid. c. 2. [§ 6. 9. 24.] Theod.

Lect. l. 1. init. et § 5.

⁵ Sozom. 9. 1.

XLIII. St. John Baptist's head found at Emesa.

⁶ Chr. Marcellin. [p. 290.] Chr. Pasch. u. s.

⁷ Marcellus, ap. Du Cange, *Traité Hist. du chef de S. Jean Bapt.* [p. 226.]

translation of St. John's head to Constantinople under Theodosius the Great¹; whether it was that they had discovered it not to be the true head of St. John Baptist, or from some other reason.

A. D. 453.
CH. XLIV.
CH. XLV.
Supr.
19. 49.

The Emperor Marcian did not content himself with the gentle correction he had administered to the misguided monks of Palestine. He gave orders to the governor Dorotheus to apprehend the pretended Bishop Theodosius, with a view to his punishment; but he escaped and took refuge in the fastnesses of Mount Sinai². Many of his accomplices, both laymen and monks, were subjected to corporal punishment. After the flight of Theodosius, Juvenal was re-instated in his see at the end of twenty months, that is to say, in July 453. He immediately deposed all whom Theodosius had ordained, and held a Council, from which he wrote a synodal letter³, 'to the [Priests,] Archimandrites, and monks of Palestine,' shewing them, that the Council of Chalcedon had only confirmed the Faith of Nicea, and that the suspicions and mistrust which had been insinuated into them by the schismatics were groundless. This letter was subscribed by Juvenal of Jerusalem, Irenæus of Cæsarea, Paul of Paralus, and all the Bishops of the three Palestines. The Emperor Marcian directed a letter to this Council⁴, in which he repeats the declaration of his faith, and exhorts the Bishops to endeavour to reclaim their flocks and especially the monks who had been seduced by the calumnies of Theodosius. He mentions that he had written to the Bishop Macarius, and to the Archimandrites and monks of Mount Sinai, (whither the arch-schismatic had retired,) to inform them of his crimes, and put them on their guard against his wiles.

XLIV.
Juvenal re-
instated.

² Niceph.
15. 9.

³ C. Calch.
pt. 3. c. 20.

⁴ Ibid. c. 15.

The schismatics gave out⁵ that St. Leo did not approve of the Council of Chalcedon, the whole pretence being grounded on the fact of his having disallowed the canon about the precedency of the Bishop of Constantinople. St. Leo's letter to Anatolius, it is true, might easily have disabused them; but Anatolius did not care to publish it, and he is even charged with having circulated this calumny. The impression it made was so serious that the Emperor Marcian advised St. Leo to explain himself distinctly on the point. He thought he had done this sufficiently, previously to the Council, by his letter

XLV.
St. Leo
writes to
the Bishops
of the
Council.
⁵ Leo. Ep.
88, 89, 90.

A. D. 453. to Flavian, and afterwards by those which he had written to
 CH. XLV. the Emperor, the Empress, and to Anatolius. However, to
 satisfy the Emperor, he wrote once more¹ a letter addressed
 to all the Bishops who had assisted at the Council of Chal-
 cedon, in which he declares that he approves every thing they
 had decreed relating to the Faith, and that whosoever shall
 presume to maintain the error of Nestorius, or of Eutyches
 and Dioscorus, ought to be cut off from the Church. But he
 protests at the same time, that he will inviolably observe the
 canons of Nicæa, and oppose ambition, whatever Councils it
 may allege in its defence, and that he had but practised
 this resolve when he opposed the attempts of the Bishop
 of Constantinople. This letter is dated the twenty-first of
 March, 453².

² 12 Kal.
 April.
 Opilione
 Cos.
³ Ep. 89, 90.
 (al. 59, 60.) St. Leo wrote at the same time to the Emperor Marcian,
 and to the Empress Pulcheria³, who was still alive, to thank
 them for the care they had taken to bring back the monks
 of Palestine by gentle means. He wrote moreover to Julian
 of Cos on the same subject⁴. Speaking of the injury done to
 the Priest Aetius, he says⁵, “We must put up with that for
 “the present, lest I should seem to overstep the due bounds
 “of gravity. Anatolius urges his claim so steadily, that he
 “even attempted to make all the Bishops of Illyricum sub-
 “scribe to it. I have not written to him, though you were
 “of opinion I ought, because I see clearly that he is unwilling
 “to correct his error.”

⁶ c. 3. In the same letter, he remarks⁶, that he had received a
 private injunction from the Emperor to write to the Empress
 Eudocia, which he accordingly did on the twenty-fifth of
 June⁷, exhorting her to reclaim the mistaken monks of
 Palestine, and to point out to them, that the Catholic Faith
 equally condemns the errors of Nestorius and Eutyches. He
 wrote also to the monks themselves⁸, attributing the origin
 of their mistake to the corrupt translation of his letter to
 Flavian. He dwells at some length on the subject, and after
 having instructed these monks, who for the most part were
 very ignorant, he severely reproves them for their outbreak,
 and admonishes them to make reparation for it⁹. This is one
 of the most eloquent of all St. Leo's letters.

He observes in two other letters which belong to this year,

that it was not proper for monks to preach. He says to A. D. 453.
 Julian of Cos¹, "As it belongs to the Imperial power severely ^{CH. XLVI.}
 "to suppress the tendencies to tumult and sedition, so it ^{1 Ep. 91.}
 "belongs to the sacerdotal authority not to allow the monks ^(al. 82.)
 "any licence of preaching against the Faith, and to hinder ^{c. 2.}
 "them from taking upon them what belongs only to Bishops;"
 and to Maximus of Antioch², "You ought also to provide that, ^{2 Ep. 92.}
 "except the Lord's Priests, no one shall have the hardihood ^(al. 62.)
 "to assume the right of teaching and preaching, whether he ^{c. 6.}
 "be a monk, or a layman who prides himself on his reputa-
 "tion in some science. Order must in all things be ob-
 "served in the Church, and each of its members must be
 "content with his function." He repeats this in a letter to
 Theodoret³. It was called forth by the monks of Eutyches's ^{3 Ep. 93.}
 party, and in particular by one George⁴, who, with the per- ^(al. 63.)
 mission of Thalassius, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, had ^{c. 6.}
 taken upon himself authority to write and preach. ^{4 Ep. 91.}

Maximus of Antioch had written to St. Leo by the Priest ^{XLVI.}
 Marian and the Deacon Olympius, and these had informed ^{Letters to}
 him that there were still in the East a great number of Nes- ^{Maximus}
 torians and Eutychians, who dealt out reciprocal anathemas ^{and Theo-}
 against each other. St. Leo exhorts Maximus to hold fast by ^{doret.}
 the Faith of St. Peter, "whose successors," he says, "we both
 "are. Never suffer them to wound this Faith in the Eastern
 "Churches, least of all in those which the canons of Nicæa
 "assigned to the see of Antioch. I have so great reverence
 "for these canons, that I will never permit them to be vio-
 "lated by any innovation. Maintain carefully the privileges
 "of the third see; and, if you have any thing to urge about
 "this matter, explain it in your letters, that I may be able
 "to answer you more exactly.

"Ambition often takes occasion to insinuate itself into
 "general Councils; as in the Council of Ephesus⁵ Juvenal ^{5 Supr.}
 "thought to have usurped the primacy of Palestine, and to ^{25. 58.}
 "establish his pretensions by some forged writings; but
 "St. Cyril opposed it, and wrote hither to inform us of the
 "attempt, and to prevent it from receiving our sanction.
 "We have found in our archives the original of his letter, of
 "which you have sent us a copy. If my brethren, sent as
 "envoys to the Council which related only to the Faith,

A. D. 453. "have done any thing beyond that, it cannot have any force,
 CH. XLVI. "since in that case they have exceeded their powers. You
 "will see our attachment to the Nicæan Council, by the
 "copies of the letter which we sent to the Bishop of Con-
 "stantinople to repress his ambition, and which you will
 "communicate to all our colleagues."

¹ Ep. 93. The tendency of St. Leo's letter to Theodoret¹ is to console him, and confirm him in his adherence to the good side. It begins with these remarkable words: "We glorify our Lord, "for that He has not suffered us to lose any of our brethren, "but has confirmed that by the irrevocable consent of the "whole brotherhood, which He had before determined by "our ministry, and has shewn that what was decreed by the "first of all sees, [and] has been approved by the judgment "of all Christendom, [proceeded from Himself.] For, in order "that the consent of the other sees might not seem to be "adulation, and that no other unfavourable suspicion should "arise, some were, at first, found who doubted about our de- "cision. But the truth shines more brightly, and makes a "deeper impression, when what the Faith had taught before- "hand is afterwards confirmed by examination. The power "of the sacerdotal ministry is the more conspicuous when "superiors so maintain their authority as not to diminish the "liberty of the inferiors; and the examination turns to the "greater glory of God." We here see that the decision of Faith pronounced by the Pope was examined by the other Bishops with entire freedom; and that, when it has been confirmed by their consent, no one is any longer permitted to call it in question. St. Leo afterwards says to Theodoret²; ² c. 4, 5. "Though you have no need of instruction, we think it right "to inform you, on this occasion, that in combating the "enemies of the Church we ought to weigh our discourse "with great caution. We are not now to dispute of things "doubtful, but to give plenary authority to the decrees of "the Council of Chalcedon. We must leave the enemies of "the Church no room for calumny, as if, in opposing the "Nestorians and Eutychians, we conceded any thing to the "one or the other. We must equally condemn both, and "unhesitatingly anathematize them whenever the profit of "our hearers demands it. You have lately learnt this by

"experience. But blessed be God, whose invincible truth
 "has shewn you to be entirely free from all stain of heresy,
 "according to the judgment of the Apostolic see." He then
 requests Theodoret to inform him of the progress made by
 the sound doctrine¹ in the East. Any one who reflects on
 the past conduct of Theodoret, will easily see the usefulness
 of this advice.

A. D. 453.
 CH. XLVII.

[¹ doctrina
 Dominica]

It is thought that Theodoret lived four or five years after
 this, until about the year 458. His treatise of *Heretical Fables* is
 referred to his last years; it was certainly composed after the
 Council of Chalcedon, since he speaks in it of the heresy of
 Eutyches as actually condemned². This work was written at
 the request of Sporatus, one of the commissioners of the
 Council, and Consul for the year 452, to whom he gives this
 commendation³, that in the midst of a Court, and in the mul-
 tiplicity of public business, he made the knowledge of Divine
 things and the study of truth his first careⁿ. The work is
 divided into five books; the first contains the heresies which
 maintained two First Causes, and affirmed that God was in-
 carnate only in appearance, beginning with Simon Magus
 and ending with Manes. The second treats of those who
 said that CHRIST was a mere man, extending from Ebion to
 Photinus. The third book comprises various heresies, among
 others, those of the Montanists and Novatians; while the
 fourth takes up the later heresies, from Arius to his own
 time. He concludes with Nestorius and Eutyches¹; his ex-
 pressions in reference to Nestorius are so violent, that the
 chapter has been suspected. The fifth book is an exposition
 of the Catholic doctrine, to serve for a refutation of heresies.
 It was also in the latter part of his life that he wrote, at the
 request of Hypatius his Chorepiscopus, the *Questions on the*
*Octateuch*⁵, that is, on the eight first books of Scripture; or,
 the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. He also wrote
 questions on the books of Kings and the Chronicles. Thus he
 finished his life holily, as he had begun it, in peace and com-

XLVII.
 Death of
 Theodoret.

² l. 4. c. ult.
 [l. iv. p.
 297.]

³ Pref. in
 fin. [p. 189.]

⁴ c. 12.

⁵ v. Garner.
 Diss. 2. c. 3.
 [Anctar.
 Theod. p.
 181.]

ⁿ "We find men who are the most
 "burdened, and even overborne, by
 "the thronging toils of daily life, or
 "solicited by the splendours of the
 "world, not only holding out against
 "the secularizing action of worldly
 "things, but even confirmed and ele-

vated to a higher pitch of devotion.
 "The world not only has no power to
 "conform them to itself, but it be-
 "comes a sort of counterpressure, which
 "forces them to take shelter in a secret
 "life of self-renouncement." Adm.
 Manning, Sermon V.

A. D. 453. munion with the Church¹. He left behind him nearly a hundred and fifty letters.

CH. XLVIII.

¹ Id. Hist. Theod.

c. 13. § 5. [p. 148.]

XLVIII. Councils in Gaul.

² Opilione Cos.

³ Conc. t. iv. p. 1020.

⁴ C. Calch. can. 5, 9, 13, 7, 4.

C. Andeg. c. 1, 7, 8.

In this same year, 453², a Council was held at Angers, on the fourth of October, at which seven Bishops were present³; namely, Leo of Bourges, [Eustochius,] Charito, Rumoridus, Viventius of Mans, [Victorius,] and Thalassius, the new Bishop of Angers, whose election was the occasion of this Council. There were twelve canons made, some of which decree, in conformity with the Council of Chalcedon⁴, that the clergy shall not plead before civil judges, except with the consent of their Bishops; that they shall not travel without their permission and commendatory letters; that they shall not enter the army, or engage in secular employments; that the vagrant monks shall be excommunicated. Violent assaults and mutilations of the body are forbidden, and the penalty of excommunication is laid on those who assist in delivering up cities⁵. All this marks the disorder consequent upon the incursions of the barbarians, who at that time overran Gaul. It was, apparently, at the beginning of his episcopate, that Thalassius consulted St. Lupus of Troyes and St. Euphronius of Autun respecting some points of discipline. We have their answer still extant⁶: we gather from it their mode of celebrating Christmas-Eve, Easter-eve, and the Vigil of the Epiphany; and that their porters were allowed to marry a second time, but not the Exorcists, or Subdeacons.

⁵ c. 3, 4.

⁶ Conc. t. iv. p. 1048.

⁷ Conc. t. iv. p. 1010.

v. not. Sirmond. ibid. et p. 1812.

The second Council of Arles⁷ is supposed to have been held about this time, though we neither know the precise year, nor the names of the Bishops who assisted at it; indeed the very number of the canons, which are all that now remains of the Council, has been matter of dispute. As many as fifty-six are given in the collections, but some of them are supposed to have been inserted from other Councils. We may here mention the most remarkable. The tenth provides that "those who have fallen away in time of persecution, and "have voluntarily denied the Faith, shall go through seven "years' penance, according to the Council of Nicæa;" that is, as represented by Rufinus, in his history⁸: for the Council itself, in the eleventh canon, imposed twelve years' penance on them⁹. For the rest, it does not appear that there was at

⁸ lib. 1. c. 5. can. 12. [Opusc. p. 199.]

⁹ Fleury, xi. 21.

this time any persecution except that of the unconverted barbarians who were ravaging the Empire. The twenty-third canon relates to the remains of idolatry which were still to be found among the Gauls. "If within the jurisdiction of any Bishop the infidels light torches, or worship trees, fountains, or stones, the Bishop who neglects to root out this abuse, is guilty of sacrilege. If the owner or the person who authorized the idolatrous act refuse to be reformed, he shall be excommunicated." The twenty-second states that "penance cannot be given to married people except by consent," that is, cannot be given to one of the two without the consent of the other, because the state of penance made continence obligatory, as appears from the preceding canon.

When St. Leo was apprized of the re-instatement of Juvenal at Jerusalem, he returned thanks to the Emperor Marcian, in a letter dated¹ the ninth of January, A.D. 451². At the same time he wrote about it to Julian of Cos³, from whom he had received this agreeable news; he adds that he had received letters from Proterius of Alexandria, containing a satisfactory account of his faith. There was room, we may suppose, for suspecting his sincerity, as he had been a disciple of Dioscorus. But St. Leo complains that when his letter to the Council of Chalcedon was publicly read at Constantinople in the presence of the Bishops and Priests, they had read only the first part, which concerned the Faith, and not the second, which related to the enterprize of Anatolius.

He wrote some time after to Proterius⁴, who had sent him a letter stating his reception of Leo's letter to Flavian. He exhorts him to maintain the purity of the Faith, and to reclaim the followers of Eutyches by shewing them how widely the Catholic doctrine differs from that of Nestorius. "Let them see," he says, "that you teach nothing but what the Fathers taught, particularly Athanasius, Theophilus, and Cyril, whose works you will read to them first, and afterwards my letter to Flavian, that they may observe how well they agree together." He also exhorts him to maintain discipline, to uphold the dignity of his Church, and to keep all the Bishops of Egypt under his authority; declaring for his part, that he has the preservation of the canons no

A. D. 451.
CH. XLIX.

XLIX.
St. Leo's
letter to
Proterius,
&c.

¹ Ep. 99.
² Actio et
Studio

Coss.
³ Ep. 100.
(al. 68.)

⁴ Ep. 103.

A. D. 454. less at heart than that of the Faith,—plainly referring to the
 CIL. L. pretensions of the Bishop of Constantinople. This letter is dated the tenth of March, 454. As the Emperor Marcian vouched for the faith of Proterius, St. Leo wrote to him at the same time¹, begging that his letter to Flavian, faithfully translated into Greek under the superintendence of Julian of Cos², might be transmitted to Alexandria by some trusty person, and under the Imperial seal; and that it should be addressed to the Judges of Alexandria, with orders to have it recited in public.

L. St. Leo was in some difficulty about fixing Easter-Day for
 Dispute concern- the following year, (455,) the eighth indiction. According
 ing the Easter of to the calculation of Theophilus of Alexandria it would be the
 A. D. 455. eighth of the calends of May, that is, the twenty-fourth of April, but this seemed to throw it too late; for it had been supposed up to that time, that Easter ought not to fall earlier than the twenty-second of March, or later than the twenty-first of April^o. In the preceding year, (453,) St. Leo had written about it to the Emperor Marcian³, desiring him to

¹ Ep. 94.
 (al. 64.)

^o St. Leo mentions these as the limits between which Easter might range (Ep. 94); but there is reason to think that this mode of stating the earlier limit was a concession to the Alexandrian system, which was based on the following rules. "The Paschal 14th lune (or day of the moon) shall never fall before March 21 (the reputed vernal equinox), nor after April 18: if it fall on a Saturday, the next day is Easter, if on a Sunday, Easter will be the Sunday following." In this scheme, therefore, the limits of Easter were March 22 and April 25. The Latin rule, on the other hand, made March 18 and April 15 the *termini Paschales* (Victor. Præf. p. 4); and as it allowed Easter to fall on the 16th lune, but not before, it is clear that in order to be consistent, it ought to make March 20 and April 23 the limits of Easter. But whatever the truth may be with regard to the earlier limit, it is certain that they made April 21 their *later* limit—a limit obviously irreconcilable with their own maxims: for, supposing the 15th lune to fall on April 15, a Sunday, Easter must be the Sunday following, April 22. This supposed case actually occurred in 417, when at Pope Zosimus's request the

feast was celebrated on March 25 "lest it should be held on April 22" (ne X Cal. Maji die teneretur); Ep. Paschasin. post Ep. Leon. 2. (p. 413.) In the former dispute in 444, St. Leo consented to keep Easter on April 23; but he says that he acquiesced in this only because it made the Paschal limit, April 21, coincide with the Day of the passion (Ep. 94),—the *πάσχα σταυρώσιμον*, though not the *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον* (v. Usher. de Ignat. M. Epist. c. 9.) So great stress cannot have been laid on this April 21 without a cause; and a clue to an adequate motive has been supposed to be discovered (Ideler, Handb. i. 266) in the fact recorded by Prosper (supr. xxvi. 56), that in the year 444, Good-Friday falling on April 21, "out of reverence for it the anniversary of the city's foundation passed without Circensian games." Whenever Easter-Day occurred later than the 21st, the great national festival would fall in Passion-Week; and at a time when old Pagan prejudices were still rife, it must have been an arduous and hazardous task to suppress that which yet, if tolerated, would be most revolting to minds occupied in exercises proper to that hallowed tide.

have the question examined by men of the highest skill, in A. D. 454. order that Easter might be celebrated on the same day by all the Churches. He had also charged Julian of Cos to press the matter forward¹, and it is evident, from the number of letters in which he mentions it², that he attached no small importance to it. The Emperor sent one of his agents to Alexandria with a letter for Proterius, who to satisfy St. Leo, wrote him a long letter, in which the question is minutely examined³. He shews that the Pasch ought to be celebrated by the Christians, not on the fourteenth of the moon⁴ of the first month, as among the Jews, but on the Sunday following, consequently, when the fourteenth falls on a Sunday, Easter must be thrown forward to the Sunday following, which is the twenty-first. Nor is there any reason to apprehend that by this rule we may have to celebrate Easter in the second month; for this month counts, not from the day of the Equinox, which is always the twenty-first of March, but from the new moon after the Equinox. He adduces several examples in confirmation of this view⁵, and concludes that the calculation of Theophilus is right, and that Easter in the eighth indiction, or the year 455, ought to be celebrated on the twenty-ninth of Pharmouthi, which is the

CH. L.

¹ Ep. 95.

(al. 65.)

² Ep. 100.

(al. 64.)

Ep. 102.

Ep. 105.

(al. 70.)

c. 3.

³ post Ep.

103.

¹ By the 14th day of the moon (or 14th lune) we are constantly to understand the day of full moon. Victorius uses indifferently "Luna xiv" and "plenilunium," (Praef. p. 4.) The age of the moon was dated from its first phasis, not from the actual conjunction which would commonly take place a day earlier. It is evident how much ambiguity might arise from this cause; and accordingly Victorius says that what some called the first lune, others called the 30th and others again the 2nd: (Praef. p. 3.)

² In the 89th year of Diocletian, he says, (= A. D. 373), the paschal 14th lune fell on March 24, a Sunday, and Easter was kept on March 31: in 377 it fell on Sunday, April 9, and Easter was kept on April 16. Again, in 387 Sunday, April 18, being the 14th lune, April 25 was Easter-Day; and in 444 when the 14th lune was on April 18th, a Tuesday, Easter was kept on April 23. We learn from St. Ambrose that the Easters of 373, 377, and 387 were observed on the above-mentioned days at Milan also: and that in 360 Easter

was kept there on April 23 (*sine ulli dubitatione majorum*, he adds: Ep. 23. t. ii. p. 887, ed. Bened.)

Any one who is disposed to follow out the subjects of these chapters will find a compendious substitute for the mechanism of Epact, Sunday-letter, and Golden-number in the following rule. It is universally applicable to the Julian Calendar, and with two slight exceptions to the Gregorian also. "Divide the year A. D. by 19, 4, and 7 successively, calling the remainders *a*, *b*, and *c*: divide 19 *a* + *M* by 30, "calling the remainder *d*; and 2 *b* + "4 *c* + 6 *d* + *N* by 7, leaving a remainder *e*. Then Easter-Day will be "the (22 + *d* + *e*)th of March, or (*d* + "e-9)th of April." For the Julian Calendar *M* and *N* are constant, (viz. *M* = 15, *N* = 6); but for the Gregorian variable, (being for the present century *M* = 23, *N* = 4.) See Delambre, *Astron.* t. iii. p. 717; and, for the proof of the formula, Cisa de Gresy in the *Memorie d. R. Acad. di Torino*: t. xxiv. p. 77.

A. D. 454. eighth of the calends of May, or the twenty-fourth of April.
 CH. LI. St. Leo yielded rather to the authority of St. Proterius, than to his reasons^r, wishing to avoid a diversity in the celebration of the feast¹; and he wrote a letter to the Bishops of the Gauls and Spains², dated the fifth of the calends of August, after the Consulate of Opilio, that is, July 28, 454, informing them that the approaching Easter would be on the eighth of the calends of May, not on the fifteenth, as some thought; in other words, on the twenty-fourth of April, not on the seventeenth. And so ended the dispute.

LI. To prevent difficulties of this kind in future, and that he might not be obliged blindly to follow the authority of the Alexandrians, St. Leo had a new paschal-canon drawn up; at least, it seems probable that Victorius composed his by St. Leo's order. Of one thing we are certain—that Hilarus, at that time Archdeacon of Rome, and afterwards Pope, enjoined Victorius³ to inquire at his leisure into the reason why Greeks and Latins held such different opinions on this point^s, and to shew which method gave the more correct re-

^r The truth is that Proterius's arguments were hardly to the point. He insists, for instance, on the rule that, when the 14th lune falls on a Sunday, Easter must be kept on the following Sunday, to avoid the Jewish Pasch. Now this was a principle recognised by the Roman Church even more fully than by the Greek: for the former (as we have seen) would allow Easter to fall only from the 16th to the 22nd lune, while the latter was content with its being on the 15th.—The real source of the dispute in this case was the difference of cycles; this therefore was the point on which he should have laid out his strength. St. Leo did not admit that Sunday, the 17th of April, was the 14th lune. In Victorius's Cycle it is called the 16th lune; and Noris shews in detail that St. Leo evidently considered it to be so: v. Diss. II. de Cyclo Pasch. Lat. p. 124. The authority to which St. Leo yielded was that which attached to the Bishop of Alexandria as commissioned by the Nicæan Council to announce annually on what day the following Easter would fall; (Cyril. Prol., ap. Bucher. p. 481, Leo Ep. ad Marcian, *ibid.* p. 79). Proterius in his letter speaks of the 19 years' cycle as one "which cannot be violated," being

appointed by the blessed Fathers (i. e. of Nicæa) to be "the pediment, the foundation, the canon." From this and from the more express passages in St. Ambrose (Opp. ii. p. 882), St. Cyril (ap. Bucher. p. 72), and Dionysius Exiguus (*ib.* p. 485), it has been concluded that the Council itself put forth a cycle. Van der Hagen rejects this theory (Diss. de Cycl. Pasch. p. 172, sqq.), which has met with a strong advocate in Mr. Greswell, Diss. vol. iv. pt. 2. p. 662, sqq.

^s The causes assigned by Victorius are, 1. the difference of cycles.—There was one, he says, of 84 y., (i. e. 6×14 , Epiphan. Hær. 51. § 26), one of 95 y. (i. e. 5×19), and one of 112 y. (i. e. 7×16). Besides these, others had formerly been in use; thus Anatolius (in Præf. in can. Pasch., ap. Bucher. p. 439) mentions cycles of 25 and 30 years. Hippolytus published his *ἐκκαίδεκαετηρῆς* about A.D. 220 (Euseb. H. E., vi. 22; Fleury, v. 51; see an account of it in Browne's *Ordo Sæcl.*, p. 474); St. Cyprian a canon of similar construction in 243. (ad Calc. Opp. p. 61, ed. Fell.); Dionysius his *ὀκταετηρῆς* about 250 (Euseb. vii. 20), and Anatolius his *ἐννεακαίδεκαετηρῆς* about 270, (1d. vii. 32.) We may infer from

sult. Victorius was a Gaul of Aquitaine, who had, probably, A. D. 457, retired to Rome to escape from the Goths. He accepted the commission¹, and, to give greater certainty to his work, undertook to recalculate the whole succession of lunations and days, (i. e. days of the week,) from the beginning of the world, according to the chronicle of Eusebius. He found that the lunar cycle of nineteen years, which the Greeks used, was more to be depended upon than those of the Latins², and multiplying it by the solar cycle of twenty-eight years, he made a paschal-canon of 532 years, which was larger than any that had been made up to that time. It commenced, in his mode of reckoning, with the consulate of the two Gemini, which he assigned as the year of the Passion, and ended in the year of the Incarnation, 559, according to our vulgar era. Victorius published this paschal-canon in the consulate of Constantinus and Rufus, or A.D. 457, and from that time he was pretty generally followed by the Latins³. The author is sometimes called Victorinus, or Victor.

CH. LI.

¹ Gennad. de vir. illustr. c. 89. Ep. Vict. ap. Bucher. p. 2.

Epiphanius (Har. 70. § 14), that the *ὀκταετηρίς* was commonly employed in the early Church. Elsewhere (Har. 51. § 26) he speaks of the 84 years' cycle as used by the Jews in our Saviour's time: and hence many have stated that it was adopted from them by the Christians of the first 200 years: Bingh. xx. 5. § 1. Bucher. p. 132, 419: but this is very doubtful, v. Van der Hagen in Chron. Prosp. p. 367, sqq. It seems, however, that the cycle of 84 y. was in use at Rome before that of 112 y.; for St. Cyril, remarking on the inaccuracy of the former, says that they who introduced the latter *pejus aliquid addiderunt*: (See Ideler, Handb. p. 222, 240).—2. The different ways of calculating the new moon, (*supr.* note q.) 3. and of inserting the *saltus lune* (v. Ideler, p. 235. Victor., Pref. p. 3, t.) 4. The difference as to the *termini Paschales* and the earliest lune on which Easter-Day might fall: *supr.* note p. 5. The error of epact introduced by the 84 years' cycle: *infr.* note t.

² 84 Julian years differ from 1039 synodical months by 1d. 6h. 48' in defect; 19 years differ from 235 months by 1h. 27½' in excess. Hence the cycle of 84 y. would give the new moon a day and a quarter too early at the end of one revolution: while that of 19 y.

only made it a day too late in the course of its seventeenth revolution, (after 312 years.) The divergency thus produced may be illustrated by the following instance, (Ideler, u. s. p. 277.) The three years 298, 382, and 466 were all initial years of the Roman cycle: the new-moon of the initial year given by the table is March 31, which places the full moon on April 13. But the golden numbers of these years are 14, 3, and 11; which, in the Alexandrian scheme gave the 12th, 13th, and 15th, of April for the full moon: so that in this last year the calculations differ by two days. That this discrepancy did actually result, we know by contemporary evidence. St. Cyril (Prolog. § 5. ap. Bucher. p. 483) says, "the lunes which they wrongly call the 3rd, 16th, and 23rd, St. Theophilus proves by the heavens to be the 1st, 14th, and 21st;" and to the same effect Victorius, (Pref. § 5. p. 5.)

The only advantage possessed by the Roman cycle was, that on its recurrence it brought back the Paschal full moon, not only to the same day of the month, but to the same *feria* or week-day. Being purchased at the expense of astronomical truth, this was of course only an apparent advantage.

³ Although Victorius adopted the

A. D. 454.

CH. LII.

LII.
Satisfac-
tion given
by Anato-
lius.

¹ Ep. 101.

Anatolius of Constantinople being pressed by the Emperor, offered to satisfy St. Leo, but complained that Leo had given up the correspondence. "I only desisted," says St. Leo¹,

Alexandrian plan of inserting the saltus lunæ after every 19th year, and, besides making other concessions, corrected the epoch by a reduction of two days, he yet retained so many of the old Latin maxims as prevented an entire uniformity between the Eastern and Western Churches: (v. Ideler, p. 283, sqq.) Not that he himself decides against the Alexandrians:—whenever the two modes of computation produce different results, he sets both of them down, and leaves it to the Pope to choose between them. But as the latter naturally selected the date which was derived from the Latin principle, it several times happened that Easter was celebrated on different days. Thus in the years 475, 495, 496, 499, and 516 the feast was held in the West 8 days later than in the East: (see the Table in *L'art de v. l. Dates*, t. i. p. 10, 11. ed. 1783.) An analysis of the cases of double dates is given by Ideler, p. 283. At length Dionysius Exiguus (A.D. 525: *infr.* xxxii. 38) drew up a canon in complete accordance with the Alexandrian principles,—making the Paschal new moon range between March 8 and April 5 (inclusive), and allowing the 15th lune to be Easter-Day. His cycle was immediately received by the Roman Church, though Victorius's canon continued to be used in some parts of Italy so late as A.D. 550: see the fragment of a letter by Victor of Capua in Bede, *De Temp. Rat.* c. 49; (*Opp.* t. ii. p. 159, ed. 1563.)

The countrymen of Victorius adhered to his table with greater tenacity. The first canon of the IVth Council of Orleans (A.D. 541) decrees that "the holy Pasch shall be observed by all "Priests on one day according to the "Laterculus of Victorius," (Labbe, t. v. p. 381.) In 577 Easter was kept at Tours and many other cities of France on the 15th of April (the date assigned by Victorius); some kept it with the Spaniards on March 21; (Greg. T., *Hist. Franc.* v. 17; *infr.* xxxiv. 33.) The Alexandrian date was April 25. Again, in 590 (Greg. T., x. 23; *infr.* xxxv. 6) "was a doubtful Pasch, because Victor in his cycle wrote, that "the Pasch fell on lune xv, but that,

"to avoid the Jewish feast, the Latins "would keep it on lune xxii. Hence "many in the Gauls kept it on the "xvth, but we," at Tours, "on the "xxiind." This is important as shewing that many parts of Gaul had at this time come over to the Alexandrian rule. All traces of difference cease in France before the end of the eighth century.

We are not told on what principle the Spaniards celebrated Easter in 577 on the 21st of March:—whether they always celebrated it on the Equinox, or were following some cycle of their own. At this period they were for the most part Arians; but a few years afterwards (A.D. 587) Reccared, King of the West Goths, joined the Catholic Church, and it was probably then that the 19 years' cycle was introduced. (Ideler, p. 295.) In 620 we find Isidore of Seville continuing the Dionysian table from 627 to 721.

The contest remained longest in the British Isles. The Britons had the 84 years' cycle (as reformed by Sulpicius Severus, according to Usher, *de Primord.* p. 931), but with some peculiarities, such as keeping the feast from the 14th to the 20th lune, and placing the Equinox (before which the feast could not fall) on March 25; (see Lanigan's *E. H. of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 372, sqq.) This cycle, which was introduced by St. Patrick into Ireland and thence transferred to the Picts in Scotland, is noticed at large in Cumman's letter to Segienus, (A.D. 634,) ap. Usher., *Sylloge Vet. Epp. Hibern.* p. 24. The Britons carried it with them in their retreat into Wales; and it also prevailed in some parts of Northumbria: see the account of the conference at Strenæshale (Whitby), Fleury, xxxix. 36. A letter written about A.D. 710, by the Abbot Ceolfrid, (preserved by Bede, *H. E.* 5. 22,) conduced greatly to settle the dispute; and Bede completed what his master had begun, so that in the year 729 the 19 years' cycle was received by the greater part of the Britons. In Charlemagne's time and for eight centuries after, Christendom was at unity on this point.

“because I found he sent me no answer at all intimating A. D. 454.
 “that he retracted his ambitious pretensions, especially after CH. LIII.
 “what occurred in the affair of Aëtius and Andrew; but I
 “have never ceased heartily to long for his amendment.”
 After many letters from the Emperor, Anatolius himself
 wrote to St. Leo¹ that the Priest Aëtius had been restored 1 post Ep. 105.
 to his former rank of honour in the Church;—which
 of course does not mean that he had resumed the office
 of Archdeacon; for this, being a Priest, he could not do;
 but only that he had been removed from the cemetery, which
 was a sort of banishment, and again placed among the clergy
 of the cathedral. Anatolius adds, “Andrew, who had been
 “honoured with the dignity of Archdeacon, [not by our pro-
 “moting him, but by right of seniority,] has been separated
 “from the Church along with those who opposed St. Flavian
 “and supported Eutyches, though, to be sure, they seemed
 “to have made reparation by subscribing the letter of your
 “holiness; however, they shall continue in separation until
 “we know your will concerning them. As to the decision
 “made in favour of the see of Constantinople by the Council
 “of Chalcedon, be assured that no blame rests with me. I
 “have all my life loved tranquillity, and wished to remain in
 “my humble station; but you will find by the Acts that the
 “clergy of Constantinople desired it, and the Bishops of
 “these parts agreed to it.”

Anatolius having thus given satisfaction, St. Leo wrote to
 him². He approves of the re-establishment of Aëtius and the 2 Ep. 106. (al. 71.)
 deposition of Andrew, and adds, “If Andrew and Eufhratas,
 “(who, as I understand, has wantonly accused Flavian, of holy
 “memory,) condemn by an authenticated writing the error of
 “Eutyches as well as that of Nestorius, you shall ordain
 “them Priests, after having chosen for Archdeacon a man
 “who has never been suspected of these heresies. The others,
 “who were involved in the same guilt, shall be restored on
 “the same conditions; but those only must be raised to the
 “first rank³, who have constantly been untainted with any
 “error.” As for the ambitious claim of Anatolius, the Pope
 does not appear persuaded of his sincerity in this particular.
 The letter is dated the twenty-ninth of May, 454.

St. Leo wrote to the Emperor at the same time on the

LIII.

Other
 letters of
 St. Leo.

[* ad offici-
 orum pri-
 matum.]

A. D. 454. same subject¹; and also desires him to put a check on the monk
CH. LIV.
¹ Ep. 107. Carosus, whom he calls very ignorant and perverse, and who
 had seduced a great number of people, maintaining heresy
 and disparaging the authority of the Council². The Emperor
² Ep. 112. complied with his request, and removed Carosus and Doro-
c. 2; 113.
c. 1. theus from their monasteries, confining them to a place where
 they could injure no one. A little before this³, St. Leo had
³ Ep. 105. desired the Emperor to send Eutyches to a greater distance,
(al. 70.)
c. 2. having learned from Julian of Cos that, in the place to which
 he was banished, he still attempted to deceive, and reviled the
 Catholic doctrine with the recklessness of a man in despair.
 Dioscorus died this year at Gangra, the place of his exile;
 when St. Leo heard of this, he hoped that those who had
 been perverted from the Faith might now be more easily
⁴ Ep. 111. induced to return⁴.

Juvenal of Jerusalem wrote to inform St. Leo of his re-
 establishment. "I am glad of it," answered Leo⁵; "yet when
⁵ Ep. 110. "I reflect on what has passed, it is but too plain that you
(al. 72.) "brought your misfortunes upon yourself, and that you lost
 "the power of opposing heretics by your inconsistency in
 "approving their error—for this you did virtually when, at
 "the false Council of Ephesus, you condemned Flavian and
 "received Eutyches. Ignorance on this subject," he adds,
 "is utterly inexcusable in men who live at Jerusalem and
 "have no need of books to know the truth of the Gospel,
 "since they see with their eyes the places where the mys-
 "teries were accomplished." He concludes with these two
 sentences, which are sufficient to quash the heresy of Eu-
 tyches: "Neither can the GODHEAD be in its essence pas-
 "sible, nor would the Truth have deceived us by a feigned
 "assumption of our nature." The letter is dated the fourth
 of September, 454. In a letter belonging to this year, St. Leo
 complains to the Emperor Marcian that the stewards of the
 Church of Constantinople made up their accounts before
 secular judges⁶; this, he said, was without precedent and
⁶ Ep. 108. contrary to the received practice, which was that the Bishops
c. 2. should revise the Church accounts.

LIV. Theodosius, the self-styled Bishop of Jerusalem, had re-
 tired to Mount Sinai, whose monasteries, deriving their
 original from Egypt, preserved a close connection with the
Laws of
 Marcian in
 favour of
 the Church.

parent country. The Emperor Marcian, therefore, sent the A.D. 454-6.
Decurion John into Egypt¹, with a letter directed to the CH. LIV.
monks of the country, to acquaint them with the crimes
of Theodosius. He exhorts them to track out his lurking
places, and to deliver him and his accomplices to the
governor of the province, not in order to punish him as
he deserved, but to prevent him from continuing to seduce
the ignorant. The Emperor does not fail in this letter to
shew the purity of his faith and so obviate the calumnies of
the heretics.

It may be that the Decurion John was also charged to
publish in Egypt a law issued by the Emperor Marcian
against the heretics², and specially against the Eutychians,
whom it styles Apollinarists³ and subjects to the penalties
formerly laid upon these last: incapacitating them for being
either testators or legatees; prohibiting them from ordain-
ing Bishops and clergy on pain of banishment and confisca-
tion of goods; and forbidding them to hold assemblies, or
speak against the Council of Chalcedon. This law is dated
on the first of August, in the year 455⁴; it is directed to the
Prefect Palladius, with orders to see it executed, particularly
at Constantinople and Alexandria. In the same year⁵, 455,
the Emperor Marcian abrogated the law enacted by Valen-
tinian on the thirtieth of July, 370, by which clergy and
monks were disqualified from receiving any legacy from
women⁶. Marcian permits virgins and women devoted to
God to give to churches, clerks, monks, or to the poor,
whatever they thought fit, whether by donation or will.

We meet with a law of the preceding year, 454,⁷ addressed
to Palladius, Prefect of the Praetorium in the East, which
confirms the privileges of the Churches, and the pensions
granted in divers kinds⁸ for the maintenance of the poor.
It declares "all pragmatic sanctions elicited by ambition or
interest in opposition to the canons" to be "null and void;"
which seems to have been ordained in execution of the
Council of Chalcedon⁹. In the year 456, the Emperor Mar-
cian made a law in favour of the clergy¹, the substance of
which was, that they should be subject to no jurisdiction but
that of their Bishop. At Constantinople, however, they were
liable to be sued before the Prefect of the Praetorium. In

¹ Leo, Ep.
113. c. 1.
C. Cateh.
pt. 3. c. 8.

² C. Cateh.
pt. 3. c. 19.
Cod. de
Heret. lib.
1. tit. 5. j
leg. 8.
³ Apol-
linaristas,
hoc est,
Eutychian-
istas]

⁴ Valentiniano VIII.
et Anthemio Coss.
⁵ Nov. Mart.
ult. sive
tit. 5.

⁶ Cod. Th.
de Episc.
[1. 16. tit.
2.] leg. 20.

Fleury,
16. 41.

⁷ C. de Sa-
cros. Eccl.
[1. 1. tit. 2.]
leg. 12.

[* in diver-
sis specie-
bus]

⁹ Supr. c. 19.
C. de
Episc.
[1. 1. tit. 3.]
leg. 25.

A. D. 455. case of need, the Steward or Defender of the Church of
 CH. LV. Constantinople was to be their bail, to the amount of fifty pounds of gold. The beadles' fees and the other law-expenses were to be laid at a lower rate upon the clergy.

LV.
 Death of
 Valentinian III.
 Maximus
 and Avitus
 Emperors.

¹ Chronica
 Prosp. [t. i.
 p. 674.]
 Idat. [t. ii.
 p. 35.]
 Marcell.
 [p. 292.]
 Cassiod.
 [p. 230.]
 Victor.
 [p. 340.]
 Chron.
 Pasch.
 [p. 320.]
 Evagr. 2. 7.
² Procop.
 Vandal. l. i.
 c. 4.

Rome in the mean time was the scene of great and agitating changes. The Emperor Valentinian had a quarrel with the Patrician Aëtius¹, which, by the artifices of the Patrician Maximus and the eunuch Heraclius, who governed the Emperor, came to an open rupture, and at last the Emperor resolved to get rid of him. When, therefore, Aëtius demanded of him, with warmth, the performance of his promise, Valentinian killed him with his own hand in his palace. But he had cruelly wounded the feelings of Maximus by defiling his wife². So Maximus availed himself of the friends of Aëtius to effect the destruction of Valentinian, who had imprudently retained them near his person; and as he was walking in the Campus Martius at Rome, two of them surprised and killed him, whilst no one made any attempt to defend him. This was on the seventeenth of March, 455. Such was the end of the Emperor Valentinian the Third, the last of the race of the great Theodosius. He was thirty-six years of age, of which he had reigned about thirty³.

³ Idat.
 Chr. u. s.

Maximus was immediately acknowledged Emperor. He was a Patrician, had been twice Consul, and was descended from the Maximus who had usurped the Imperial power in the time of Theodosius the Great. His wife being dead, he obliged Eudoxia, the widow of the Emperor Valentinian, to marry him; but when she had discovered that he was the author of Valentinian's death, she resented it so much that she sent over to Africa, inviting Genseric, King of the Vandals, with great presents, to come to Rome, which she promised would fall an easy prey. Genseric did not fail to appear, and on the rumour of his arrival many of the nobility and people retired from Rome. Maximus himself made up his mind to leave it, and allowed all to do the same; but his cowardice made him contemptible, the servants of the Emperor Valentinian killed him, cut him in pieces, and threw his limbs into the Tiber on the seventy-seventh day of his reign⁴, the twelfth of June, 455.

⁴ Prosp.
 Chron.
 [p. 675.]

Genseric arrived three days after, and found Rome de-

fenceless. The Pope St. Leo went out of the gates of the city to meet him, and obtained, by his entreaties, a promise that he would be content with the pillage, and abstain from murders and executions. Rome therefore was pillaged with the utmost licence for fourteen days. Among the immense riches which were carried from Rome were the sacred vessels which Titus had formerly brought from Jerusalem*. Many thousands were carried away captive; the Empress Eudoxia, who had called in Genseric¹, was conducted to Carthage with her two daughters, Eudoxia and Placidia; Genseric married Eudoxia to his son Huneric, and sometime afterwards sent Placidia to Constantinople with the Empress her mother.

Ten weeks after the pillage of Rome², Avitus was elected Emperor in Gaul, where he was Prefect of the Prætorium, and had been declared Master of the soldiery by Maximus. But in the following year, (456,) in the consulate of John and Varanus, Avitus, making a descent upon Italy, was vanquished by Ricimer, and ordained Bishop of Placentia; he died a short time after.

It is at this revolution and the sacking of Rome that St. Prosper ends his chronicle³, in the eighth consulate of Valentinian, when Anthemius was his colleague; that is, in the year 445; he died soon after, before the year 457. Besides the work already mentioned⁴, he had composed a poem on the subject of Divine grace, entitled, *The Ingrates*; also several epigrams, and a collection of sentences from St. Augustine;—for he had made the works of this Father his principal study. His Chronicle begins at the creation of the world, and is divided into two parts: the first ends at the year 378, which is the conclusion of St. Jerome's Chronicle, and the second begins at the year 379, and ends at 455. He had also drawn up a paschal cycle⁵. As he was secretary to Pope St. Leo, some of the ancients⁶ ascribe to him the letters of St. Leo against Eutyches.

The treatise 'On the calling of the Gentiles,' is commonly said to be his, while others, from the similarity of style and

* They were afterwards retaken by Belisarius and carried to Constantinople (Anastas. Bibl., II. E. p. 61. ed. Par.), but soon after transferred thence to Jerusalem, (Procop. de Bell. Vand. ii.

9): *vid.* Reland. de Spol. Templ. c. 13. (ap. Ugolini Thes. t. ix. p. 1146.)

¹ Gennad. de Vir. Illustr. c. 89. Isid. Hisp., Orig. vi. 17: *vid.* Van der Hagen in Chron. Prosp. p. 176.

A.D. 455, 6.
CH. LVI.

¹ Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 5.

² Victor. Chr. [p. 341.]

LVI.
Death of St. Prosper.

³ Victor. pref. in Can. [p. 6.]

⁴ Supr. 26. 24.

⁵ Ado. Vien. Ælat. 6. [p. 285. C.] Gennad. u. s. c. 86. Marcell. Chr. a. 463.

A. D. 455. sentiment, assign it to St. Leo, and suppose that he wrote it
 CH. LVII. before he was Pope¹. The author discusses this question;
¹ Quesn. “How is it possible that God can *will* that all men should be
 Diss. 2. in “saved, since He does all that He wills, and it is certain that
 S. Leo. “many perish²?” The Pelagians said that free-will was the
² lib. 1. c. 1. cause of salvation, by drawing down grace upon those who
 use it well. But by this they destroyed grace, since they
³ c. 6, 7, 8. attributed it to merit. The author therefore establishes, first³,
⁴ c. 8. [p. 10.] the necessity of grace; adding⁴, that we are to take care, lest
 we obscure plain truths, by letting our self-will urge us to
⁵ c. 21. pry into those which are hid from us; such as the following⁵:
 “Why does God choose some men, and not others, to be
 “effectually saved?” We ought not to be more curious than
 the Apostle, who, when speaking on this subject, did not tell
 us what we ought to believe, but shewed us what we ought
 to abstain from looking into. There are then three certain
⁶ lib. 2. c. 1, truths in this matter⁶. The first, that God ‘will have all men
 30. [p. 38, ‘to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth’⁷. The
 66.] second, that no one does arrive at the knowledge of the truth
⁷ 1 Tim. ii. or attain salvation by his own merits, but by the assistance
 4. of grace. The third, that the depth of God’s judgments
 cannot be fathomed by human intelligence, and that it is
 unnecessary to inquire why He does not effectually save all
 men, whom yet He wills should be saved. If we do not
 search into the point which transcends our knowledge, we
 shall find no contradiction in the two first truths.

LVII.
 The charity
 of the Bi-
 shop of
 Carthage.

* Vict. Vit.
 l. 1. c. 8.

The captives brought from Rome to Carthage were charit-
 ably relieved by Deogratias, who had been ordained Bishop
 there after a long vacancy, in the year 454, at the desire of
 the Emperor Valentinian⁸. The Vandals and Moors divided
 these poor slaves among themselves, separating husbands
 from their wives, and children from their parents. The holy
 Bishop desirous of preventing this disorder, endeavoured to
 redeem and set them at liberty, and for this purpose sold all
 the vessels of silver and gold which were used for the church-
 service. And because there were no places capable of hold-
 ing so great a number of people, he appointed them two
 large churches,—that of Faustus and the New Church,—
 which he furnished with beds and straw, giving orders
 every day, that each should be supplied according to his

need. Among them were many who laboured under sickness, partly from the sea voyage, to which they had not been accustomed, partly from the harsh treatment they met with in captivity. These the holy Bishop constantly attended, going with the physicians on their rounds¹, and according to their advice had food ministered to them in his presence. At night he visited all the beds, asking each patient how he felt. In a word, he gave himself entirely up to the work, deterred neither by his enfeebled limbs nor his decrepit age. The Arians, envious of his virtue, laid several plots for his destruction, but God delivered him from them all. He died, however, a short time after, having held the see of Carthage only three years. He was buried privately, while the people were at prayers, from fear that in the ardour of their affection they might carry off his body. The Roman captives lamented his death, as if now that he had left them they felt afresh all the evils of slavery. His memory is honoured by the Church on the twenty-second of March². After his death, King Genseric forbade the ordination of Bishops in Zeugitana and the Proconsular province, in which there were at that time [a hundred and] sixty-four prelates. These gradually died off, so that, at the end of thirty years³, the number was reduced to three.

A. D. 455.
CH. LVIII.

[¹ circum-
bal; *nude*
circulator
*i. q. περι-
οδεύτης*
medicus;
v. Menage,
Jur. Civ.
Amoent.
c. 35.]

² Martyr, R.
22. Mart.

[³ i. e. at
the time
Victor was
writing.]

LVIII.
Genseric
persecutes
the Catho-
lics.

At this time innumerable Martyrs and Confessors stood forth. Four brothers, Martinian, Saturnian, and two others, were slaves to a certain Vandal [of the sect called Millenarians.] In the same house was a captive maiden named Maxima, of rare beauty. Martinian was an armourer, and much beloved by his master; Maxima had the care of the whole house. The Vandal thinking to increase their fidelity to him, wished them to marry. Martinian gladly consented; but Maxima had been devoted to God, and therefore, when they entered the nuptial chamber, she persuaded Martinian to embrace continence. He gained over his brothers, and all five together escaped by night, and went to Tabraca², where the four brothers entered a monastery, presided over by a certain Abbot Andrew. Maxima put herself into a society of maidens in the neighbourhood. The Vandal commenced an eager search and at last found them; and having got

² A wild district between Utica and Hippo, covered with forests. Juv. Sat. x. 194.

A. D. 455. them again into his power, he put them in irons, and made
 CH. LVIII. them undergo various tortures; wishing that Martinian and
 Maxima should not only live together as man and wife, but
 be re-baptized.

When King Genseric heard of this, he ordered the master to torture them until they obeyed. He commanded them to be beaten with thick sticks, having sharp points projecting like saw-teeth, so that their bodies were covered with blood, and so dreadfully lacerated that their entrails appeared; yet, after repeated tortures, they always found them healed on the morrow. They were next thrust into a close prison, with fetters on their legs; but these fell to pieces in the sight of a large number of the faithful who had come to visit them: which seemed to be miraculous. Divine vengeance pursued the family of the Vandal. He died—himself and his children, and the best of his slaves and his cattle. His widow gave the servants of God to a relative of the King, called Sersaon, but a demon tormented his children and domestics. He mentioned it to the King, who ordered him to send the four brothers bound to a pagan King of the Moors, named Capsur. Maxima was left at liberty, and after thirty years she was still alive, and the superior of a large convent.

When the Confessors arrived at the desert where the Moorish King dwelt, and saw the number of profane sacrifices offered there, they began, by their preaching and manner of living¹, to draw over the barbarians to the knowledge of God. Eventually they won over to CHRIST² a vast multitude in a country where His name had never before been heard. They next considered by what means the Gospel might be more firmly inrooted and the good seed they had sown be watered by the baptismal showers. They therefore sent some deputies, who, having crossed the desert, arrived at a Roman city, (in other words, reached the territory of the empire.) They desired the Bishop to send Priests and ministers to this converted people, which the Bishop joyfully did. A church was erected, and a large crowd of barbarians baptized. Genseric receiving an account of this from Capsur, ordered the servants of God to be tied by the feet to the back of chariots, which were then driven over places covered with briars and

[¹ prædicatione et conversatione suâ]
 [² Christo Domino lucraverunt:
 cf. κερδήσω, 1 Cor. ix. 19—22.]

thickets, until their bodies were literally carded¹. The Moors A. D. 455.
 wrung their hands in grief: but the Martyrs looked at each CH. LIX. —
 other as they passed, and said, "Brother, pray for me, God [1 carperen-
 "has accomplished our desire, this is our road to the king- tur]
 "dom of heaven." Great miracles took place at their tombs.

After this², Genserik raged still more fiercely against the LIX.
 Catholics. He sent a person named Proculus into the pro- Continu-
 vince of Zeugitana, to compel the Bishops to deliver up the ance of
 sacred vessels and books, thus depriving them, as it were, of the perse-
 their armour. The Bishops declared they could not give cution.
 them up, so the Vandals seized them by force, and plundered every thing, taking even the Altar-linen to make shirts and drawers for themselves. Proculus, the perpetrator of this atrocity, died soon after, biting out his tongue piece-meal. At that time, Valerian, Bishop of Abbenza, who was above fourscore years old, boldly refusing to give up the sacred things, was driven out of the city without any attendant, and all persons were forbidden to lodge him in their houses, either in town or country. Thus the holy old man lay a long time stretched on the high road naked, exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather. The Church commemorates him on the fifteenth of December³.

² Martyr, R.
 15 Dec.

In a place called Regia⁴, the Catholics opened a church⁵ which had been closed, intending to celebrate Easter. The Arians knew of it, and one of their Priests, named Adduit, got some armed men together, and came to attack the Catholics. They entered sword in hand; some of them ascended the roofs of adjoining houses, and shot arrows in at the church windows. A reader, standing in the desk, was singing the Allelujah⁶, when he was wounded in the neck by

⁴ c. 13.

¹ *Alleluaticum melos* canebat;—either one of the Psalms that begin or end with Hallelujah (Ps. 104—107; 111—117, &c.) called *psalmi Alleluatici* by St. Aug. in Ps. 105, (t. iv. p. 1191), and one of which was called the "Alleluia response" (Cassian. Inst. ii. 11): or, more probably, the chant, consisting of several repetitions of the word Hallelujah, which was commonly sung after the reading of the Epistle, or, as directed by the IVth Council of Toledo, after the Gospel. (Labbe, t. 5. p. 1709.) This latter mode was a peculiarity of the Mozarabic rite; Bona, Rer. Lit. ii.

6. § 4. The Roman Church, according to Sozomen, formerly used it only once a year, at Easter (vii. 19); a practice maintained by Vigilantius (Hieron. adv. Vig.; t. ii. pt. 2. p. 281.) In the African Churches it was sung during the whole of Quinquagesima, or the period between Easter and Whitsunday, (August. in Ps. 110. t. 4. p. 1244. Sermon. 210. 252. t. 5. p. 931. 1042), but then only; many Churches used it at other seasons as well (Epp. 36. 55. t. ii. p. 75. 141), all, however, omitting it during Lent and resuming it at Easter; shewing, says St. Augustine, that after

A. D. 455. an arrow, the book dropped from his hand, and he fell down
 CH. LIX. dead. Many were killed with arrows and javelins on the
 steps of the Altar. Those who did not die on the spot were
 afterwards tortured, and then by the King's command almost
 all of them massacred, especially those who were of mature
 age. The Church commemorates these Martyrs on the fifth
 of April¹. Elsewhere, as at Tinuzuda, the Arians rushed in
 furiously at the time of the Communion, threw the Body
 and Blood of CHRIST upon the pavement, and trampled
 upon it with their feet. Genseric, acting under the advice
 of his Bishops, had ordered that none but Arians should
 serve in his house or in that of his children. They found
 a Catholic, named Armogastus, in the service of Theodoric,
 the King's son. He was several times tortured with thongs
 tightly twisted round his legs and round that brow on which
 CHRIST had planted the banner of His cross². He looked up
 to heaven, and the thongs burst asunder. They next used
 stronger cords, of hemp, but these broke as soon as he in-
 voked the name of CHRIST. Being tied up by one of his
 feet, with his head downward, he was seen to sleep as if he
 lay on a bed of down. When Theodoric his master beheld
 this, he wished to have his head cut off, but Jocundus, his
 chaplain, an Arian Priest, dissuaded him, saying, "You must
 " kill him by multiplying your torture; if you behead him,
 " the Romans will begin to preach him up as a Martyr."

[² in quâ
 Christus
 vexillum
 suâ fixerat
 crucis, sc.
 in baptismo.
 Feury; ²
 Après avoir
 fait le signe
 de la croix,]

the trials of this life we shall enter into
 peace where "Hallelujah will be our
 " meat, our drink, our still-energizing
 " rest (*actio quietis*), our whole joy;"
 (Serm. 252. t. 5. p. 1042. Cf. Serm.
 255. p. 1050). In some places its use
 pervaded the employments of common
 life: it was sung by the countryman
 of Bethlehem following his plough
 (Hieron. Ep. 34. t. iv. pt. 2. p. 552),
 was the word first lisped by children
 (Ep. 57. p. 593), and formed the burden
 of the boatman's song (Sidon. Apoll.
 ii. Ep. 10). It was the *κέλευσμα* by
 which Christians cheered one another
 on through the voyage of life (Aug. de
 Cantico Novo c. 2. t. vi. p. 591), and
 their song of thanksgiving when any of
 their party reached the shore of eternity.
 (Hieron. Ep. 84. p. 662.)

Isidore (Orig. vi. 19) remarks on
Hallelujah and *Amen* being retained in

all languages, that so the Church on
 earth may re-echo the very words of
 the Blessed in heaven, (see Rev. xix.
 4.) In singing the Hallelujah (ac-
 cording to the description of later
 writers) the voice was kept suspended
 on each syllable, in full intonation,
 through several bars (in plures neu-
 mas vel neumatun distinctiones per-
 trahimus, Rupert., de Div. Off. i. 35),
 suggesting thoughts "of that state,
 " when there shall be no need for the
 " utterance of words, but by the mere
 " act of thought, mind shall shew to
 " mind all it contains in itself:"
 Amalar. iii. 16; quoted by Bona, u. s.,
 ii. 6. § 5. cf. de Psalm. c. 16. § 7.

On the omission of the word from
 the English Liturgy, see Wheatly, iii.
 7. § 5; it is popularly retained in the
 hymn for Easter-Day.

Throughout the Empire the barbarians gave the name of *Romans* to the old inhabitants of the provinces¹. Theodoric therefore sent Armogastus into the province of Byzacena to work at drains and dykes; then, to increase his shame, he sent him to keep cows near Carthage, [where every body might see him.] Meanwhile the Confessor, having it revealed to him that his death was near, called a Catholic named Felix, the Prince's steward, and said, "I beseech you, as you will answer for the same before God, to bury me under this holm-oak." Felix, who looked upon him as an Apostle, answered, "God forbid, I will inter you in a church with the honour you deserve." Armogastus insisted upon it, and Felix unwilling to grieve him, promised. The holy Confessor died a few days after. Felix set about digging at the foot of the tree, but the hardness of the earth and the roots stopped him. At length having cut through these, and digging on, he found a coffin of the finest marble, as if put there expressly for him.

A person named Archimimus, of the city of Mascula, was assailed by various artifices to make him renounce the Catholic Faith; the king himself condescended to flatter him, and promised to load him with wealth. At last he condemned him to be beheaded; but loth to confer on him the glory of martyrdom, he gave secret directions, that, if at the moment of execution he shewed any symptoms of fear, they were to put him to death; if he remained firm, they were to spare him. The Confessor displayed unshaken courage, and was left alive.

Saturus, Steward of Himeric's house, often made free-spoken remarks upon Arianism. An Arian Deacon, named Marivadus, or Varimadus, laid information against him, and Himeric pressed him to become an Arian, threatening, in case he did not comply, to take from him his house and substance, his slaves, and children, and even his wife, and to marry her before his face to a camel-keeper. Saturus challenged them to do their worst; but his wife, unknown to him, asked for a short delay. She came to him in a secluded place, where he was praying; her clothes were torn, her hair loose, her children came after her, and she held in her arms a little girl still at the breast. She threw it down

A. D. 455.

CH. LIX.

[1 Cf. p. 225, marg.]

A. D. 455. at her husband's feet, before he was aware of their presence, and embracing his knees, said to him, "Pity me, sweetest, pity thyself, and these our children, and reduce them not to slavery; we are of noble descent; do not expose me to an infamous marriage, and that while you are living. God sees well that you will do this unwillingly." He answered in the words of Job¹, "'Thou speakest as one of the foolish women.' If you loved me, you would not drag me to the second death². Let them do what they will, I will still remember the words of my LORD³; 'If any man leave not his wife, his children, his lands, his house, he cannot be my disciple.'" He was stripped of every thing, and reduced to beggary; he was forbidden even to appear in public. The Church honours these three martyrs on the twenty-ninth of

¹ Martyr. R. March⁴.
² 29 Mart.

After this Genseric ordered the church at Carthage to be shut up; and scattered the Priests and ministers, (for there was no Bishop,) to various places of exile. This lasted up to the time of the Emperor Zeno. Genseric caused a great deal of injury to the Catholics of several provinces beyond the limits of Africa, as in Spain, Italy, (especially the southern part,) Sicily, Sardinia, Greece, Epirus, Dalmatia, and even Venetia. For being strengthened by the assistance of the Moors, after the death of Valentinian⁵, he sent out vessels in the spring of every year, to make descents, first on Italy and Sicily, and then on the provinces of the Eastern empire, pillaging wherever they came, carrying off great numbers of captives, and ruining whole cities.

⁵ Procop. Vandal. l. i. c. 5.

LX.
The Empress Eudocia abandons the schism.

⁶ Vit. S. Euthym. p. 64.

The Empress Eudocia, the widow of Theodosius, who was at Jerusalem, heard with extreme grief of all that happened at Rome,—the violent death of the Emperor Valentinian her son-in-law, the irruption of the Vandals, the captivity of her daughter Eudoxia and of her grand-daughters, who were carried off to Carthage. Moreover⁶, her brother Valerius, and her daughter's son-in-law Olybrius, often wrote to her to leave the Eutychians, and return to the communion of the Catholic Church. She was in great perplexity of mind, not being willing to act against her conscience, or to prefer the love of her relations to what she believed the true Faith. She resolved, therefore, to consult the most renowned hermits. She

sent Anastasius, Chorepiscopus of Jerusalem, to Antioch, to A. D. 455. St. Simeon Stylite,—at that time a great light of the Church, —^{CH. LX.} —with a letter in which she described the state of her soul, and desired his counsel. He answered, “Know that the “devil, seeing the richness of thy virtues, has desired to sift “thee as wheat, and the scoundrel¹ Theodosius, being his in- [¹ λυμεών] “strument, has filled thy soul with darkness and confusion. “But be of good cheer, thy faith hath not failed. But I “marvel much, that, being so near the fountain-head, thou “shouldest come to draw at so distant an outlet. Thou “hast the divine Euthymius, follow his instructions and be “saved.”

When Eudocia had received this answer, being told that St. Euthymius never entered cities, she ordered a tower to be erected in the highest part of the whole Eastern desert, about thirty furlongs to the south of his lavra, that she might the more frequently converse with him. She sent Cosmas, the Warden of the Cross, and Anastasius, the Chorepiscopus, to seek him. They did not find him at his lavra, for on the news of her intended visit he had retired to Rubas; so taking with them Theoetistus one of his disciples, they found him, and after many entreaties, with great difficulty induced him to come to the tower, which had just been built, and on the site of which a monastery was afterwards founded. The Empress was overjoyed at the sight of the Saint, and throwing herself at his feet, said, “Now I see that God has visited “me by your presence.” The holy old man, after having blessed her, said², “Henceforth, my daughter, take heed to² p. 66. “thyself. These fatal calamities in Italy happened to thee, “because thou wast led astray by the villany of Theodosius. “Lay aside, then, this unreasonable obstinacy, and in ad- “dition to the other three general Councils, of Nicea against “Arius, of Constantinople against Macedonius, of Ephesus “against Nestorius, receive likewise the definition put forth “by the Council of Chalcedon. Withdraw thyself from the “communion of Dioscorus, and embrace that of Juvenal.” Having said this, he prayed in her behalf³, took his leave of [³ ὑπερευξά-
μενος] her, and retired.

Eudocia, struck with admiration of his virtue, followed his directions, as if God had spoken to her by his mouth. She

A. D. 455. immediately returned to Jerusalem, and by the mediation of
 CH. LX. the Priests Cosmas and Anastasius, was reconciled to the
 Archbishop Juvenal and the Catholic Church. Her example
 brought back great numbers of laymen and monks whom
 Theodosius had seduced. Elpidius, the Archimandrite, shook
 off the delusion¹, but Gerontius continued in the schism, with
 a large body of people whom he drew after him; among
 whom were even two monks, Marcianus and Romanus, who
¹ p. 67. left the Abbot Elpidius, and afterwards founded monasteries²,
 [² κοινοβία] one at Bethlehem, the other at Tekoah.

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23. This error began to shew itself about A.D. 448, and in that same year was condemned at Constantinople, 27. 21, sqq. and afterwards at Chalcedon, 28. 21. the Eutychians schismatize in Palestine and Egypt, 28. 35, 36. and the schism has been perpetuated to the present day, occupying the southern part of the Eastern Church, as Nestorianism does the Northern.—See also *Manichees*, &c.

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— Count, sent to Ephesus, 25. 55. arrives and assembles the Bishops, 26. 1. Arrests St. Cyril, Memnon, and Nestorius, *ibid.* the Catholics complain to the Emperor about this proceeding, 26. 2.

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- Marcellus*, St., Abbot of the Acemetes, 27. 30. his virtues, *ibid.* present at the Council of Constantinople against Eutyches, 27. 29.
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- Morals* of the Carthaginians, 26. 43.

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- John of Antioch and St. Cyril reconciled; Capreolus writes to Vitalis and Tonantius: Vincentius composes his *Commonitorium*, and Marius Mercator his *Annotations*; letter from the schismatics to Pope Sixtus A.D. 433.
- Proclus, Bishop of CP.; St. Cyril's letters in vindication of himself; Theodoret and the Cilicians consent to the Reconciliation A.D. 434.
- Alexander of Hierapolis ejected; Edict against the Nestorians; Armenian embassy sent to Proclus; Letters of Pope Sixtus concerning Illyricum . . . A.D. 435.
- Nestorius banished to Petra; 15 Schismatic Bishops deprived A.D. 436.
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- Theodosian Code published; various translations of reliques; Eudocia visits Jerusalem A.D. 438.
- Defeat of Littorius by the Huns; Carthage taken by Genseric; Council of Riès; Julian of Æculanum at Rome . . . A.D. 439.
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- First Council of Orange A.D. 441.
- Council of Vaison A.D. 442.
- Manichees discovered at Rome A.D. 443.
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- St. Hilary of Arles at Rome A.D. 444—5.
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- St. Leo's letters to Turibius, and to the Bishops of Sicily; Flavian succeeds Proclus; Theodoret's letters to Dioscorus and Flavian; Irenæus deposed . . . A.D. 447.
- Ibas tried at Tyre and Berytus; Eutyches accused of heresy by Domnus; condemned by a Council at Constantinople (Nov. 22), at which St. Marcellus was present; Eutyches writes to St. Leo . . . A.D. 448.
- Revision of Eutyches's sentence; Theodosius convokes a general Council; St. Leo's letter to Flavian; letter of St. Peter Chrysologus to Eutyches; IInd Council of Ephesus (Aug. 8); Flavian murdered; Schism in the Eastern Church; Ravennius succeeds to the see of Arles; Theodoret writes to St. Leo A.D. 449.

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ERRATA, &c.

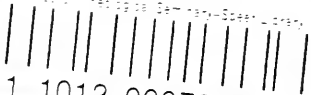
- p. 9. *marg.*, for *σκετικὴν* read *σχετικὴν*, and for *σὺνδοκῶ, συνδοκῶ*
- p. 92. l. 14. *from bottom*, for *imitatem* read *unitatem*.
- p. 117. *note m*, for Chalcedon. read Ephesus, given in the Acts of Chalcedon.
- p. 118. *Contents*, ch. 46. *insert a colon after John*.
- p. 120. *note a*, for *college* read Ecclesiastical, and in p. 121 *dele* *can.* 25.
- p. 130. l. 17. *from bottom*, for Mopsuesta read Mopsuestia.
- p. 201. l. 3. *from bottom*, for 479 read 379.
- p. 310. l. 16. *from bottom*, for *polemie* read *polemie*.
- p. 369. l. 18. for *συνοδὸς* read *σύννοδος*.

•• The marginal dates at pp. 192, 248-253, should be p. 192, A.D. 437; p. 248, A.D. 441; p. 249 and pp. 251-253, A.D. 447; p. 250, A.D. 448.



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